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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.



THE

CCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF IRELAND.

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

BY

W. D. KILLEN, D.D.,

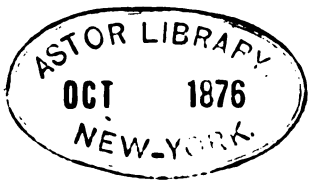
PRESIDENT OF ASSEMBLY'S COLLEGE, BELFAST, AND
PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

" Tho' slavery's cloud o'er thy morning hath hung,
The full noon of freedom shall beam round thee yet."

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BOOK IV.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.

A.D. 1625 TO A.D. 1714.



CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I. TO THE DEATH OF STRAFFORD. A.D. 1625 TO A.D. 1641.

CHARLES I. was married to Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. of France. As the queen was a Romanist, the Irish recusants were led to entertain high hopes when he commenced his reign; for they argued that a prince, who permitted his wife to attend their worship, could not well refuse to extend the same indulgence to his subjects across the Channel. His pecuniary difficulties also inspired them with encouragement. They were aware that his treasury was exhausted; that money was urgently required to meet the expenses of the wars in which he was involved; and that the necessary funds could not be expected from a vote of his English parliament. By an offer of a voluntary contribution, they expected to be able to prevail on him to grant them toleration. So confident were they of success, that they began to celebrate their services as openly as if they had already obtained the sanction of the government.[1] The

[1] A contemporary R.C. ecclesiastic and an Irishman, thus describes the state of his Church at this period :—"Catholics were honoured with the commission of the peace in town and country in many places; and Catholic lawyers were permitted, without difficulty, to plead at the bar. The bishops exercised their episcopal functions; the priests, their parochial duties; almost every city and town in Ireland had religious communities, which lodged in houses hired for the purpose, and were not prohibited to perform all the duties of their orders. They had not, it is true, any formal permission for these duties, but they were tolerated and connived at. . . . Our bishops, deans, archdeacons and other dignitaries had no regular or fixed revenues or property; they, as well as all the other clergy, were

Protestant party took the alarm; and their hierarchy, headed by Primate Ussher, denounced the proposed indulgence. A protest, designated, "The judgment of divers of the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland concerning Toleration of Religion," was accordingly drawn up; and in this document the prelates declare it to be "a grievous sin" to consent that the errorists "may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine."[1]

We of the present day may be astonished to find men of intelligence and piety maintaining such positions; but we are to remember that, for upwards of a thousand years, this doctrine had been currently believed throughout Christendom. The Papal Church still continued to act upon it, and to deny the lawful authority of Protestant princes. Pope Urban VIII. had recently issued a bull in which he had exhorted British and Irish Romanists to lose their lives rather than take the oath of allegiance.[2] The pretensions put forth in this document were dangerous alike to civil and religious liberty; for the proud pontiff claimed implicit obedience; and affirmed that the condemned form of oath wrested the sceptre of the Catholic Church out of the hand of the vicar of the Almighty. Protestants feared that any legal recognition of the right of Romanists to celebrate their worship would lead to their political ascendency; and thus it was that they opposed so strenuously their claim for toleration. But it soon appeared that the King was not unwilling to concede the required privilege. The recusants—aware that they had nothing to fear from him—proceeded, in various ways, to reoccupy the position lost at the Reformation. Churches were seized for their accommodation; new friaries and nunneries

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supported by the voluntary munificence of the Catholics, who . . . . *supplied all their clergy, not only with the necessaries, but what may be called the luxuries of life.* . . . Whenever a priest entered a house, the whole family fell on their knees and humbly asked his blessing."—*Cambrensis Eversus*, by Kelly, iii. 117, 119, 121.

[1] Leland, ii. 481-2. This Protest was signed by the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel and by the Bishops of Meath, Ferns and Leighlin, Down and Connor, Derry, Cork and Cloyne, Killala, Kilmore and Ardagh, Dromore, Waterford and Lismore, and Limerick. It may be found in Elrington's *Ussher*, pp. 73-74.

[2] This Bull is dated 30th of May, 1626. See King, *Supplementary Volume*, pp. 1395-6.

were established; their ecclesiastical discipline—often involving civil punishment—was boldly administered; and, even in Dublin, another College was set up as a rival to the University.[1] The Lord Deputy at length interfered and issued a proclamation declaring that "the late intermission of legal proceedings" against persons professing to derive their authority from the See of Rome "had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his Majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their Popish rites and ceremonies."[2] But this manifesto was treated with the utmost scorn.[3] Not long afterwards a fraternity of Carmelites, arrayed in the habit of their order, ventured, in one of the most public thoroughfares of Dublin, to celebrate their ritual. The Mayor of the city and the Protestant Archbishop, accompanied by a troop of soldiers, hastened to the spot, and attempted to disperse the assembly.[4] But the sturdy friars were not easily intimidated. They opposed force to force; and, backed by the crowd around them, successfully repelled their assailants. His Grace, Primate Bulkeley, managed, with difficulty, to escape personal violence by taking refuge in an adjoining dwelling house.[5]

Before the Reformation bishops had large magisterial powers; they could inflict civil penalties on those who incurred spiritual censures; they could whip, fine, incarcerate, and even consign to death. The Protestant prelates succeeded to their jurisdiction. Their authority was soon considerably curtailed; and, in the beginning of this reign, Irish Churchmen were forbidden to "keep any prisons of their own" for the confinement of ecclesiastical offenders.[6] But still they were expected to perform services totally unbefitting their character. When Primate Bulkeley hastened, at the head of a body of military, to disperse a congregation met for what he deemed heretical worship, he was only acting as Archbishops had often done before; and yet he was uselessly

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[1] Leland, iii. 3.
[2] Leland, iii. 5.
[3] Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 94-5.
[4] *Ibid*, p. 105.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] Leland, ii. 485.

irritating and alienating those whom he should have rather sought to conciliate and enlighten. Government felt bound to support him in the course he had pursued, and ordered the house in which the riot had occurred to be demolished. To demonstrate more fully its determination to maintain the laws, it suppressed the Popish College; and bestowed the buildings pertaining to it on the Protestant University.[1]

Some of the dignitaries of the Established Church were, however, pursuing a more excellent way of advancing the cause of the Reformation. Archbishop Ussher was endeavouring to win over intelligent Romanists by convincing them of the superior claims of the Protestant religion. Nor did he labour without encouragement. He had already made some notable converts; and, among the rest, Lord Mordant, afterwards Earl of Peterborough. His Lordship had been a zealous Romanist; but he was married to a Protestant—the daughter and heiress of Howard Lord Effingham.[2] He was exceedingly anxious for his wife's conversion; and it was arranged between them that each should choose a divine to hold a disputation in their presence on the points controverted. On the fourth day of the discussion, the Romish champion—a priest named Beaumont—failed to appear; and sent an excuse, stating that he had forgotten his arguments. His Lordship saw through this ridiculous apology; and, convinced by the reasoning of the Archbishop, joined the Church of England.[3] About the same time, Ussher gained another important convert in Mr. James Dillon, afterwards Earl of Roscommon. "He made it his business," says one of his biographers, "to reclaim those deluded people who had been bred up in the Roman Catholic religion from their infancy; for which end he began to converse more frequently and more familiarly with the gentry and nobility of that persuasion, as also with divers of the inferior sort that dwelt near him, inviting them often to his house, and discoursing with them with great mildness of the chief tenets of their religion; by

[1] Elrington, p. 106. [2] *Ibid.* p. 68.

[3] The Countess of Peterborough was ever afterwards the attached friend of Ussher; and her kindness soothed and comforted him in his last days.—Elrington, p. 68.

which gentle usage he was strangely successful, convincing many of them of their errors, and bringing them to the knowledge of the truth." [1]

Had the ministers of the Established Church, as a body, followed the example of Ussher, Protestantism would have soon made great progress all over Ireland. The people in many places had not yet acquired that deep antipathy to the reformed faith which various causes have since contributed to produce; though the priests were zealous and far more numerous than the episcopal clergy, they were rapacious and domineering; [2] and, though not so much disgraced by open licentiousness as in former days, their example was still far from edifying. But the pious Primate had few imitators. So loud were the complaints as to inefficiency that in April 1630 the King, by the advice of the Committee of the Privy Council, addressed a letter of remonstrance to the four Irish Archbishops. In this communication he roundly asserts that "the clergy were not so careful, as they ought to be, either of God's service, or of the honour of themselves and their profession, in removing all pretences to scandal in their lives and conversation." "There is," he adds, "a complaint . . . that some bishops there [in Ireland], when livings fall vacant in their gift, do either not dispose of them so soon as they ought, but keep the profits in their own hands [3] to the hindrance of God's service, and great offence of good people; or else they give them to young and mean men, which only

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[1] Parr's *Life*, p. 39; quoted by Elrington, p. 109.

[2] Bedell states that, when he became Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, every parish had its priest; and some, two or three each. The people had to pay "double tithes," that is, to both the Protestant and the Romish clergy. The friars, by their importunate begging, impoverished the community. They levied collections "three, four, five or six pounds at a sermon." See Bedell's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated November 1633, in Burnett's *Life*, p. 55, and Mant, i. 436.

[3] Clogy states that Thomas Moygne, who was Bishop of Kilmore from 1612 to 1629, and who was the immediate predecessor of Bedell, "had set up such a shop of mundination and merchandise, as if all things spiritual and temporal, belonging to episcopacy, had been ordinarily vendible commodities, as in the Church of Rome . . . . *orders and livings sold* to those that could pay the greatest fines."—*Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Bedell*, pp. 34, 35. London, 1862. Clogy was Bedell's son-in-law.

bear the name, reserving the greatest part of the benefice to themselves."[1] Under such caretakers Protestantism could not be expected to flourish. No wonder an Irishman is reported at this time to have remarked sarcastically that "the king's priests were as bad as those of the Pope."[2]

But though the general condition of Irish Protestantism was most unsatisfactory, there were a few, like Ussher, who were faithfully endeavouring to promote its improvement. Among these William Bedell is entitled to most honourable notice. This great and good man—who was born in Essex in 1570—had for some time acted as chaplain to the English ambassador at Venice. During his residence in that city he became acquainted with Father Paul, the historian of the Council of Trent—a divine who possessed vast influence among his countrymen, and who was regarded as a kind of oracle in their republic. The prudence, sagacity, and profound scholarship of the English chaplain commended him much to his Italian friend, who was, it seems, at one time half inclined to pass over to Protestantism. When Bedell returned to his native land, he was known as a learned and exemplary clergyman; and, on the occurrence of a vacancy in the Provostship of Dublin College in 1627, he was appointed to the office.[3] Two years afterwards he became bishop of the two Sees of Kilmore and Ardagh. Though he had now

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[1] See this letter in Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 106-8. The most remarkable episcopal offender in the way of pluralities was Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore from 1619 to 1635, who was cousin to the Earl of Cork, and who is said to have been so avaricious that "he would have done anything, or sold any man, for sixpence profit."—Elrington, p. 107, *note*.

[2] This statement was made by an Irishman in presence of Bedell on a public occasion.—Burnet's *Bedell*, p. 59.

[3] "He was *chosen by all the Fellows* that had never seen him; written to by the famous Doctor Ussher, Primate of all Ireland, that had heard great things of him and required by the King to accept the calling."—Clogy's *Memoir*, pp. 28-9. London, 1862. Bedell introduced several changes into the College. He was himself a married man; and before his time the Fellows were not bound to celibacy; but he induced his colleagues to adopt a law to the effect that "no married man should be admitted to be a scholar or a Fellow." He also caused a statute to be enacted requiring that "an Irish lecture be read publickly in the hall." In his time *whipping* was part of the College discipline. See his *Life* by Dr. H. J. Monck Mason, pp. 147, 149, 161, 164. London, 1843.

reached the age of fifty-nine, he addressed himself, with extraordinary zeal and diligence, to the performance of his episcopal duties. He very soon turned his attention to the character of the papal pastors within his dioceses; and, notwithstanding the fierce antipathy to Protestantism which they manifested, he found them very ignorant, and not a few of them wallowing in impurity.[1] But, believing that if the truth of the gospel was to make any considerable progress in Ireland, it must be propagated by those who already had influence with the people, he sought to promote the conversion of the most intelligent of the priests; and he was wonderfully successful in persuading them to embrace the cause of the Reformation. They had never before seen such a specimen of enlightened godliness—for his piety was a commentary on his teaching; and they could not well resist the combined influence of his life and doctrine. Some of the Protestants were exceedingly dissatisfied when he bestowed Church livings on a number of the converts—as they could not believe them sincere; but subsequent events proved that he had not misplaced his confidence. When rebellion broke out, and when powerful inducements were presented to them to return to Popery, all, with a single exception, remained steadfast in their attachment to Protestantism.[2]

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[1] "By his lenity and moderation *many priests and friars* that were still brought in [to his episcopal court] for fornication or adultery, were prevailed with to renounce their uncleanness, and to have good thoughts of the reformed religion, that had appointed unto mankind an antidote against all filthiness of flesh and spirit, by holy and honourable marriage, as the bishop often told them in court; and several of them were converted from Popery and did marry."—CLOGY'S *Memoir*, p. 86. Though the Irish priests had been gradually improving since the time of the Reformation, an intelligent and pious contemporary speaks of them at this time as "*generally* ignorant dolts living in whoredom and drunkenness."—ADAIR'S *Narrative*, p. 27.

[2] Burnet's *Bedell*, pp. 90, 91. "There was a learned friar, called Daniel O'Creane, on whom the bishop had bestowed a good living, there not being one Protestant in the whole parish; he married the daughter of Captain Perkins, and did much good, and did turn many away from Popish iniquity, and did not fall away upon the Rebellion, as many hypocrites and false converts did; but stood manfully against all violence and spoil and terror, and escaped to Dublin at length, naked and bare; and the first money that God sent him he laid out for an English Bible, as I did see —— when he had no place where to lay his head,

Bedell assumed no airs of superiority in his intercourse with his clergy. He was wont to address them as his *brethren* and his *fellow-presbyters;* he examined candidates for the ministry in their presence; and, without their approbation, he would not proceed to ordination.[1] Finding that the interests of religion had been grievously damaged by pluralities, he endeavoured to inaugurate a reform; and he commenced the work by voluntarily resigning the See of Ardagh.[2] By thus deliberately surrendering a considerable portion of his own revenues, he demonstrated his consistency and self-denial; and made such an impression on the minds of his clergy that they followed his example. Each of them was henceforth satisfied with a single parish.[3] Bedell preached constantly twice every Lord's day in his cathedral, and always catechised in the afternoon before sermon.[4] "His voice," says his biographer, "was low and mournful; but, as his matter was excellent, so there was a gravity in his looks that struck his auditors."[5]

The New Testament had already appeared in the vernacular tongue:[6] but the Bishop was most desirous to provide the people with the whole Bible in Irish. He engaged one of the best native scholars in the country to undertake the work; and so deeply was he interested in its execution, that, at the age of sixty, he commenced to learn the language himself—

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nor relief for his body, but eleemosynary."—CLOGY'S *Memoir*, p. 97. The only clerical apostate was a wretch named Brady, who himself perished in the Rebellion.—*Ibid.* p. 98.

[1] Burnet's *Bedell*, pp. 38, 56. Clogy adds:—"He observed not . . . . bowing at the word or name of Jesus, bowing to the communion-table . . . . and towards the east and such like, all founded on ignorance and superstition. . . . He desired no instrumental music in his cathedral—as organs or the like—no more than in other parochial churches, but vocal and spiritual singing."—*Memoir*, pp. 139, 140.

[2] He obtained, as his successor in Ardagh, John Richardson, a man of kindred spirit. "He (Richardson) was peculiar for a very grave countenance and his being extraordinary Textuary." He left Ireland on the eve of the Rebellion, and died at London in 1654. He published *Observations and Explanations on the Old Testament, by way of Addition to the Annotations of the Assembly of Divines.*—Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 184.

[3] Burnet's *Bedell*, p. 39.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 113.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] See before, vol. i., p. 406. Bedell published an Irish Catechism. For an account of it see Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 162.

hoping to be able to render some assistance in the way of revision. "Always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter; and, as he compared the Irish translation with the English, so he compared the English with the Hebrew and the seventy [Greek] interpreters, or with Diodati's Italian version—which he valued highly."[1] He was not, however, permitted to proceed without disturbance in this noble undertaking. Romanists, of course, looked on it with aversion; but, strange to say, some of his own brethren stirred up opposition. Archbishop Laud, then in the zenith of his power, regarded it with disfavour; and prevailed on the Irish Viceroy to concur with him in his views.[2] The translator, on frivolous grounds, was subjected to annoyance and persecution; and the work, when finished, remained long in manuscript.[3] About half a century afterwards it appeared in print—the pious and patriotic Robert Boyle having then undertaken the expense of its publication.[4]

When Ussher and Bedell were labouring, in the spirit of true evangelists, to disseminate a knowledge of the gospel in Ireland, others in the northern province were employed with equal assiduity and success in the same service. Colonists from Scotland had now taken possession of a large portion of the waste lands in Down and Antrim, and had happily been placed under the care of pastors of eminent ability. These Presbyterian ministers were men of a very different class from the mass of the episcopal clergy around them: most of them were gentlemen[5] by birth; some of them were scions of noble

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[1] Burnet's *Bedell*, p. 93. The native Irishman, employed to make the Irish version, translated from the English Bible; and hence it was that Bedell was obliged to revise his translation as described in the text.

[2] Burnet's *Bedell*, pp. 101, 102.

[3] Bedell is said to have committed his version to the care of Sheridan, a converted priest, who became a Protestant minister in his diocese. The manuscript was handed over by Sheridan to Dr. Henry Jones, Protestant Bishop of Meath, who communicated the fact to Mr. Boyle, and suggested its publication. *Brief Sketch of Various Attempts to Diffuse a Knowledge of the Scriptures through the Medium of the Irish Language*, p. 21. Dublin, 1818.

[4] Mr. Boyle expended £700 on this object. See Clogy's *Memoir*, p. 125, *note*.

[5] Edward Brice was brother to the Laird of Airth; Robert Blair and others were also gentlemen by birth. See Burke's *Landed Gentry*. Art. "Bruce of Scoutbush and Kilroot."

families ;[1] they had received a superior education ; and they excelled as instructive and impressive preachers. Their enlightened zeal soon produced a wonderful change in those parts of the country where they laboured ; and one of the most remarkable awakenings recorded in the annals of the Church now occurred in the north-eastern portion of the island. "At Oldstone,"[2] says a contemporary, "God made use of [the minister] to awaken the consciences of a lewd and secure people thereabouts. . . . The hearers finding themselves condemned by the mouth of God speaking in his Word, fell into such anxiety and terror of conscience that they looked on themselves as altogether lost and damned ; and this work appeared not in one single person or two, but multitudes were brought to understand their way and to cry out, Men and brethren, what shall we do to be saved ? I have seen them myself stricken into a swoon with the word ; yea, a dozen in one day carried out of doors as dead, so marvellous was the power of God smiting their hearts for sin, condemning and killing. And of these were none of the weaker sex or spirit, but indeed some of the boldest spirits, who formerly feared not with their swords to put a whole market-town in a fray ; yet, in defence of their stubbornness, cared not to lie in prison and in the stocks ; and, being incorrigible, were as ready to do the like next day. I have heard one of them, then a mighty strong man, now a mighty Christian, say, that his end in coming to church was to consult with his companions how to work some mischief. And yet, at one of these sermons, was he so catched that he was fully subdued. But why do I speak of him ? We knew, and yet know *multitudes of such men* who sinned and still gloried in it, because they feared not man, yet are *now* patterns of society, fearing to sin because they fear God. And this spread through the country to admiration, especially about that river, commonly called the Six Mile Water, for there this work began at first."[3]

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[1] Josias Welsh of Templepatrick was the great-grandson of Lord Ochiltree ; James Hamilton of Killinchy was nephew to the first Lord Clandeboy ; and John Livingston of Killinchy was great-grandson of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingston.

[2] At a short distance from the town of Antrim.

[3] Stewart's *History*, as quoted by Reid, i. 107, 108. The Six Mile Water runs

This movement excited general attention. Episcopalians and Romanists,[1] as well as others, were awakened; and were thus added to the Presbyterian congregations. The ministers agreed to hold a meeting on the first Friday of every month in the town of Antrim—where the parish church was at their service, and where they enjoyed the sympathy and support of the landlord, Sir John Clotworthy. "The day was spent in fasting and prayer and public preaching," says Livingston, one of the officiating pastors. "Commonly two preached every forenoon, and two in the afternoon. We used to come together the Thursday night before, and stayed the Friday night after, and consulted much about such things as concerned the carrying on of the work of God. . . . Such as laid religion to heart used to convene to these meetings, especially out of the Six Mile Water valley, which was nearest hand, and where was the greatest number of religious people; and frequently on the Sabbath after the Friday's meeting, the communion was celebrated in one or other of our parishes." "This blessed work of conversion, which was of several years' continuance, spread," says Blair, one of the ministers, "beyond the bounds of Antrim and Down to the skirts of neighbouring counties. . . . Preaching and praying were so pleasant in those days, and hearers so eager and greedy, that no day was long enough, nor any room great enough, to answer their strong desires and large expectations."[2]

It was not to be expected that a work of this nature could proceed without interruption. It astonished well-meaning Romanists, for they saw that it produced a great moral reformation in those brought under its influence: it shook their confidence in their own system: and their clergy became alarmed. Two friars, trained at Salamanca—who seem to have valued themselves on their controversial ability—accordingly challenged Blair and Welsh, two of the Presbyterian

past Ballynure, Ballyclare, and Templepatrick, and falls into Lough Neagh at Antrim.

[1] About this time several of the native Irish, who were afterwards noted as connected with the Presbyterian Church, became Protestants. Among these may be mentioned Owen O'Connolly, who saved Dublin Castle at the commencement of the Rebellion of 1641; and Jeremiah O'Quin, who became a Presbyterian minister.

[2] Reid, i. 127.

ministers, to a public discussion. The invitation was willingly accepted; and the terms of the disputation were arranged; but, when the day of trial arrived, the monks failed to make their appearance.[1] Various episcopal clergymen also seemed desirous to engage in controversy; but the ministers would gladly have avoided a collision with the officials of the Church as by law established, at a time when they themselves enjoyed a rather precarious toleration. At length, however, Mr. Blair was obliged to enter the lists with one of these opponents, named Freeman. The disputation took place in Antrim Castle; and the question selected by the assailant was the doctrine of reprobation. A more modest divine might have chosen for debate a topic less awful and mysterious: but Arminianism was then the great theme of theological investigation; and Freeman—who had read some of the books of the Dutch Remonstrants—vainly imagined that he had mastered all difficulties. He soon, however, discovered his mistake. Blair—who was an accomplished scholar—had carefully studied the subject; and he was a ready speaker, as well as a powerful reasoner. In the hands of such an adversary the rash impugner of Calvinism could make only a feeble struggle. He quickly became embarrassed; and was compelled to admit his discomfiture.[2]

Trials of a more formidable character awaited the Presbyterian ministers. Of late, high church principles had been rapidly making way in England; and, in consequence, the Puritans were exposed to new troubles for nonconformity. Irish Protestantism was doomed to suffer from the same blighting influence. The Primate of Armagh listened with interest to the reports of the great revival in Down and Antrim; but the Bishop of London, the future Primate of Canterbury, heard of it with far different feelings—for it showed that the Head of the Church was putting special honour on such ministers as he was disposed to disown and persecute. Ussher invited Blair, the most eminent of the Presbyterian pastors, to his house at Drogheda;[3] treated

[1] Adair's *Narrative*, p. 27. [2] *Ibid.* p. 30.

[3] The Archbishop of Armagh had a residence in Palace Street, Drogheda, and another at Termonfechan, a few miles distant, from which many of his letters were

him, during his visit, with marked kindness; obtained from him a minute account of his theological sentiments; and was gratified to find that his guest held identically his own views of the articles of the Christian faith. When Blair even proceeded to urge his objections to the English ritual, the archbishop, instead of being offended by his freedom, candidly admitted that his statements were unanswerable. "I perceive," said his Grace, "you'll never be satisfied therein, for still you inquire what ought to be done? I confess all things you except against might—yea, ought to be removed—but that cannot be done."[1] The Primate at the same time gave intimation to his visitor of mischief meditated against himself and his Presbyterian brethren. He expressed his fears, as Blair himself informs us, that their "disaffection" to the ceremonies of the established Church would "mar" their labours; he stated that "he had been importuned to stretch forth his hand against them:" he declared that, "though he would not for the world do that, he was afraid instruments would be found" to undertake it: and he added that "it would break his heart if their successful ministry in the North were interrupted."[2] It soon appeared that the Primate had too good grounds for giving these notes of alarm.

Laud—appointed about this time to the See of London—had already acquired great political influence. Though "to win souls was no part of his knowledge,"[3] he acted as if the chief end of a bishop was to extinguish nonconformity. "His bigotry," says a well-informed writer of his own Church, "was shown in an uncompromising and rigid adherence to the ceremonial parts of religion; and this quality, joined with a total want of courtesy, . . . rendered his piety suspected."[4]

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written. The house at Termonfechan was destroyed in the Rebellion of 1641, and never afterwards rebuilt. The palace in Drogheda was repaired after the Restoration, and continued to be the residence of the Primate until the appointment of Archbishop Boulter. It was then suffered to go to ruin, and there is now difficulty in tracing its site. Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 74, 75, *note*.

[1] Adair's *Narrative*, p. 25.

[2] Blair quoted by Reid, i. 137.

[3] Carwithen, ii. 73-4.

[4] These are the words of a learned episcopalian. See Carwithen's *History of the Church of England*, ii. 74. Second edition. Oxford, 1849.

Instead of rejoicing at the success which attended the labours of the Presbyterian ministers in the North of Ireland, he was filled with indignation; for he could not comprehend how there could be any true religion which did not flow through the channel of episcopacy. Echlin, Bishop of Down and Connor, in whose diocese the Scottish preachers were labouring, soon received a hint from head-quarters that he must permit no irregularities within the bounds of his jurisdiction. In June 1630, Blair and Livingston, then in Scotland, were present at the celebrated revival connected with the dispensation of the Lord's Supper at the Kirk of Shotts; and their proceedings on that occasion gave new offence to the abettors of ritualism. Charges were accordingly preferred against them by some of the Scottish prelatists; and in consequence, in September 1631, these two preachers were suspended from the ministry by Echlin."[1]

The parties thus placed under the ban of episcopal discipline appealed to Ussher; and the Primate immediately required the Bishop of Down and Connor to withdraw his sentence. But the matter did not end here. The accusers carried their complaint before the King; and Charles, now completely under the guidance of Laud, sent instructions to the authorities in Ireland to renew the prosecution.[2] Echlin was aware that he had been already blamed for negligence; and he was not the man to refuse to accommodate himself to the will of his royal master. He accordingly issued citations, not only to the two ministers already condemned, but also to two others noted for their zeal and pastoral ability; and, when they refused to pledge themselves to conformity, he pronounced on them all a sentence of deposition. They long sought redress in vain. After much solicitation they obtained a brief period of indulgence; but soon afterwards the spirit of intolerance prevailed, and the door of the Church was completely closed against nonconformity.

The injury inflicted on the best interests of religion in Ireland by these high-handed proceedings cannot well be

[1] Reid, i. 135.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 138.

over-estimated. Down and Antrim now experienced the blessing of a great spiritual awakening: all ranks felt the holy influence: and not a few exhibited the clearest evidences of genuine conversion: but just at the time when the Gospel was so wonderfully revealing its quickening and transforming energy, its light was put out by an episcopal extinguisher. The ministers, now deposed, preached the doctrines recognized by law, and embodied in the Confession so recently adopted: it was plain, from their fruits, that these doctrines were the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation: even Popery quailed before them, for the most accomplished Jesuit could not grapple with their iron logic and their triumphant appeals to Scripture testimony: but they must be discountenanced and suppressed, because they were offensive to an arbitrary king and a corrupt hierarchy. Thus were the fairest hopes of the Church in Ireland nipped in the bud; and a living Christianity was sacrificed to the idol of uniformity.

In January 1632 Lord Wentworth was appointed Viceroy of Ireland. He was, however, detained long in England; and he did not reach Dublin till July 1633.[1] The career of this able but unfortunate statesman is well known to all readers of English history; and Ireland was the theatre where he performed not a few of his most daring acts of tyranny and oppression. Adopting the policy of Laud, he resolved to assimilate the Church of this country to the Church of England; and he was not very scrupulous as to the means he employed when carrying out his determination. He brought with him to Ireland, in the capacity of chaplain, the famous Dr. Bramhall, a divine who had already distinguished himself in the department of polemic theology. Bramhall was a great stickler for rites and ceremonies: he had an intense antipathy to Calvinism; and he believed that religion could be best propagated, not so much by the preach-

[1] In this year an organ was, for the first time, introduced into Cork Cathedral. Richard Boyle was then bishop of the diocese. See Brady's *Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, iii. 53.

ing of the word, as by discipline enforced by State authority.[1] As he enjoyed a high reputation for learning, and as he possessed much energy of character, Wentworth expected that he would be able, to a great extent, to counteract the influence of Ussher—who had no sympathy with either Arminianism or Ritualism. Immediately after his arrival in Ireland he was appointed on a Royal Commission authorized to examine the state of the Episcopal Establishment, and to report the result of its inquiries to Government. The abuses brought to light by the Commissioners abundantly proved that the Church had been little better than a den of thieves. "The bishoprics were wretchedly dilapidated by fee-farm grants and long leases at small rents, granted partly by the Popish bishops in Queen Elizabeth's reign,[2] who resolved to carry away with them as much as they could, . . . and partly by their Protestant successors, who might fear, perhaps, another turn of affairs; and, following the example of their predecessors, condescended to the same arts. By these means, many bishoprics were made as low as sacrilege could make them. Cloyne was reduced to five marks,[3] . . . Aghadoe and Ardfert, in the county of Kerry, were reduced respectively, the latter to about 60*l.* a year, and the former to 1*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* Of Limerick, about five parts in six were made away in fee-farms or encroached on by the undertakers. Cashel, Emly, Waterford, Lismore, and Killaloe, all make the same complaint. Cork and Ross fared the best of any. . . . But, with this exception, there was not one bishopric in the province of Cashel that had not the print of the sacrilegious paw upon it. . . . Simony also was another evil which was found to prevail very generally with the patrons of ecclesiastical benefices."[4]

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[1] Vesey, in his *Life of Bramhall*, thus describes the policy of Wentworth:—"He knew all men are not to be preached and disputed, but to be governed into virtue and piety, peace and unity." See Mant, i. 470. Such appears to have been also the opinion of Bramhall.

[2] Mant here unwittingly admits the total inaccuracy of his previous statement, that only two bishops refused to conform to Protestantism in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth. See before, vol. i., p. 379, *note* (2).

[3] A mark was value for 13*s.* 4*d.* See Ware's *Antiquities*, ch. xxv.

[4] Mant, i. 445, 446.

The Royal Commissioners were certainly not disposed to exaggerate the scandals which they found in existence; and yet, had we not their own explicit testimony, we might have hesitated to believe that any Protestant Church, so soon after the Reformation, could have been in such a condition of degeneracy. "It is hard to say," observes Bramhall, "whether the churches be more ruinous and sordid, or the people irreverent. Even in Dublin, the metropolis of this kingdom and seat of justice . . . we find one parochial church converted to the Lord Deputy's stable; a second, to a nobleman's dwelling-house; the choir of a third to a tennis-court, and the vicar acts the keeper. . . . The inferior sort of ministers are below all degrees of contempt in respect of their poverty and ignorance. The boundless heaping together of benefices, by *commendams* and *dispensations* in the superiors, is but too apparent. . . . One bishop in the remoter parts of the kingdom doth hold three and twenty benefices with cure. . . . Seldom any suitor petitions for less than three vicarages at a time." Bramhall adds: "It is some comfort to see the Romish ecclesiastics cannot laugh at us, *who come behind none in disunion and scandal.*"[1]

At this period Protestantism had made very little progress even among the gentry of the Pale. A large number of the better educated classes in Dublin—many of the lawyers included—refused to conform; and, in rural districts, almost all persons in the rank of gentlemen were still Roman Catholics.[2] About the time of Wentworth's appointment as Lord Deputy they were menaced with the exaction of the fines incurred by absence from the services of the Establishment.[3] The threat was held out only to remind them of the insecurity of their position—as the Viceroy had no present intention of irritating the recusants. But he was resolved to reconstruct the Church; and, above all, to purge it of the leaven of Puritanism. As he was a man of great ability and penetration, he saw that he must not overlook the higher education of the

[1] Letter from Bramhall to Laud, dated Dublin Castle, August 10th, 1633, quoted by Mant, i. 448, 450, 452.

[2] See Brady's *English State Church in Ireland*, pp. 13, 14, 16. London, 1869.

[3] Leland, iii. 9.

kingdom; and he was not long in Dublin until his attention was turned to the condition of the University. The college was the training school for the ministry of the Establishment; and yet, ever since it had been opened, some of its most prominent office-bearers had been noted for their hostility to the episcopal polity. Its charter contained no provision for the exclusion of nonconformists; it conferred on the Fellows the power of self-government: and some of them had occasionally acted in a way exceedingly offensive to High Churchmen. Whilst the Irish Confession of Faith was a clear exposition of the theology of Puritanism, it condemned, with very little ceremony, a number of the leading principles by which Laud and his party now began to be distinguished. Some of the Fellows appear to have adhered more firmly than others to its Calvinistic teaching: divisions had arisen; a spirit of faction had of late found its way into the seminary; and, from various causes, laxity had prevailed in the administration of academic discipline. Wentworth was determined to permit this license no longer. As preliminary to further changes, Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury, was appointed Chancellor. Dr. Robert Ussher, a Calvinist, but a man of very passive character, was induced to resign his post as Provost; and William Chappell, an Arminian,[1] was selected as his successor. The existing statutes were revised by the new Chancellor:[2] the Fellows were obliged to accept a charter in which their privileges were greatly abridged;[3] and none but those who would exactly conform to the Book of Common Prayer were henceforth to be admitted to places of dignity and profit in the University.

In 1634 Wentworth convened a Parliament; and made arrangements, at the same time, for the meeting of a Convo-

[1] The change does not seem to have promoted the interests of literature. The new Provost suppressed the teaching of both Irish and Hebrew in the University.—Taylor's *History of the University of Dublin*, pp. 234, 235.

[2] Laud was made Archbishop of Canterbury in September 1633.

[3] According to the original College Charter, the Fellows had the right of electing the Provost. According to the new charter that right was reserved to the Crown. The original charter gave the Provost and Fellows the power of making laws for the government of the College. By the new charter the King reserved that power to himself. See Taylor's *History of the University of Dublin*, pp. 23, 24.

cation of the clergy. Bramhall had just now been appointed Bishop of Derry;[1] and his influence was at once felt among the spiritual peers. The prelates, in a petition to the King,[2] gave a most melancholy account of the condition of the parish ministers. "In the whole Christian world," says this memorial, "the rural clergy have not been reduced to such extreme contempt and beggary as in this kingdom, by means of the frequent appropriations, *commendams*, and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights in times of confusion—having their churches ruined, their habitations left desolate, their tithes detained, their glebes concealed, and, by inevitable consequence, an invincible necessity of a general non-residence imposed upon them—whereby the ordinary subjects have been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their prince, civility towards one another, and whereby former wars and insurrections have been occasionally both procreated and maintained."

Measures were now in contemplation calculated to provide a better pastoral support; and this petition was intended to prepare the way for these arrangements. The impoverishment of the Church was, no doubt, to a large extent, the work of its own spiritual guardians; but many of the delinquents had contrived to screen themselves and their heirs from punishment; and the evil could not now be remedied by denouncing their dishonesty or covetousness. Wentworth addressed himself in right earnest to the task of improving the temporalities. Bramhall aided most efficiently; and in a short time, by their united efforts, they succeeded in recovering much misappropriated property, in adding to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, and in augmenting the episcopal revenues.[3]

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[1] Bramhall was appointed to Derry in May 1634, as successor to George Downham, a decided Calvinist and a zealous Protestant. The Convocation met in November 1634.

[2] This petition may be found in Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 169, 170.

[3] Mant, i. 507-510. According to his biographer Vesey, Bramhall "regained to the Church in the compass of four years £30,000—some say £40,000—per annum."—*Ibid.* Hitherto the bishops had been in the habit of making fee-farm grants. They were now restrained by Act of Parliament (10th and 11th of

By the Convocation, the Church was virtually revolutionized. Bramhall dominated in the Upper House; and Wentworth, by the sheer force of brow-beating and intimidation, compelled the Lower House to yield to his wishes.[1] One hundred canons—closely resembling those provided for South Britain in 1603—were framed and adopted. The very first of these canons sanctions the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. "We," it says, "do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops and the whole clergy in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore, if any hereafter shall affirm that *any* of those Articles are in *any part* superstitious or *erroneous*, or such as he may not with a *good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated*, and not absolved before he make a *public* revocation of his error." Another of these canons breathes a still more contracted and exclusive spirit. "Whosoever shall separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the Apostles' rules in the Church of Ireland, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood—accounting the Christians who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of Ireland to be profane and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession—*or shall affirm* and maintain that there are within this realm *other meetings*, assemblies, or *congregations* than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, *which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches*, let him be *excommunicated*, and not restored until he repent and publicly revoke his error."[2]

According to the Act of Uniformity passed in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the Liturgy was to be read in Latin, when English was unintelligible to the congregation.

Charles I., chap. 3) from granting leases for a longer term than twenty-one years; and the leases were to be void if the reserved rents were not one half of the real value of such lands at the time of letting. See Swift's *Arguments against Enlarging the Power of Bishops*. Works, vol. v. 270. London, 1801.

[1] See an account of his proceedings in Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, i. 171-174. See also Leland, iii. 28.

[2] Canon V.

The absurdity of this provision was quite sufficient to secure its neglect; and the Book of Common Prayer, as well as the New Testament, had already been translated into Irish.[1] Bedell exerted himself to good purpose to obtain the sanction of the Convocation for the religious instruction of the natives through the medium of their own tongue; and it is enacted in one of the canons[2] that "where all, or the most part of the people, are Irish," two copies of the Book of Common Prayer and of the Bible in the Irish tongue—one for the minister, and the other for the clerk—shall be provided, "as soon as they may be had," at the "common charge of the parish." No notice is taken in these canons of the Confession drawn up by Ussher in 1615, and hitherto acknowledged as the Creed of the Irish Establishment. The Primate himself fondly believed that it still maintained its authority;[3] and that the English Articles were now merely advanced to a position of co-ordinate importance. But he was here outwitted by Wentworth and Bramhall. The silence of the canons in respect to the Calvinistic formulary, now nearly twenty years in use, was fatal to its claims; and thus it was quietly superseded.

The canons, ratified by royal approbation, were soon brought to bear on the Presbyterian ministers of Down and Antrim. Two of them had just been deposed by Bishop Echlin. It was noticed, as a singular providence, that the bishop survived the sentence only a few months. He was succeeded in the See of Down and Connor by Henry Leslie —a Scotchman of vigorous mind and considerable acquirements, but imperious and intolerant. Immediately after his consecration he silenced Livingston of Killinchy—one of the Presbyterian pastors whose labours had been eminently blessed. At his primary visitation, held at Lisburn in July 1636, the new bishop required the clergy present to subscribe the recently enacted canons; and many of them, who had hitherto been accustomed to the forms of Presbyterian

[1] See before, vol i., p. 406, *note* (2).

[2] Canon XCIV.

[3] See Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 176. It appears that afterwards Ussher required candidates for ordination to sign both the English and the Irish Articles. — *Ibid.*

worship, were most reluctantly obliged to pledge themselves to conformity.[1] Five refused; and he endeavoured, in a private conference, to win them over to obedience. When his efforts at persuasion failed, he summoned his clergy to meet him in Belfast, and there challenged the five refractory preachers to a public disputation. They cheerfully responded to the call: Hamilton of Ballywalter, who had been a member of the Convocation, was selected by his companions in trouble to conduct the debate: and, on the following day, the bishop and the Presbyterian minister discussed the points in dispute between them in presence of a large assembly—composed of the nobility, gentry, and clergy of the diocese. The Bishop of Derry, who seems to have relied much on the controversial skill of Leslie, did not fail to attend on the occasion; and, for several hours, the conference was carried on in the parish church of the town with good temper and great vivacity. But Bramhall—who by this time had apparently discovered that the bishop was not likely to achieve the signal victory on which he had been calculating—at length became impatient; rudely interfered; and induced Leslie to adjourn the meeting. He meanwhile advised him not to resume the discussion, but to proceed at once to pass sentence on the nonconformists. On the following day the five ministers were accordingly deposed.[2]

These proceedings were exceedingly disheartening to the more zealous of the Presbyterian laity, as well as to the ministers. In the hope of enjoying liberty of conscience they had left their native Scotland; and now they saw that they were about to be deprived of freedom to worship God according to their cherished forms in the land of their adop-

[1] Reid, i. 202. Reid adds that these men "in the seclusion of their parishes continued to retain the former modes of worship, to which the people were so firmly attached."—*Ibid.* This statement is confirmed by Bishop Leslie himself, who, in a charge delivered at a visitation held at Lisburn in September 1638, complained "both of the clergy and of the laity for *a general nonconformity* and disobedience to the Church's orders." See Mant, i. 533.

[2] The ministers deposed were Brice of Broadisland or Ballycarry, Ridge of Antrim, Cunningham of Holywood, Colvert of Oldstone, and Hamilton of Ballywalter. Reid, i. 190. Brice died before the sentence of deposition could be carried into effect. Reid, i. 203.

tion. Discouraged by this dark prospect, some of them proposed to emigrate to America. They forthwith built a small vessel; and, in the autumn of 1636, one hundred and forty emigrants, including several ministers, set sail from Belfast Lough for New England.[1] But the winds and waves seemed to conspire against them; and, after having been nearly two months at sea, they were obliged to return, in a very shattered condition, to their port of departure. The ministers now preached to their people, as they had opportunity, in barns and dwelling-houses; but they were in constant danger of imprisonment, as their steps were tracked by watchful and malignant adversaries. About this time Wentworth erected in Dublin a court of High Commission; and thus Protestant nonconformists, as well as Romanists, were subjected to increased annoyance and persecution.[2]

North Britain now became an asylum for Presbyterian ministers ejected from their livings in Ireland for nonconformity; and some of the more pious colonists from Scotland returned to their native country. The progress of events there soon issued in a crisis. In July 1637 an attempt to introduce an obnoxious Liturgy produced a riot in Edinburgh, and terminated in an ecclesiastical revolution. A bond known as "The National Covenant" was now prepared; nobles, gentry, ministers, and people subscribed it with enthusiasm; and the Presbyterians of Scotland, thus firmly united, proved an overmatch for the prelates and their courtly patrons. Almost all the Scotch bishops fled into England in dismay;[3] and the King was compelled to abandon the policy which he had so long cherished. By a General Assembly held at Glasgow towards the close of the year 1638, diocesan epis-

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[1] Reid, i. 190, 204.

[2] Leland, iii. 28.

[3] About this time Archibald Adair, Bishop of Killala, was deprived of his See; and Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, in Scotland, who had fled into England, was appointed to the vacancy thus created. Adair had hesitated to admit Corbet, a Scotch Episcopalian, and the author of several scurrilous attacks on the Covenanters, to a rich living in his diocese. Adderton, or Atherton, Bishop of Waterford, one of the most violent enemies of Adair, was hanged on the Gallows Green, Dublin, on the 5th of December, 1640, for horrible crimes. Adair was now made Bishop of Waterford. He was uncle to Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena. See Reid, i. 264, 293; Clogy, pp. 133, 134; Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 128.

copacy was overturned, and Presbyterian Church government re-established.

The spirit evoked in Scotland quickly extended beyond its borders; and it soon became known to the Irish Privy Council that some of the colonists in Ulster had become Covenanters.[1] Sir Robert Adair, the proprietor of an estate at Ballymena, in the county of Antrim,[2] had attended the Glasgow Assembly in the capacity of a ruling elder; and had thus rendered himself specially odious to Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor.[3] Others in the north-eastern section of the province had also grievously offended the same right reverend dignitary. "All the Puritans in my diocese," says the bishop, "are confident that the arms raised against the King in Scotland[4] will procure them a liberty to set up their own discipline here amongst ourselves; insomuch that many whom I had brought to some measure of conformity have revolted lately; and when I call them in question for it, they scorn my process. . . . It grieveth my heart to hear how many who live in Scotland, coming over hither about matter of trade, do profess openly that they have signed the Covenant, and justify what they have done, as if the justice of this kingdom could not overtake them."[5]

The intolerance of the bishops—stimulated to severity by an arbitrary Government—was not the only grievance of which the Scottish settlers in the North had to complain. Wentworth employed sharp-witted lawyers to examine the conditions in the grants made to them at the time of the Plantation of Ulster; and when any flaw, created by neglect

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[1] Mant, i. 537.

[2] The ancestor of the present proprietor of the Ballymena estate—Lord Waveney.

[3] Mant, i. 527.

[4] This is the language of an interested and bitter partizan, who could not give a candid account of the proceedings of his Presbyterian countrymen. Though they had exhibited a determination not to submit to civil and ecclesiastical despotism, they had not yet been obliged to have recourse to arms in defence of their liberties. But Charles was already preparing for war; and before this time had granted a secret commission to the Roman Catholic Earl of Antrim to raise troops for the invasion of Argyleshire. See Masson's *Life of Milton*, ii. 23.

[5] Letter to the Lord Deputy, dated Lisnegarvie, 22nd September, 1638. Reid, i. 234, 235.

or otherwise, was discovered in a title, he compelled the proprietor to pay a heavy fine for a new conveyance.[1] He pursued this vexatious policy for the base purpose of extorting money to enable the King to govern without the aid of Parliament. Roused by the successful example of their brethren in their native land, many of the Scottish residents in the Northern Province were disposed to combine together in defence of their religion and liberties. But Wentworth was determined, if possible, to prevent such a coalition. He accordingly prepared a form of oath, conceived in the most slavish style of passive obedience, pledging all who took it to honour King Charles, not to "protest against *any* of his royal commands," and not to enter into any covenant for mutual defence "without his Majesty's sovereign and regal authority."[2] A proclamation, dated 21st May, 1639, required all the Scotch in Ulster, above the age of sixteen years, to enter into the engagement. This bond—henceforth commonly known by the odious designation of the BLACK OATH—was imposed alike on males and females. It was enforced, without any authority from Parliament, by the arbitrary will of the chief Governor. The episcopal clergy and churchwardens were required to make a return of all the natives of North Britain resident in their respective parishes; and the oath, when read publicly by magistrates appointed to administer it, was to be taken by the people *on their knees*. Scotchmen who professed to be Roman Catholics were not obliged to swear; but these alone were excused. The names of such as declined thus to pledge themselves were immediately forwarded to Dublin; and officers were dispatched from the seat of government authorized to deal with the recusants according to instructions received from the Lord Deputy.[3]

By exacting this oath, Wentworth hoped so to crush the spirit of the Presbyterians of the North that henceforth they would be amenable to his dictation. He had himself little respect for the demands of conscience; and he could not under-

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[1] Reid, i. 211, 212.

[2] See a full copy of this oath in Reid, i. 247, *note*.

[3] Reid i. 249.

stand the feelings of others who were guided by religious principle. The event proved that he had miserably miscalculated. To his astonishment, many refused to take the oath; and displayed a determination to submit to any penalty rather than enter into an engagement which they abhorred. All were quite ready to pledge themselves to constitutional loyalty; but they were not prepared solemnly to vow unconditionally to do whatever the King pleased. He might require them to convert the holy rest into a day of sports,[1] or to worship the cross, or to renounce their religion. The attempt to enforce the oath only aggravated the dissatisfaction which prevailed, and spread dismay and suffering throughout Ulster. But though the measure evoked such resolute and general opposition, the Viceroy remained inflexible; and the highest penalties, short of death, were inflicted by the officers of Government on all who refused compliance. "Pregnant women were forced to travel considerable distances to the places appointed by the commissioners. If they hesitated to attend, and still more, if they scrupled to swear, they were treated in a barbarous manner; so that crowds of defenceless females fled to the woods, and concealed themselves in caves, to escape their merciless persecutors. Respectable persons, untainted with crimes, were bound together with chains and immured in dungeons. Several were dragged to Dublin, and fined in exorbitant sums, while multitudes fled to Scotland, leaving their houses and properties to certain ruin; and so many of the labouring population abandoned the country that it was scarcely possible to carry forward the necessary work of the harvest."[2]

Wentworth was now fast filling up the measure of his tyranny. His Irish administration had not been altogether unsuccessful. Though, to appease the jealousy of England, he had discouraged the woollen trade, he had exerted himself greatly to promote the linen manufacture; and, under his government, the shipping of the country is said to have

[1] In point of fact, not a few worthy ministers in this reign were severely punished for refusing to read from the pulpit a proclamation encouraging sports on the Lord's Day.

[2] Reid, i. 250.

multiplied one hundred fold.[1] He increased the public revenue, and improved the condition of the army. The Established Church owed him much. He made arrangements for the repair of its ruined edifices; endeavoured to furnish it with a more reputable class of ministers; and contrived to provide for them a more liberal maintenance. He obliged many who had dishonestly obtained possession of ecclesiastical property to restore the unhallowed spoil.[2] But, during the time that he had charge of the affairs of Ireland, he recklessly violated all the principles of constitutional government. He acted as if the people were made for the king; and as if his first duty as a statesman was to strengthen and extend the royal prerogative. About this period he was created Earl of Strafford, in recognition of the services he had rendered to his sovereign. He deported himself towards men of all classes with intolerable hauteur; and everyone who dared to thwart him in his proceedings was marked out for vengeance. He resolved to have a Plantation in Connaught, like that in Ulster; and, to carry out his views, he sought, by the chicanery of law, to invalidate the titles of the landed proprietors of the Western Province. When the Sheriff of Galway and a resolute jury refused to do his bidding, he cited them into the Castle chamber, imposed on them most oppressive fines, and threw them into prison. He detested nonconformists—for they asserted the right of private judgment in a way which he could not endure; and he hated all truly faithful ministers—for he knew that they could not but condemn the laxity of his own morals.

The fall of Strafford was sudden and striking. At the very opening of the Long Parliament—towards the close of the year 1640—he was impeached on the charge of treason, and committed to the Tower. In a few months afterwards he was brought to trial. His influence had already been begin-

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[1] Leland, iii. 41.

[2] "From the Earl of Cork, in particular, the Deputy contrived to wrest about two thousand pounds annual revenue of tythes, which, from the want of incumbents and the disorder of the times, he had gotten into his possession, and converted to appropriations."—LELAND, iii. 27.

ning to wane in Ireland—as the Puritans and Roman Catholics had combined against their common oppressor; and the Lower House of Legislation had drawn up a remonstrance complaining alike of the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Courts, and of the exactions of the episcopal clergy.[1] Strafford's activity, daring, and address, his admitted capacity for business, and the unquestionable benefits which the country had derived from his administration, had long kept him on a vantage-ground. So complete was his ascendency that the Irish Legislature had recently expressed their approbation of his government. But the continued successes of the Scotch Covenanters gave a rude shock to his power; and his friends were no longer able to maintain their supremacy in Ireland. Very soon after his imprisonment, the Commons declared that their late eulogy on the fallen statesman had been surreptitiously inserted[2] among their acts, and that he was in reality the chief author of their national grievances. The King had promised to sustain his favourite against all assailants: but he deserted him in the hour of his extremity, and assented to his execution. On the 12th of May, 1641, in the forty-ninth year of his age, the man who had been the most powerful subject in the three kingdoms was beheaded on Tower Hill—a sacrifice to public justice, and a startling illustration of the instability of human greatness.

Others perished in this political tempest. Wandesford, who had been appointed to administer the government of Ireland in the absence of Strafford, was so confounded when he heard of the impeachment of the Earl, that he sickened and died.[3] A few weeks after the imprisonment of the Irish Lord-Lieutenant, Laud was put under arrest: but upwards of four years passed away before the proceedings relating to him were brought to a termination. At length, in January 1645, the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the seventy-second year of his age, fell by the hand of the public executioner. In March 1641, Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, was impeached for treason

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[1] Leland, iii. 55. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 67. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 63.

and thrown into prison: but, in consequence of the royal interference, he was soon restored to liberty.[1] He survived until another turn in the tide of politics placed him, nearly twenty years afterwards, in a higher ecclesiastical position than any he had yet occupied.

[1] Mant, i, 553.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE DEATH OF STRAFFORD TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. A.D. 1641 TO A.D. 1649.

THE IRISH MASSACRE.—THE DEATH OF BEDELL.—THE PROGRESS OF PRESBYTERIANISM.

ABOUT the time of the death of Strafford, Ireland appeared to be singularly tranquil. There had lately been a change in the attitude of political parties, as the Puritans and Romish recusants had entered into combination, and had thus carried all before them; but meanwhile the public peace had remained unbroken. Romish lawyers were permitted to practise at the bar; Romish magistrates were admitted to the bench; Romish senators sat in the Upper as well as in the Lower House of Parliament; and, in most parts of the country, the Romish worship was freely tolerated.[1] But withal, the embers of discontent were smouldering, and a terrible outburst was at hand.

The Plantation of Ulster had been eulogized as a most successful effort of British statesmanship; and it had, no doubt, produced a wonderful change on the face of the Northern Province; for well-built houses and stately castles now adorned the landscape; and dreary woods had been converted into fertile fields: but the old inhabitants, who had once been owners of the lands, looked with little favour on

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[1] Warner's *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland*, i. 2 (Dublin, 1768); O'Conor's *Historical Address*, Part ii. 302.

these signs of progress. The attempts of Strafford to invalidate the titles of proprietors in other parts of Ireland, and to extend the system of plantation, had created the deepest dissatisfaction and alarm. Government had acted again and again towards the occupiers of the soil with the most barefaced injustice; and the native Irish were impressed with the conviction that, if not delivered from the yoke of England, they were doomed to extirpation. The Anglo-Irish,[1] who now constituted a large portion of the population, were almost equally discontented. They also had been threatened with loss of property, involved in expensive litigation, and robbed under the forms of law. With few exceptions, they still remained attached to the Romish worship; but the toleration which they were permitted to enjoy was not guaranteed by any act of the legislature, so that they were constantly at the mercy of the existing administration. Other elements contributed to unsettle the public mind. As the law of gavelkind had ceased, and as clanship had also been legally extinguished, society had entered on a new phase, and its new relations had not yet been properly adjusted. Younger sons found themselves without any inheritance, and without any lawful means of subsistence.[2] These youths, notwithstanding their poverty, still claimed the rank of gentlemen; they had no profession but that of arms; many of them prowled about in idleness, or acted as free-booters; and all of them were prepared to welcome any revolution likely to engage them in military service, or open up to them a prospect of bettering their condition. They had been scanning with the utmost interest the recent movements of the Scottish Covenanters; and had seen how the people of North Britain had been able to maintain their ground against royal encroachments. The Irish, in a coming struggle, hoped to be equally successful.

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[1] Sir John Davis, writing in 1612, states that, since the time of Henry II, "there have been so many English colonies planted in Ireland as that, if the people were numbered at this day by the poll, such as are descended of English race would be found *more in number* that the ancient natives."—*Discovery of the True Causes*, &c., p. 3. See a similar statement in Leland, iii. 60, endorsed by the Irish House of Commons of 1640. See also *Cambrensis Eversus*, iii. 146, 147.

[2] See O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part ii., p. 313.

Before the Reformation, the English monarch could always reckon on the aid of the Pope in his government of Ireland. Then, even bishops and archbishops marched to the battle-field against the natives when they broke out into rebellion. But the Romish clergy were now among the most zealous fomenters of disloyalty. Their spiritual chief in Italy encouraged them to pursue this course. He had excommunicated Queen Elizabeth; he had exhorted her subjects to renounce her authority; he had stirred them up to revolt by the proclamation of indulgences; he had sent foreign troops to assist them in rebellion; and he had furnished them with arms and ammunition. He had subsequently forbidden them to take the oath of allegiance to the reigning Sovereign. Romish bishops and priests were now the great agents for carrying on a treasonable correspondence between Ireland and the continent.[1] In the foreign seminaries where they had been educated, they had been taught to entertain very extravagant views of papal power, as well as to cherish a bitter antipathy to England; and in the political plots which disturbed the peace of the Western Isle, they were deeply implicated. About this time their movements on the Continent had already awakened apprehension. In the spring of 1641, the Irish Lords Justices had been informed by a member of the English Cabinet that "an unspeakable number of Irish Churchmen" had lately returned home, and that a whisper ran "among the Irish friars in Spain—as if they expected a rebellion in Ireland."[2] The state of public affairs in South Britain at this crisis encouraged their disaffection. The enemies of arbitrary power in England had been emboldened to assume a tone of more decided opposition; and the rupture between the King and the Parliament, which soon led to civil

[1] A candid Roman Catholic nobleman, who lived at this period, and who soon afterwards held high military command among the Confederate Irish, bears testimony to this fact. "The Irish monasteries and seminaries," says he, "in so many countries of Europe, and very many of the Churchmen returning home out of them, and *chiefly the titular bishops*, together with the *superiors of regular orders*, took an effectual course, under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity."—CASTLEHAVEN'S *Memoirs*, pp. 13, 14. ed. Dublin, 1815.

[2] Warner, i. 7.

war, had already commenced. The Irish malcontents believed that their opportunity had at length arrived; and they were desirous to attempt at once to strike some decisive blow, as there were now in the country a number of recently disbanded soldiers[1] on whose co-operation they could calculate.

The rebellion which broke out on the 23rd of October, 1641, presents scenes of atrocity which no native of Ireland can describe without a feeling of humiliation. This insurrection had no resemblance whatever to the late movement in Scotland. The people of North Britain proceeded quietly and constitutionally. As they arranged their plans with skill, and carried them out with vigour and success, they secured the respect of the most enlightened statesmen in the three kingdoms. The Irish rushed into rebellion like savages let loose to commit murder; they suddenly converted the land into a field of blood; their barbarities awakened everywhere a sentiment of horror; they were soon firmly resisted; and they discovered, in the end, that they had only aggravated their own miseries. A few of the more humane and intelligent of the original conspirators condemned, no doubt, the butcheries now perpetrated; but the people had been long encouraged by the exhortations of their priesthood to execrate the English and Scottish planters; so that when the restraints of law were withdrawn, their pent-up wrath burst forth like the eruption of a volcano. With all the fury of fanaticism they repeated the bloody tragedy enacted at Paris nearly seventy years before on the dreadful day of St. Bartholomew. The rebellion commenced in Ulster; and for a short time the Scottish residents were unmolested; but, as soon as the assailants encountered effective opposition, all classes of settlers were treated alike with horrid cruelty. Within a fortnight after their first appearance in arms, no less than thirty thousand northerns had joined the standard of revolt;[2] and this whole mass was animated with the most intense hatred towards everything British and Protestant. The insurgents designed to expel all the English and Scottish

[1] These had been enlisted by Strafford with a view to support the King. They were almost all Roman Catholics.

[2] Haverty says "by the end of the *first week*." 520. See also Leland, iii. 118.

colonists from the country: to recover possession of all forfeited estates; and to re-establish the ascendency of Romanism. They professed to be prompted by religious zeal; and yet nothing could be more unlike the spirit of the Gospel than the ferocity and wickedness which they manifested. They were stimulated to action by the clergy;[1] but the foul deeds which they performed cast a lurid light on the theology in which they had been indoctrinated. The widow of a magistrate in the county of Monaghan afterwards declared on oath that, on the *very first day* of the insurrection, the rebels killed her husband and thirty-two other persons.[2] On the following day, Maguire, a chief of the conspirators, murdered at least one hundred persons in a single district.[3] In the depths of a most inclement winter, Protestant planters of all ages were stripped naked; driven from their homes; and left to perish in the snow in the open fields. On one occasion, Sir Phelim O'Neill—the leader of the Northern Irish—commanded *all* the Protestants *in three adjacent parishes* to be massacred[4]—and the bloody order was fulfilled. At one time one hundred and ninety persons—men, women, and children included—were precipitated from the bridge of Portadown;[5]

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[1] Warner says:—"The priests had so infatuated, and made such cruel impressions upon the minds of the people *on their first success*, that they held it *a mortal sin* to give any manner of relief or protection to the English."—*History of the Rebellion*, i. 73.

[2] Warner, i. 72. It must be remembered that Warner is disposed to estimate the murders at a comparatively low figure; and yet he admits this fact. He admits also that Sir Phelim O'Neill "began the *massacre*" at the end of "the *first* week."—*History of the Rebellion*, i. 106.

[3] Warner, i. 72. On the very day on which the rebellion began, Rory Magui e hanged not less than eighteen persons in the church of Clones, and then set fire to the edifice. Borlase, p. 57. London, 1680. On the same day, in one parish in the County of Fermanagh, the rebels murdered fifteen English Protestants. Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. v., p. 610. On the day after the commencement of the rebellion (24th October, 1641) 196 English Protestants, including men, women and children, were drowned at the bridge at Portadown. *Ibid.* p. 613.

[4] This fact is admitted by the late Roman Catholic historian Moore. See Moore's *History of Ireland*, iv. 228. See also Leland, iii 127; and Warner, i. 105. According to O'Conor, a Roman Catholic writer, minutely acquainted with the history of this period, "the order for *an indiscriminate massacre* was issued from Sir Phelim O'Neill's camp on the 30th of October, 1641"—exactly one week after the commencement of the rebellion. See O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part ii. 244.

[5] Leland, iii. 127.

and there is credible evidence that one thousand in all perished there in the same manner.[1] Timid and superstitious survivors were long afterwards struck with terror as they approached the spot; and imagined that they saw the bodies of the martyred Protestants floating on the water.[2] The roads were covered with fugitives—many of them almost in a state of nudity—fleeing for their lives to Dublin or some other place of security.[3]

The Presbyterian pastors had already been driven from the country by High Church intolerance, and were thus graciously preserved from destruction. Many of the best of the Presbyterian colonists, by the same wonderful providence, were placed beyond the reach of the rebels. But the fury of the insurgents fell, with frightful violence, on the episcopal clergy.[4] In one district of Ulster, thirty Protestant ministers were murdered.[5] A still greater number, who escaped the sword, died in circumstances of extreme wretchedness.[6] The rebels displayed alike their ignorance and profanity by their treatment of the Word of God. The Bible, when found by them, was torn to pieces, and trampled in the mire. "This book," they exclaimed, "has bred all the quarrel."[7] Strange, indeed,

[1] Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion*, pp. 142, 192, 193. Cork, 1766. Roman Catholic writers have a very simple method of getting rid of the evidence in such cases. They ignore contemporary testimony, reject the statements of such well-informed authorities as Temple and Borlase, and refuse to believe the depositions in Trinity College Library. Curry declares that should "these thirty-two volumes of original depositions, with all their dates, be made public," there would still be "a just and invincible bar to their being credited by any candid or intelligent reader."—*Hist. Memoirs*, p. 65; fourth edition. Dublin, 1770. It is not strange that Roman Catholic bishops are so much opposed to the study of history as a branch of general education.

[2] Many of these tales of apparitions were told, not by the Protestants, but *by the rebels*. See Temple, pp. 193, 194, 205. Warner and others have strangely overlooked this fact.

[3] Hume's *History of England*, chap. lv. "Their hatred to the English . . . . extended even to the poor cattle—*many thousands* of which they destroyed with the most senseless and lingering tortures, merely for being English."—WARNER, i. 106.

[4] Reid, i. 329. [5] *Ibid.* i. 331.

[6] *Ibid.* i. 331. The names of many of the ministers put to death are there given by Reid.

[7] "They have torn it in pieces, kicked it up and down, treading it under foot, with leaping thereon; they causing a bag-pipe to play the while, laying also the

that men who professed to walk in the ways of Patrick, Columbkille, and Columbanus, should have exhibited such hatred to the Holy Scriptures! But they thus only followed the teaching of their present spiritual instructors, and proved how far they had apostatized from the faith of the ancient saints of Ireland.

The loss of life occasioned by the Irish Rebellion has been very variously estimated. Some have ventured to assert, in the face of the plainest evidence, that there was no massacre at all:[1] whilst others have absurdly maintained that the number of the murdered amounted to hundreds of thousands.[2] We do not, perhaps, greatly err if we set down the Protestants who perished by violence, within a year after the commencement of the insurrection, at little less than forty thousand.[3] It so happened that two opposite parties at

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leaves in the kennel, leaping and trampling thereupon, saying, 'A plague on it, this book hath bred all the quarrel,' hoping within three weeks all the Bibles in Ireland should be so used or worse, and that none should be left in the kingdom; and while two Bibles were in burning, saying, that it was hell-fire that was burning, wishing they had all the Bibles of Christendom that they might use them so." *The Remonstrance of the Poor Despoiled and Distressed Ministers of the Gospel in Ireland*, presented to the English House of Commons in March 1642, and ordered to be printed by them on the 21st of that month. The facts stated in this *Remonstrance* are all attested by evidence given on oath appended to it. See Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. v., p. 519. London, 1811.

[1] Curry, in his *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion in the year* 1641, has endeavoured to show that "few or no murders" were committed at the outbreak of the rebellion; and Haverty asserts that "nothing can be more *unjust and false* than to describe the outbreak of this war as a massacre."—*Hist. of Ireland*, p. 521. It may be truly said, in reply, that nothing can exceed the impudence and falsehood of such statements.

[2] It is but fair to inform the reader that the statement of Sir John Temple on this subject has often been misrepresented. His words are: "There being since the Rebellion first broke out unto the time of the Cessation made September 15th, 1643—which was not full two years after—above 300,000 British and Protestants cruelly murdered in cold blood, *destroyed some other way, or expelled out of their habitations* . . . . besides those few which perished in the heat of fight during the war."—*Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 10. Those "expelled out of their habitations" were far more numerous than those murdered; but still this calculation must be erroneous; as at that time there were not 300,000 British Protestants in all Ireland. See p. 52, *note* (4) of this volume.

[3] According to Sir William Petty (*Political Anatomy*, chap. iv.) "37,000 were massacred in the first year of the tumults." Petty was a contemporary; he was well acquainted with the whole country: he was conversant with calculations of

different times had an interest in magnifying the slaughter. At an early period of the rebellion, the Roman Catholics sought to strike terror into the settlers by telling of the immense multitudes destroyed;[1] and, at a subsequent date, the Protestants endeavoured to justify the extensive forfeitures of property by exaggerating the butchery. It is clear that wholesale atrocities—rarely paralleled in the annals of crime—were now perpetrated all over Ireland,[2] but especially in Ulster. The traditions of the country, the testimony of contemporary writers who possessed the best means of information,[3] the proclamations of the government, the acts of

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this kind; and no man in the empire was more competent to form a correct estimate. Clarendon calculates that 40,000 or 50,000 perished. Warner, an English clergyman, who wrote upwards of a century ago, has formed a very low estimate. He states that "the numbers of people killed, *upon positive evidence*, collected in two years after the insurrection broke out, adding them all together, amounts only to 2,109; on the report of other Protestants, 1,619 more; and, on the report of some of the rebels themselves, a further number of 300, the whole making 4,028. Besides these murders, there is . . . . evidence, on the report of others, of 8,000 killed by ill-usage."—*Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 9. The whole number would thus, according to Warner, amount to 12,028. Dr. Reid has shown that Warner's statements, relative to the depositions in Dublin College, are totally erroneous. See *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, vol. i. 340.

[1] The friars justified their falsehoods by saying that "in all wars, rumours and lies served many times to as good purpose as arms."—WARNER, i. 79. A witness examined on oath, before commissioners appointed for the purpose, on the 22nd of April, 1642, deposed that "the account of the persons killed by the rebels from the time of the beginning of the Rebelion, October 23rd, 1641, unto the month of April following, was, *as the priests weekly gave it in*, in their several parishes, 105,000."—TEMPLE, p. 164. According to the testimony of Dr. Maxwell, afterwards Bishop of Kilmore, "the rebels themselves told him that they murdered 954 *in one morning* in the County of Antrim." Temple, p. 191. O'Mahony, an Irish Jesuit, in a work published in 1645, confessed that his party had then cut off 150,000 heretics. Reid, i. 338, *note*. Sir Phelim O'Neill reported that "he killed 600 English at Garvagh, in the County of Derry, and that he had left neither man, woman, nor child alive in the barony of Munterlony in County Tyrone."—TEMPLE, p. 192.

[2] See an account of the murder of one hundred English at Shruel in Connaught. Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 110, *note*. The Romish clergy were here the main instigators to rebellion. They excommunicated all who dared to oppose their wishes. *Ibid.* pp. 110, 111, 113, *note*.

[3] Sir John Temple, says Warner, "was Master of the Rolls and a Privy Councillor . . . . and the sense of what he suffered by the Insurrection . . . . led him to aggravate the crimes and cruelties of the Irish." Dr. Borlase "was the son of Sir John Borlase, one of the Lords Justices at that time, and seems to

the legislature, and the admissions of those who would have repelled the charge had it been capable of refutation,[1] all point to the same conclusion. The declaration of Lord Castlehaven, a Roman Catholic peer, who was a prominent actor in many of the scenes of this stirring era, clearly attests the view taken by that nobleman of the whole proceeding. "As for the massacre that ensued," says his Lordship, "it was certainly very barbarous and inhuman.[2] . . . I thought fit to publish something, setting forth my own story,—not to excuse the rebellion, or those who were forced into it, as I was,—it having *begun most bloodily* on the English in that kingdom, in a time of settled peace, *without the least occasion given*."[3]

This horrid butchery has long been felt to be a dreadful stain on the reputation of the Roman Catholic Church; as it can be shown that priests and friars had a large share in concocting and promoting the rebellion.[4] At a meeting in the Abbey of Multifernan in Westmeath, held about a fortnight before the commencement of hostilities, some of the clergy present recommended a general massacre[5] as the safest and most effectual method of putting down Protestant ascendency: and, though others denounced such inhumanity, and

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have been an officer in the Civil War."—*Pref. to Hist.*, xi. In ordinary circumstances such men would be considered very respectable witnesses; and they substantiate their statements by documentary or sworn evidence.

[1] Even French, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ferns, who now took an active part on the side of the rebels, admits that the Romanists were "the first aggressors." See his *Bleeding Iphigenia*, preface, pp. 40, 44. Again in his *Settlement and Sale of Ireland* (pp. 107-8) he says:—"I will not take upon me to justify their first rising," though, like others of his party, he tries to show that the estimate of the numbers murdered is exaggerated. See his *Historical Works*, vol. i. Dublin, 1846.

[2] The Earl of Castlehaven's *Review of his Memoirs*, p. 16. Dublin, 1815.

[3] To the *Reader*, xiii. Mr. Hill must have been unacquainted with the facts here stated when, in his *Historical Account of the Macdonnells of Antrim*, he affirmed (p. 66, *note*) that "at first, *not even an insinuation* was expressed *of any massacre* committed on the Protestants!"

[4] It is, however, but fair to say that, notwithstanding all the Bulls of the Popes, a number of the priests abhorred this butchery. They were, however, in the minority. See O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part i., p. 55.

[5] "Such," says Leland, "is the account of this assembly given by a Franciscan, who alleged that he was present and a sharer in those deliberations."—Leland, iii. 106. As to the meeting at Multifernan see Lord Somers's *Tracts*, vol. v., p. 592. See also O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 242.

proposed a milder course, the plan of slaughter was not formally condemned. The result proved that it was not forgotten. Evor McMahon, Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor,[1] prompted Sir Phelim O'Neill to the commission of some of his most revolting atrocities.[2] The Roman Catholic clergy of all grades appear ever and anon upon the stage during the worst scenes of this dismal tragedy. But these fathers and brethren of the church militant at length found themselves in a wofully false position. The failure of the conspirators to surprise the Castle of Dublin,[3] and obtain possession of its warlike stores, gave, at the outset, a decisive check to the rebellion; and the terrible retribution, which soon followed, illustrated the folly as well as the wickedness of the massacre. Romish writers at length began to extenuate or deny the crimes imputed to their co-religionists; but the manner in which they meet the accusations preferred against them, only shows how hopeless and hollow is any attempt at vindication. In vain they assert that the official documents issued at the time supply no evidence of a massacre.[4] Nothing can be more decisive than the testimony of these very memorials. Nine days after the breaking out of the rebellion the Irish Lords Justices declare that "many disloyal and malignant persons . . . have *most inhumanly* made *destruction and*

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[1] This bishop, it appears, with the exception of Latin, "spoke no other language than the Irish."—O'CONOR'S *Hist. Address*, part ii. 209. He had, at a former period, betrayed his party to the Government. Leland, iii. 91.

[2] Reid, i. 324.

[3] This was prevented by Owen O'Connolly, a Presbyterian and a convert from Popery. Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, i. 319. His family is said to have lost their property by confiscation; and one of the chief conspirators, supposing that he would enter readily into a scheme for its recovery, revealed to him the plot on the very night before the castle was to be surprised. He immediately communicated the intelligence to the Lords Justices, and thus the kingdom was saved.

[4] This groundless allegation, to be found in earlier writers, has been more recently repeated by Lingard. See his *History of England*, vol. x., p. 402. London, 1847. Prendergast, in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland* (second edition. London, 1870. p. 61), has also asserted that "the letters of the Lords Justices *during the first months of the Rebellion* are silent concerning any massacre." The evidence here furnished in the text and notes demonstrates the absurdity of such statements.

devastation of the persons and estates of divers of his Majesty's good and loyal subjects, . . . and taken, *slain*, and imprisoned *great numbers of them*."[1] Three days afterwards the same Lords Justices announce that the insurgents "had already *slain many most barbarously*, hewed some to pieces, and exposed *thousands* to want and beggary who had good estates and lived plentifully."[2] The Lords and Commons of England, in an order published in the same month, commence by stating that they have been "advertised of the dangerous conspiracy and rebellion in Ireland, by the treacherous and wicked instigations of Romish priests and Jesuits, for the *bloody massacre* and destruction of *all Protestants* living there."[3] Charles I. himself, in a proclamation dated at Westminster on the 1st of January, 1642, speaks to the same effect. "Divers lewd and wicked persons," says his Majesty, "have of late risen in rebellion in our kingdom of Ireland . . . dispossessed many of our good and loyal subjects of the British nation and Protestants of their houses and lands, robbed and spoiled *many thousands* of our good subjects of the British nation and Protestants of their goods to great values, *massacred multitudes* of them, imprisoned many others, and some who have the honour to serve us as Privy Councillors of that our kingdom."[4]

Evidence has already been adduced to prove that the massacre commenced at the breaking out of the rebellion;[5]

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[1] See Lord Gormanstown's commission by the Lords Justices and Council, dated Castle of Dublin, November 2nd, 1641. Cox, ii., appendix viii.; Rushworth, iv. [409].

[2] Rushworth, iv. [410]. In another letter of the same date (5th November, 1641) to the Speaker of the English House of Commons, the Irish Lords Justices say:—"This kingdom and the lives of us all here, and all the Protestants in the kingdom were never in so great danger to be lost as at this instant—*no age having produced in this kingdom an example of so much mischief done in so short a time* as now we find acted here in less than a fortnight's space, *by killing and destroying of so many English and Protestants* in several parts, by robbing and spoiling of them and *many thousands more* of his Majesty's good subjects."—Nalson, ii. 893. We are to remember that Ireland had often before been the scene of awful massacres.

[3] Borlase, p. 36; Cox, ii. 81.

[4] See Borlase, p. 53, where the royal proclamation is given at length. See also Nalson, vol. ii. 809-10.

[5] See before, p. 36, note (4). In Lord Somers's *Tracts* (vol. v. p. 621), there

but it was not to be expected that the authorities in Dublin would be immediately apprised of all the barbarities committed.[1] There were cases in which not a single Protestant was left to tell the tale: and as many parts of the country were completely in the hands of the insurgents, it was often impossible for those who escaped the carnage to convey very speedy information. Owen O'Connolly, who discovered the plot[2] in time to prevent the seizure of Dublin Castle, then reported to the Lords Justices that a scheme had been laid to *destroy all the Protestants* of Ireland[3]; and the result demonstrated that he had not been misinformed. The very next day the murders commenced; and those who were not killed on the spot were driven away naked and penniless from their dwellings. In every district, where the insurgents had sufficient power, the scheme of extirpation, either by death or expulsion, was rigorously executed.[4]

The allegation that very few persons were killed until the Protestants themselves commenced a massacre is a silly and transparent falsehood.[5] It cannot appeal for support to a

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is a copy of the sworn deposition of George Cottingham, parson of Monaghan, who, about the 30th of October, 1641, was cast with forty-eight others into a small and horrible dungeon where they were nearly stifled. Many of these were eventually either murdered with skeans, hanged, or drowned.

[1] Curry, in his *Historical Memoirs* (p. 66), lays great stress upon the circumstance that, in a letter of the Lords Justices of Ireland to the Lord-Lieutenant in England, dated 25th October, 1641, no mention is made of murders committed. It is obvious that almost nothing could then have been known in Dublin of what had happened in Ulster only two days before. The government must have been quite ignorant of the general state of the province.

[2] He is described in the copy of his examination as "Owen O'Connolly, gentleman." He wore a sword, and though in the employment of Sir John Clotworthy, he seems to have held a respectable position. He obtained a pension from Parliament for his services on this occasion.

[3] See his examination taken on the night of the 22nd October, 1641, in Rushworth, iv. 399.

[4] It has been commonly supposed that the Protestants of Cavan escaped better than those of other parts of Ulster at this time; but Clogy, the son-in-law of Bedell, who was on the spot, assures us that the Bishop was "*the only Englishman in all the County of Cavan* that was permitted to stay under his own roof." *Memoir*, p. 180.

[5] The following is a specimen of the accounts given by certain parties as to the origin of the massacre:—"The *beginning of November* was marked by the barbar-

single shred of evidence. When the bloody carnival began, the English and Scottish settlers were living at ease, totally unprepared for any such outbreak. In almost all parts of the country they were far outnumbered by the natives; and it would have been more than madness for the colonists to have engaged in an aggressive warfare. They were often either murdered or swept out of a district, before they had any opportunity of combining for self-defence. The assertion that a murderous outrage committed by Protestants, at Island Magee,[1] near Carrickfergus, in the County of Antrim, was "the first massacre" perpetrated at this melancholy period, is a disgraceful fabrication. Neither then, nor for many years afterwards, did the Roman Catholics venture to produce any such apology.[2] It became current, for the first

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ous slaughter committed *by the Scottish garrison of Carrickfergus* in the Island Magee. *Three thousand persons* are said to have been driven into the fathomless North Sea, over the cliffs of that island, or to have perished by the sword. The ordinary inhabitants could not have exceeded *one-tenth as many*, but the presence of so large a number may be accounted for by the *supposition* that they had fled from the mainland across the peninsula which is left dry at low water, and were pursued to their last refuge by *the infuriated Covenanters*. *From this date forward* until the accession of Owen Roe O'Neill to the command, the northern war *assumed a ferocity of character* foreign to the nature of O'Moore, O'Reilly, and Magennis."—*Hist. of Ireland* by Thos. D'Arcy McGee, ii. 106-7. Haverty makes much the same statement. *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 523. It may be sufficient to observe that *in the beginning of November* 1641 almost the whole of the County of Antrim was in the hands of the insurgents. The Protestants had been swept from the open country, and with difficulty repelled their assailants in a few of the towns. There was no Scottish garrison in Carrickfergus until the following April; and the Black Oath had already driven almost all the Covenanters out of the north. It may be added that this version of the affair is quite a late invention, without any historical support whatever. According to the tale of 1662, the Carrickfergus garrison murdered "*all the inhabitants of the Island Magee to the number of about* 3,000." See Moran's *Persecutions*, p. 217. This tale being proved false, the new version became necessary.

[1] In 1641 there was a mixed population in Island Magee, a considerable number being Protestants. According to an old and apparently well-founded tradition, several Roman Catholics were preserved from the massacre by a Presbyterian, named Hill, who hid them in a corn kiln. Some of the descendants of this good man still reside in the parish. See McSkimin's *History and Antiquities of Carrickfergus*, p. 45, third edition. Belfast, 1832.

[2] It is very significant that, in the famous *Remonstrance of the Catholics*, dated Trim, March 17th, 1642 (1643), though so many other apologies are given for the proceedings of the insurgents, and though the cruelties of Sir Charles Coote are

time, at the Restoration, when the question of forfeited lands was so fiercely debated[1]; and it was brought forward at that crisis to palliate the enormities with which the insurgents stood chargeable. It could not, however, bear the light of investigation. The outrage at Island Magee took place after the date of all the letters and proclamations already quoted; for the very day of its occurrence can be ascertained as accurately as that of any other event recorded in history.[2] At this

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particularly mentioned, this affair of Island Magee—now put in the foreground—is *never named*. See this *Remonstrance*, in the appendix to Curry's *Hist. Memoirs*, p. 200.

[1] O'Conor, himself a Roman Catholic, says:—"The *first who mentions* this pretended massacre [of Island Magee] is an *anonymous collector of stories* entitled *A Collection of some Massacres and Murders committed on the Irish, since the 23rd of October*, 1641, which were *published first* in London, when the Act of Settlement was in contemplation in 1662."—*Hist. Address*, part ii. 232-3. He adds in a note, "Lurgan surrendered to the Irish rebels by capitulation November 15th, 1641, when, contrary to the faith of nations, the whole garrison were put to the sword! The foreign-influenced writers, ashamed of this horrid transaction, and endeavouring to cast off the odium, when they expected to be included in the Act of Settlement, trumped up their clumsy story of a previous massacre at Island Magee."—*Ibid.* p. 232.

[2] The whole matter was afterwards carefully investigated by commissioners appointed for the purpose, and the depositions relating to it are in existence in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. The facts ascertained by the commissioners are given in the text. Such writers as Curry meet the evidence of these depositions by simply declaring that they will not believe them! Warner has asserted that most of the evidence was *not* given on oath; but Dr. Reid, who carefully inspected the volumes, has shown that this statement is incorrect. See his *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. 340, *note*. Dr. Reid read over *all* the depositions relating to Island Magee. Dr. Reid has also shown that Warner's computation as to the total number massacred was quite a miscalculation based upon imperfect data. Some additional light has been thrown upon this subject by a little work which has recently made its appearance, entitled *The History of the Wars of Ireland from* 1641 *to* 1653 *by a British Officer of the Regiment of Sir John Clotworthy*. Dublin, 1873. The MS. of this volume is said to have been preserved at the Jesuits' College, Clongowes Wood, since 1814. It has been published under Roman Catholic auspices; and, without pronouncing any opinion as to the question of its genuineness, it may be sufficient to state that it corroborates the depositions in Dublin College as to the *date* of the outrage at Island Magee. See pp. 8, 9. It states that "about Christmas" a party of Protestant soldiers "murdered about eighty persons, men, women, and children, near Templepatrick; at which other Scots took example and *did the like at Island Magee*." These Protestant soldiers were provoked to commit the murders at Templepatrick under the impression that their own wives and children had been previously massacred. *Ibid.* p. 8.

period many Protestants had been massacred in the County of Antrim: the assailants had spared neither sex nor age: and about threescore old men, women, and children, who had license to go to Larne or Carrickfergus, "were attacked on the way, and butchered without mercy." Exasperated by these horrid and perfidious proceedings, some soldiers from Carrickfergus, accompanied by several strangers driven from more distant districts, proceeded to the peninsula of Island Magee, and on Sunday, the 9th of January, 1642, put to death in retaliation not more than thirty of the Roman Catholic inhabitants.[1] The deed cannot be justified—but it is preposterous to speak of it as the cause of the massacres of 1641.

Archbishop Ussher was in England when the rebellion commenced, and he never returned to Ireland.[2] Almost all the rest of the Protestant prelates were driven from the country. Maxwell, bishop of Killala, was expelled from his episcopal residence, robbed, and wounded; and with difficulty escaped farther violence.[3] Webb, bishop of Limerick, was seized by the insurgents, and died soon afterwards in captivity.[4] But there is no more touching episode connected with this reign of terror than that which relates to the last days of Bedell, bishop of Kilmore. His saintly character had produced such an impression on all around him that even the rebels treated

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[1] Reid, *Hist. of Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. 326-7-8.

[2] He died at Ryegate in England on the 21st of March, 1656, aged 75 years. Moran states that "*from his death-bed*, he wrote to Rome to open negotiations for the purpose of being received back into the bosom of that very Catholic Church which he had so wilfully maligned."—*Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 312, *note*. This can only be characterized as a very gross falsehood. Romanists have often manufactured recantations for distinguished Protestants; and this attempt to misrepresent Ussher is one of their most audacious fabrications. Long before his death, says Dr. Bernard his chaplain, a report, supposed to have emanated from "some Popish priest," was circulated to the effect that he had "turned a papist." "But," he continues, "it fell out to be at *the same time*, or *immediately after*, he had in two learned sermons given his judgment at large that the Papacy was meant by Babylon in the 17th and 18th of the Revelation, which, in the return of his answer to that report, he did affirm, and *was his judgment to his last*."—DR. BERNARD'S *Judgment of the late Archbishop of Armagh*, p. 144. London, 1658. Immediately before his death Ussher was *not confined to bed* even for a day, and all his proceedings at the close of his life have been exactly registered. To the last he entertained the worst opinion of Popery. See Elrington's *Life*, pp. 296-7, 276.

[3] Mant, i. 563.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 566.

him with reverential deference. When every other Protestant in the county had been driven from his home, the English bishop was permitted to remain unmolested. At the request of the chiefs of the insurgents in the district, he drew up for them a Remonstrance addressed to Government, and in this document the grievances of which they complained are enumerated.[1] The good will entertained towards Bedell was highly useful to the Protestants of his neighbourhood. "Not only his house and all the outbuildings, but the church and churchyard were full of people," says his biographer; "and many, that a few days before lived in great ease and much plenty, were now glad of a heap of straw or hay to lie upon, and of some boiled wheat to support nature."[2] Swiney, the Romish Bishop of Kilmore, sought permission to live in the episcopal residence, under the pretence of protecting its Protestant occupant and his family from violence; but Bedell, in a letter still extant, modestly declined the offer. "I am sensible," says he, "reverend brother, of your civility in offering to protect me, by your presence, in the midst of this tumult; and upon the like occasion I would not be wanting to do the like charitable office to you; but there are many things that hinder me from making use of the favour you now offer me. My house is strait, and contains a great number of miserable people of all ranks and ages, and of both sexes, that have fled hither as to a sanctuary—besides that some of them are sick, among whom my own son is one. But that which is beyond all the rest is the difference of our way of worship—I do not say of our religion—for I have ever thought and published it in my writings, that we have one common Christian religion. Under our present miseries, we comfort ourselves with the reading of the Holy Scriptures, with daily prayers, which we offer up to God in our vulgar tongue, and with the singing of Psalms; and, since we find so little truth among men, we rely on the truth of God, and on his assistance. These things would offend your company, if not your-

[1] This Remonstrance may be found in Moore's *Hist. of Ireland*, iv. 223-5; and in Burnet's *Bedell*, pp. 143-5. Dublin, 1736.

[2] Burnet's *Bedell*, p. 140.

self; nor could others be hindered, who would pretend that they came to see you, if you were among us; and under that colour, those murderers would break in upon us, who after robbing us of all that belongs to us, would, in conclusion, think they did God service by our slaughter. For my own part, I am resolved to trust to the divine protection. To a Christian and a bishop, now almost seventy, no death for the cause of Christ can be bitter; on the contrary, nothing is more desirable."[1] For nearly two months after the breaking out of the rebellion, Bedell remained in his residence uninjured; but the rebels became dissatisfied because he continued to afford protection to so many of his co-religionists; and as he refused to drive away these refugees,[2] he was at length removed to Cloughouter Castle, in Lough Erne, where he was kept about three weeks in confinement. An exchange of prisoners then took place; and, though still obliged to stay in the country, he was permitted to enjoy comparative liberty. His end was now fast approaching; and he died of ague, on the 7th of February, 1642.

The dying prelate had expressed a wish to be buried beside his deceased wife in the churchyard of Kilmore: but the place was now in the possession of the rebels; and it was necessary to obtain leave for the interment from Swiney,[3] the Romish Bishop. This Popish dignitary—who was a miserable sot—had immediately after the removal of Bedell to Loughouter Castle, entered on the occupation of the episcopal mansion. When the messengers sent to ask permission for the funeral reached Kilmore, they found him lying surrounded with filth, in a state of drunken stupor.[4] They at length managed to awake

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[1] This letter, dated November 11th, 1641, may be found in the original in Burnett's *Bedell*, pp. 192-3; and in Clogy, pp. 188-90. It supplies proof that a massacre had already taken place in Ulster.

[2] Burnet's *Bedell*, pp. 156.

[3] Swiney was Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore from A.D. 1630 to A.D. 1669. Brady's *Irish Reform*, pp. 69, 70. Clogy states that Bedell had entertained the brother of this Bishop at his house, converted him "from Jesuitism to Christianity," and "preferred" him "to a way of livelihood," p. 188.

[4] The story is told by Mr. Clogy, Bedell's son-in-law, who was one of the persons sent to make the request, and who here reports what he saw on the occasion. "We found him," says he, "lying upon a bolster so drunk with

him, and to make him understand their application. The poor wretch at first objected, saying that the churchyard was holy ground, and that it could not be defiled by the body of a heretic; but a little persuasion elicited his consent. "The Irish," says his biographer, "did Bedell unusual honours at his burial; for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and with them, accompanied his body . . . to the churchyard of Kilmore in great solemnity. . . . The Irish discharged a volley of shot at his interment, and cried out in Latin, *Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum*,—'May the last of the English rest in peace,'—for they had often said that, as they esteemed him the best of the English bishops, so he should be the last that should be left among them."[1] A Popish priest, who was present, is said to have exclaimed as the body was committed to the grave, "Would to God that my soul were with Bedell."[2]

The history of Bedell is instructive: as it shows how a wise and gracious Christian pastor could win the hearts of men who were little better than untamed savages. The Bishop of Kilmore had done more than any other prelate in the land to enlighten and reclaim Romanists; he was endowed more largely with the spirit of an earnest evangelist than even the learned and amiable Ussher; and yet the rude Irish admired his genuine excellence, loved him when living, and honoured him when dead. The way of evangelical charity, so beautifully exemplified by Bedell, is the true way to the Irish heart. Party spirit is of the earth, earthy; and party demonstrations can only produce irritation and foster prejudice; but the truth, when spoken in love and illustrated by the light of a holy life, cannot fail, sooner or later, to make a happy impression.

It was observed, during the course of the rebellion, that those of the insurgents, most under the influence of Ultra-

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uque-langh—having defiled all the room with his filthiness—that when Dr. Dillon [a Roman Catholic who accompanied them] came in, and kneeled before him, as their Popish manner is, he was not able to stretch forth his hand towards him; but a friar that stood by took up the drunken hand and laid it upon the Popish head that came to assist us in our request."—Clogy's *Memoir*, p. 228.

[1] Burnet's *Bedell*, p. 169; Clogy, p. 230.

[2] Reid, i. 338; Curry's *Historical and Critical Review*, p. 191. Dublin, 1810. The name of the priest is said to have been Edmund Farilly.

montane principles, were also the most implacable and reckless.[1] The darkest shade of superstition was connected with the deadliest ferocity. In December, 1641, an alliance was formed between the native Irish of Ulster and the Anglo-Irish of the Pale; this union soon led to a combination of almost all the Romanists of the kingdom; and for ten years Popery reigned without a rival over the greater part of the country. But, throughout all this period, those troops of the Confederacy known to be most zealous for the power of the sovereign Pontiff—particularly those from the northern province—were most noted for their inhumanity and ignorance. It should not, however, be forgotten that the annals of the great Rebellion record many cases in which the kindliness of Irish sympathy triumphed over the brutal dictates of bigotry and intolerance. The mother of Sir Phelim O'Neill saved not a few of the Protestants, who would otherwise have been butchered by her son and his relentless followers; and another of his near relatives protested bitterly against his infamous proceedings.[2] Many of the Romish clergy instigated the mob to deeds of violence, and stained their own hands with blood;[3] but some of them acted very differently. John De Burgo, afterwards Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, did his utmost to check the dreadful excesses of his countrymen.[4] A priest, named Daly, was obliged to escape from among the

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[1] "The Nuncio himself could not but own that no Tartars ever committed worse ravages than the soldiers of O'Neill (Owen Roe) did; and pretended to be much offended by the scandal which they brought upon himself by styling themselves the Nuncio's soldiers, whereby they had made the Pope's name so odious among the inhabitants of Meath, that they had recourse to the very Puritans for protection."—Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 575.

[2] Examination of Dr. Maxwell. Cox, ii., appendix x., p. 47. See also an account of the kindness of Lord and Lady Muskerry in Warner, i. 156. See also Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 372.

[3] See a horrible account of the wholesale barbarity and villany of a priest named McGuire in Lord Somers's *Tracts*, v. 619. See there also other cases of the same character, pp. 615, 618.

[4] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part i., p. 178. De Burgo was a member of the Clanricarde family, "the most noble in Connaught of the Anglo-Hibernian race." —*Ibid.* p. 176. Malachy O'Kelly was now R. C. Archbishop of Tuam. He was killed in battle near Sligo on the 26th of October, 1645. De Burgo succeeded him in 1647

rebels, because he had the courage to preach against murder;[1] and another priest saved Dr. Pullen, the Protestant Dean of Clonfert, as well as his wife and children, from destruction.[2] Two benevolent Franciscans in Cashel hid, under the altar in their chapel, a number of the adherents of the Reformed faith, who, but for this act of kindness, might have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of the rabble.[3]

It was not to be expected that, amidst scenes of carnage, the Protestants would always exhibit the forgiveness and forbearance befitting their holy faith. Most of them were rough adventurers or soldiers—not habitually acting from the highest and purest motives—and they were often provoked to frightful deeds of reprisal. Sir Charles Coote, the commander of the English troops in Leinster, sadly stained his reputation by his cruelty to the insurgents.[4] Sir William St. Leger, Lord President of Munster, also punished them with barbarous severity.[5] In some cases the English soldiers slaughtered even women and children without mercy.[6] The Lords Justices themselves, by their orders, encouraged such atrocities. In a communication addressed to the Earl of Ormond, dated Dublin, 23rd of February, 1642, they tell him to "endeavour with his Majesty's forces, to wound, kill, slay, and destroy, *by all the ways and means he may*, all the *rebels, and their adherents and relievers;* and *burn, spoil, waste*, consume, destroy, and *demolish all the places, towns, and houses*, where the said rebels are, or have been relieved and harboured, *and all the corn and hay there, and kill and destroy all the men therein habiting able to bear arms.*"[7] Sir Phelim O'Neill himself could

[1] Cox, ii., appendix x., p. 47.

[2] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 267; Cotton's *Fasti*, iv. 15.

[3] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 267.

[4] Leland, iii. 146; Warner, i. 134, 150, 182. Coote, who was a man of singular bravery, was himself soon cut off. He was slain at Trim on the 7th of May, 1642. Leland, iii. 170. Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 31. Dublin, 1846.

[5] Leland, iii. 154. It is noteworthy that St. Leger, as well as Coote, was soon cut off. He died on the 2nd of July, 1642. His death, it is said, was brought on by grief arising from the deserted condition in which he found himself placed. Carte, i. 341.

[6] Leland, iii. 172.

[7] See this order in the collection of letters appended to Carte's *Ormonde*, vol. iii., p. 61. London, 1735.

scarcely have indited a more ferocious warrant. These same Lords Justices attempted, by the rack, to extort confessions from persons merely suspected of a share in the original conspiracy; and refused, with a view to the promotion of their own base purposes of confiscation, to encourage the submissions o those who were disposed to return to their allegiance.[1] Such proceedings, as unwise as they were cruel and unjust, deeply aggravated the miseries of this wretched warfare.

Charles I. had now completely lost the confidence of his English Parliament; and the Puritan leaders were not by any means prepared to entrust him with an army for the suppression of the Irish Rebellion.[2] In this emergency they sought the aid of the Scottish covenanters; who agreed to send over troops to Ulster. Detachments from seven Scottish regiments, under the command of Major General Robert Munro, arrived in Carrickfergus in April, 1642; and were immediately put in possession of the town and castle. The other British regiments in Ulster, pursuant to the terms of a treaty with the English Parliament, recognized Munro as their military chief;[3] and, for some years after this date, Scottish influence dominated over a considerable part of the northern section of the kingdom.

The arrival of these troops at Carrickfergus marks the commencement of an era in the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland. At this time by far the greater portion of the Protestants of Ulster were of Scottish extraction,[4] and many of them still remained warmly attached to the worship and polity of the Church of their fathers. Various efforts had been made to

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[1] Warner, i. 176, 175, 194.

[2] He was suspected of having fomented the rebellion. He had certainly nothing to do with the barbarities of Sir Phelim O'Neill and the northern insurgents; but he seems to have been privy to a plot for surprising Dublin Castle and other places. See Reid's *History of Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. 304.

[3] Reid, p. 354.

[4] Carte reckons that, at the time of the breaking out of the rebellion, there were only 220,000 English and Scotch in all Ireland. He computes that in Ulster there were 100,000 Scotch, and only 20,000 English. Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 177-8. At the same time there were not above 140 Protestants in the County of Sligo, nor so many in the County of Mayo, nor 1,000 in the whole County of Galway. O'Conor's *Historical Address*, ii. 324.

induce them to adopt the English ritual; and, under the government of Strafford, conformity had been enforced in a spirit of high-handed intolerance; but, now that the political pressure was withdrawn, the settlers soon revealed their religious predilections. An important movement was made in the way of ecclesiastical organization by the erection of a Presbytery at Carrickfergus on the 10th of June, 1642.[1] Church-sessions had already been established in several of the regiments; and pious officers had undertaken to act as ruling elders. The Presbytery—the first court of the kind set up in Ireland after the Reformation—was composed of the chaplains in attendance on the Scotch troops, and of the representatives from the newly-constituted sessions. Its influence was soon felt all over the country. The adherents of the Scottish discipline in various adjacent districts applied to it to be recognized as worshipping societies, and to be supplied with Presbyterian ordinances. These petitioners received prompt attention; and, in a short time, seven congregations were organized in the County of Antrim, and eight in the County of Down.[2]

About two months after the establishment of the Presbytery at Carrickfergus, Charles I. and his Parliament engaged in open warfare. In the following year the Solemn League and Covenant was framed and adopted, as a bond of union, by the Lords and Commons of England, as well as by the Scottish legislature. In the spring of 1644, four ministers[3] of the

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[1] Reid, i. 372. It is noteworthy that all the ministers of this Presbytery had subscribed the old Scottish confession of faith—a strictly Calvinistic formulary. According to an act of the General Assembly of 1638 "the confession of faith . . . is ordained to be *subscribed* . . . by *all scholars at passing their degrees* . . . and finally by *all ministers* of this kirk and kingdom." *Compendium of the Laws of the Church of Scotland*, part second, p. 100. Edinburgh, 1831.

[2] In the County of Antrim congregations were formed at Ballymena, Antrim, Carncastle, Templepatrick, Carrickfergus, Larne, and Belfast. In the County of Down, at Ballywalter, Portaferry, Newtonards, Donaghadee, Killileagh, Comber, Holywood, and Bangor. Reid, i. 374-5.

[3] Reid, i. 438. One of these ministers was the Rev. Wm. Adair, brother of Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena. The others were Rev. James Hamilton, nephew of Lord Claneboy; Rev. Hugh Henderson, minister of Dalry; and Rev. John Weir, minister of Dalserf. On their return to Scotland Messrs. Hamilton and Weir, accompanied by Mr. Watson, another minister, were seized in the Irish

Church of Scotland arrived in Ulster, commissioned to preach to their countrymen in that province, and to urge them to enter into the covenant. These brethren were armed with no power of compulsion; their business was simply to explain the nature of the bond; and to invite and exhort all the true friends of Protestantism in the country to support it by their adhesion. As the most malicious tales were in circulation relative to the designs of the English Puritans and their allies, the expositions of the Scottish preachers served at once to calm and to enlighten the public mind. Because the covenanters were pledged to endeavour the extirpation of Popery, prelacy, and profaneness, it was boldly affirmed that they meditated a general massacre.[1] A saying was put into the mouth of Sir John Clotworthy, of Antrim, calculated to create immense prejudice; for that grave and exemplary senator was reported as having declared, in his place in Parliament, that Irish Romanists must be reclaimed with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other. The proceedings of the Scottish deputies appointed to administer the covenant in Ulster were well fitted to demonstrate the absurdity of such rumours. "The covenant," says a minister who about this time came over to Ireland,[2] "was taken in all places with great affection, partly with sorrow for former judgments, and sins, and miseries; partly with joy under present consolation, in the hopes of laying a foundation for the work of God in the land. . . . Sighs and tears were joined together; and it is much to be

Channel by a Confederate vessel. Messrs. Watson and Weir died in confinement in consequence of the ill-treatment they now received. See Reid, i. 462-4. Roman Catholic writers have, in every way, misrepresented this affair. They give credit to the Confederates because they did not *at once murder* the prisoners; and they assert that they captured, not *three*, but *fifty* ministers! See Meehan's *Confed. of Kilkenny*, p. 81. Dublin, 1846.

[1] This story, which was industriously circulated by the priests, had taken such possession of the minds of the Irish that, when the preachers who administered the covenant were travelling through Ulster, many of the Romanists, as they approached, fled in dismay! Adair's *Narrative*, p. 115.

[2] The Rev. Patrick Adair, the author of *The True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, was ordained minister of Cairncastle, near Larne, in the County of Antrim, in May, 1646. He was in the country for some time before. He was married to the daughter of Sir Robert Adair of Ballymena.

observed both the way ministers used towards the people for clearing their consciences, in order to the covenant, in explaining it, . . . and from scripture and solid consequences from it, clearing every article of it—and thereafter offered it *only to those whose consciences stirred them up to it.*"[1] So far from insisting on everyone entering into the Solemn League and Covenant, the Scottish preachers would not administer it to those by whom it was not rightly understood, or who were not disposed to fulfil its obligations. Neither did they think that prelacy, Popery, and profaneness could be extirpated by the commission of murder; but by prayer and patience, by argument and instruction, by the faithful preaching of the word and the diffusion of scripture knowledge, by the maintenance of a godly discipline, and by the light of a holy example.

The refusal of the covenant involved no temporal pains and penalties; and those who adhered to the King, in opposition to the Parliament, rejected it; but it was entered into with enthusiasm by a great number of the Protestants of Ulster. The preachers who administered it traversed the country, and were welcomed by multitudes—not only in Down and Antrim, but also in Derry, Donegal, and Fermanagh. Many of the episcopal clergy of the north had either perished in the massacre or died in consequence of the hardships it entailed; and a considerable number of the survivors had already joined the Presbytery.[2] Not a few of the residue now became Covenanters.[3] From this time Protestant prelacy was virtually overthrown in Ireland. When the Directory for Worship was adopted by the Westminster Assembly, the use of the English Liturgy was interdicted by public authority; but, in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, and in a few other places, it was still quietly tolerated.[4]

Only two members connected with Ireland sat in the Westminster Assembly. These were Dr. Joshua Hoyle,[5] Professor

[1] Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 103-4.

[2] Reid, i. 386.

[3] Reid, i. 443, 444, 450, 451.

[4] Mant, i. 586. The episcopal clergy of Dublin appear to have been the only Protestant ministers in Ireland who drew up a Declaration against the discontinuance of the Liturgy. See the Declaration in Mant, i. 588.

[5] Dr. Hoyle was appointed Professor of Divinity in 1623. He was a member of the Convocation in 1634.

of Divinity in the Irish University, and Sir John Clotworthy, of Antrim, who was present as a lay assessor.[1] The Confession of Faith drawn up by the divines was, with some explanations, immediately adopted as the accredited symbol of the Church of Scotland, and of the Presbytery in Ulster. A remarkable outpouring of the Spirit of God accompanied the preaching of the ministers who were sent to promote the adoption of the covenant in the north of Ireland. "They were assisted," says a contemporary, "with more than the ordinary presence of God in that work in every place they went to, so that all the hearers did bear them witness that God was with them. And the sensible presence and appearance of God with them in these exercises did overcome many of those who otherwise were not inclined that way. . . . . The solemnity and spirituality of carrying on this work was like the cloud filling the temple, there being a new tabernacle erecting in this land."[2] "The covenant," says the historian of the Irish Presbyterian Church, "revived the cause of true religion and piety. . . . . From this period may be dated the commencement of the *second reformation* with which this province [of Ulster] has been favoured—a reformation discernible, not only in the rapid increase of churches, and of faithful and zealous ministers, but still more unequivocally manifested in the improving manners and habits of society, and in the growing attention of the people to religious duties and ordinances."[3]

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[1] Though connected with Ireland, Sir John sat in the Long Parliament as member for Malden. Reid, i. 279, *note*.

[2] Adair's *Narrative*, p. 104.

[3] Reid's *Hist. of Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, i. 456.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE DEATH OF STRAFFORD TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. A.D. 1641 TO A.D. 1649.

THE CATHOLIC CONFEDERATION.

THE Irish massacre inaugurated a civil war which raged, with more or less violence, throughout the kingdom upwards of ten years. Meanwhile Protestantism continued to maintain its ground in several counties of Ulster, in Dublin, Cork, and some other towns; but Romanism established its supremacy over all the rest of the country. The earliest public movements of the adherents of the Pope were certainly not calculated to recommend the cause of which they were the avowed champions. The war—commenced amidst scenes of rapine, perfidy, blasphemy, and assassination—was represented as a struggle in the service of God; and the mixed multitude of soldiers, cattle drivers, thieves, and cut-throats, who followed the standard of the insurgent chiefs, received the designation of "the *Catholic army*." [1] The foundations of the *Catholic Confederation* were laid in December, 1641, when the Anglo-Hibernians of the Pale united with the native Irish. The members of this Association, as its name indicated, were all connected with the Church of Rome. They were bound together by an oath pledging them to maintain against all persons, with life, power, and estate, "the public and free exercise of the true and Roman Catholic religion." [2]

The clergy, from the first, had, no doubt, a principal share

[1] Cox, ii. 85; Leland, iii. 145.

[2] See the oath in full in Cox, ii. 86.

in managing the secret machinery which guided the insurgents ;[1] and they soon ventured to take up a prominent and decided position. In March, 1642, a provincial Synod was held at Kells, in Meath ; the Roman Catholic primate, Hugh O'Reilly,[2] presided: and the sanction of the Church was formally given to the rebellion. The war was pronounced to be "lawful and pious;" and all were exhorted to join in supporting the good cause. Thomas Dease, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath,[3] did not attend this meeting. It was known that he had laboured earnestly to prevent the nobility and gentry of his diocese from involving themselves in the revolt, and that he had denounced the whole movement.[4] Such conduct could not be overlooked. He was commanded forthwith to retract, and to subscribe the acts of the Synod. Should he fail within three weeks to yield submission, he was to be suspended from his office, and reported to the Pope as a suspected heretic![5]

This assembly prepared the way for a general Synod which met at Kilkenny about two months afterwards. It was attended by three archbishops and six bishops, besides vicars-general and other dignitaries. It sat for several days ; its members were meanwhile busily engaged in anxious deliberation ; and the resolutions adopted present a strange medley of

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[1] *The Embassy in Ireland of Monsignor G. B. Rinuccini*, translated into English by Miss Annie Hutton, has lately (Dublin, 1873) been presented to the public. This work throws much light on the history of the Confederation. The Pope himself there states, apparently with special satisfaction, that "the rising, at first doubtful and tumultuous, was gradually organized into a well-arranged movement *by the prelates and other clergy*, who willingly gave both advice and assistance." p. xxxv.

[2] He was Roman Catholic Primate from 1628 to his death in July, 1651. Renehan's *Collections*, pp. 33-47.

[3] He was Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath from 1622 to 1652. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 23, 59. The Bishop's mother was Lady Eleanor Nugent. The Deases are said to be "the sole present occupiers who held property in 1641 in the district where they still reside."—*Ibid.* p. 22, *note.* The Bishop himself at this time possessed a handsome landed property.

[4] He resided at this time in the house of the Earl of Westmeath, who was a Romanist ; and he discouraged his Lordship and others from joining in the insurrection.

[5] Mant, i. 571-2 ; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, i. 127, 152.

religion and politics. It was here arranged that the affairs of the belligerents were to be managed by the clergy, the nobility, and the representatives of the cities and towns throughout the kingdom. One of the first objects to which the Synod directed its attention was the preparation of "an oath of association" of a more definite and elaborate character than the formula already in use. When framing this document the prelates found it necessary to consult with the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry who had repaired to Kilkenny, and who claimed some share in its construction.[1] This oath of association was to the Irish Romanists what the Solemn League and Covenant was to the adherents of the English Parliament—it bound them together, and succinctly embodied their political and religious principles.[2] Whilst the swearer attested his loyalty to the king, he also vowed to defend and maintain the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, to obey all the orders of the Supreme Council, and not to accept of, or submit to, any peace, without the consent and approbation of the General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics. The Synod ordained that in every province there

[1] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 317. The oath is not therefore inserted in the acts of the Synod which was composed exclusively of ecclesiastics. The framing of the oath is provided for in the acts of the Synod, act 3.

[2] The following is a copy of the oath :—"I ——— do profess, swear, and protest before God, and His saints and His angels, that I will during my life bear true faith and allegiance to my sovereign Lord, Charles, by the grace of God king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and to his heirs and lawful successors ; and that I will to my power during my life defend, uphold, maintain all his and their just prerogatives and estates and rights ; the power and privileges of the Parliament of this realm ; the fundamental laws of Ireland ; the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith and religion throughout this land ; and the lives, just liberties, possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken or shall take this oath, and perform the contents thereof ; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, and to be made by the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of this kingdom, concerning the said public cause ; and that I will not seek directly or indirectly any pardon or protection for any act done or to be done touching this general cause without the consent of the major part of the said Council ; and that I will not directly nor indirectly do any act or acts that shall prejudice the said cause ; but will, to the hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute, and maintain the same. So help me God and His holy gospel."—See WALSH'S *History of the Remonstrance*, appendix, p. 31 ; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part i. 205, *note*.

should be a council, composed of clerical and lay members; and for the whole kingdom a general council of similar formation. It denounced all guilty of robbery and murder; but, whilst it made no confession of the horrid butcheries of "the Catholic army," it required that "a faithful inventory should be made in every province of the murders, burnings, and other cruelties committed by the Puritan enemies." It enacted that persons who manufactured warlike implements or powder for the use of the confederates should be free from taxation. It pronounced the war to be "lawful and just;" commanded all to make no distinction—as of natives, or new or old English—among Catholics; and decreed that all who refused to take the oath of association should be held as adversaries of the common cause and of the kingdom, and should be punished accordingly; and that such as gave food, advice, or any manner of assistance to their opponents in the war should be excommunicated.[1]

We cannot well imagine anything more unlike an apostolic council than this meeting of Irish prelates held at Kilkenny in May, 1642. An evangelical Synod assembles in the name of the Prince of Peace. It should know nothing save what relates to Christ, and Him crucified. Its business is to administer His laws, and promote a knowledge of His gospel. His kingdom is "not of this world;" and His servants are not to "fight" with the arm of flesh for its advancement. The weapons of the Christians' warfare are "not carnal;"[2] and our Divine Master has distinctly told his followers that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword."[3] No Church court, therefore, can be legitimately occupied when employed in organizing a political revolution. But this Synod of Kilkenny ignored all such doctrine. It met avowedly to sanction and foster a civil war. It planned a new form of government for the country; stimulated the manufacture of powder, swords, shot, and shell; and assisted in framing for the insurgents an oath of association. This oath is a notable specimen of Jesuitism. It pledged the confederates to bear "true

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[1] The acts of this Synod may be found in Borlase, appendix vii. 39-45.

[2] 2 Cor. x. 4.

[3] Mat. xxvi. 52.

faith and allegiance" to the king—though he had already openly denounced them as "rebels and traitors against his royal person, and enemies to his royal crown of England and Ireland."[1] In the commencement of the insurrection these rebels had professed to act by his authority: they had exhibited a forged warrant, purporting to be a commission from his Majesty; and, as Charles and his Parliament were at variance, the insurgents still sought to keep up the delusion that they were fighting under the royal sanction. They were, no doubt, prepared to enter the battlefield against troops commanded by a Lord Lieutenant appointed by the king himself: but, withal, they resented the appellation of traitors; and, if they must yield, they deemed it better to submit to an arbitrary sovereign swayed by a Popish queen, than to succumb to a Puritan legislature bent on the maintenance of Protestantism. The native Irish were, at heart, desirous to throw off the yoke of England; and, as far as they were concerned, the avowal of loyalty contained in the oath of association was insincere; but the Anglo-Irish were really unwilling to sever the last link of connection with Great Britain. Some of the guides of the Confederation did not want political foresight; and they reckoned that, should the royal arms eventually prevail, the expression of zeal for his prerogative, embodied in this formula, would give them at least some claim to the monarch's consideration.

Throughout the whole of this civil war there is nothing which appears more revolting to the mind of an enlightened Christian than the use made by the Roman Catholic clergy of the ordinance of excommunication. In their hands it was, not the staff of the shepherd, but the scourge of the slave-driver. It was employed by them, not to conserve the purity of the Church, but to carry out their own ambitious or selfish machinations. By means of it they attempted to compel the soldiers of the Confederacy even to march and countermarch according to their dictation. A man might believe every one of the doctrines of Romanism; he might lead a

[1] They are thus described in his Proclamation, dated "at our Palace at Westminster," 1st January, 1642. See Borlase, p. 53.

blameless life; he might be a pattern of integrity and piety to all around him; but, if he did not see his way to support these Churchmen in the war, he was threatened with eternal ruin! The apostle has said, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him;"[1] but the bishops convened at Kilkenny adopted a very different canon. If, said they, any Catholic gives food to a starving Englishman, let him be excommunicated. The institutions of Christ are not to be thus basely prostituted. What right had these prelates to shut out from the communion of the Church, and, by implication, from the kingdom of glory, such a man as Thomas Dease,[2] Bishop of Meath —not because he denied the faith, not because he was of discreditable reputation, for he was one of the worthiest of his order—but because he differed from his brethren on a question of politics? Excommunication is an awful ordinance; and well may the true ministers of Christ weep and tremble when they find it necessary to resort to it: but, when abused, it is merely a bastard ceremony, bringing down the wrath of God only on the heads of its impious administrators.

The insurgents had hitherto felt much the want of competent military leaders; for, though they could bring into the field troops greatly superior in numbers to those opposed to them, they achieved no corresponding triumphs. In the North they were beginning to despair: but their hopes revived when, in July, 1642, Colonel Owen Roe O'Neill, whose coming had for some time been expected, landed safely on the coast of Donegal. This officer—who was connected by birth with the old dynasts of Ulster—had served in the Imperial and Spanish armies, and had acquired celebrity as a brave and skilful soldier. He was at once invested with the supreme command of the Confederate forces in the Province; and his very first movements indicated that he intended to introduce a new mode of warfare. He sharply rebuked his kinsman, Sir Phelim, for the sanguinary spirit

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[1] Rom. xii. 20.

[2] Dease and Rothe, R.C. Bishop of Ossory, have been described by a R.C. contemporary as "the most learned and pious of all the Irish bishops." See O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part i., p. 164, *note*. Rothe was subsequently excommunicated and died without absolution. *Ibid.* pp. 167-8.

he had displayed; expressed his abhorrence of the barbarities committed by the Catholic army; and actually burned the houses of some of the miscreants most deeply implicated in acts of rapine and murder.[1] Owen Roe O'Neill was a bigoted Romanist, and the Pope regarded him with special favour; but he was an accomplished military leader; and for the remainder of his life he was a tower of strength to his party. About two months after his arrival, Colonel Thomas Preston—who had also been trained in foreign service, and who was brother of Lord Gormanstown—landed on the coast of Wexford. Both these chiefs brought with them a numerous staff of officers, as well as a considerable supply of military stores; and their presence in the country imparted new vigour to the Confederation.

On the 24th of October, 1642, the first General Assembly of the Confederate Catholics met in the city of Kilkenny. This Convention had been planned by the Synod held in the same place in the May preceding. It was composed of two sections—one consisting of prelates and nobles, and another of the representatives of counties and towns—but both sat in the same chamber.[2] Though the General Assembly did not assume the name, it performed the various functions of a Parliament; as it made laws, regulated taxation, and discussed all questions of war and peace. It at once transferred to its own bishops and clergy all the churches and church-livings lately in possession of the Protestants.[3] The whole country submitting to its jurisdiction was placed under the care of officials of its own appointment; and it nominated a "Supreme Council" of twenty-four persons constituting the executive government.[4] This

[1] Carte, i. 349; Leland, iii. 178; Warner, i. 227. Even Curry (*Historical and Critical Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland*, p. 184. Dublin, 1810) admits the truth of this statement; and thus reveals the fallacy of the reasoning by which he endeavours to extenuate the crimes of the native Irish.

[2] See an account of it in *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, No. 2, p. lv.

[3] Borlase, appendix, 51, 52. Borlase has given, in appendix viii., the orders made at this first meeting "of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the rest of the General Assembly."

[4] Five of these were Prelates, viz.: the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin and Tuam, and the Bishops of Clonfert and Down. See Cox, ii. 125.

Supreme Council selected sheriffs, coined money, gave instructions to military officers and civil magistrates, conducted correspondence with foreign Powers, and determined all matters left undecided by the General Assembly.

Though the confederates at this first meeting of their national convention were apparently harmonious, and though they all professed loyalty to the throne, as well as a firm determination to maintain the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, they were, in reality, very much divided in their aims and principles. Those of them who were of Anglo-Irish origin were generally more warmly attached to the royal cause, and more moderate in their views, as to the claims of their Church, than the old Irish. Many of these Anglo-Irish had extensive possessions, so that they had large interests at stake; and, as they had originally taken up arms with reluctance, they were all along disposed to listen to terms of accommodation. As they had not been guilty of atrocities such as the old Irish had committed at the commencement of the war, they had little to fear from an investigation of their conduct; and they cherished the hope that the increasing necessities of the king—now at open hostilities with his parliament—would soon compel him to come to some settlement with his Irish subjects. Nor were they disappointed in their expectations. After various military movements, which it is here unnecessary to describe, the Marquis of Ormond—a Protestant nobleman of great ability and influence[1] appointed to conduct a negotiation on the part of the crown—succeeded in effecting a temporary accommodation. This truce with the confederates—known as *the Cessation*—was concluded at Sigginstown, near Naas, on the 15th of September, 1643.[2] The king was to receive a subsidy of thirty thousand pounds, to be paid by instalments; and, for one

[1] Ormond was by birth a Romanist; but he was brought up under the tutelage of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, an earnest Calvinist; and he remained throughout life a steady adherent to the Protestant cause.

[2] The Cessation was agreed to on the 26th of May, 1643, but the terms were not fully arranged till September. Those in favour of the Cessation were denounced by the other party as *heretics* and *schismatics*! O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, i. 49, 50, 61.

year,[1] the parties were to remain exactly as they stood at the time of the agreement—the Confederates retaining the churches and ecclesiastical property of which they had gained possession, and celebrating the Roman Catholic worship in all places where they had established their authority.

The terms of this Cessation were, on the whole, not discouraging to the Confederates. The King had condescended to treat with them; they were recognized, in the meantime, as masters of a large portion of the island; and their position, as religionists, was much more respectable than at the commencement of the war. The Royalists hailed the arrangement witht he highest satisfaction; and the Marquis of Ormonde was greatly applauded by his friends for the tact and skill which he had displayed in the negotiation. In the face of many difficulties he had succeeded, not only in delivering the embarrassed monarch from the immediate pressure of the Irish war, but also in obtaining for him the promise of pecuniary succour. Troops, hitherto employed in fighting the Confederates, could now pass over into England to the assistance of the King. But, by many, the Cessation was regarded with very little favour. The English Parliament, a few months after the beginning of the civil war, had adopted the extremely questionable policy of providing for the support of an army in Ireland by the sale of debentures to be paid out of the forfeited estates of the insurgents; and not a few, it was alleged, were impelled, by sordid motives, to cry out bitterly against the truce—because it threatened to blight their prospect of realizing the coveted property. Many Protestants, and among the rest the Scotch in Ulster, were, on different grounds, equally dissatisfied. They objected to the arrangement because, as they conceived, it conceded quite too much to Popery; and they were specially indignant inasmuch as many soldiers were now drafted from Ireland into England to maintain the arbitrary rule of a faithless sovereign.[2] The old Irish were not less discontented. It deprived them, for the

[1] Cox, ii. 133; Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 435, 447.

[2] It was reported that all the soldiers now sent into England were Romanists; but this was a misrepresentation. Leland, iii. 214-5.

present, of all hope of recovering the forfeited estates; and it did not secure to them even the lands of which they were still considered the proprietors; for the greater part of Ulster was now garrisoned by British soldiers; and their General, Monro, refused to be bound by the Cessation. The Romish clergy were also deeply mortified.[1] Not duly estimating the difficulties which appeared on all sides, they had been confidently calculating on the speedy triumph of the Confederation. The truce kept them still in a precarious state, and left one fourth part of the kingdom in the hands of the Protestants. Peter Scarampi had lately arrived, as Nuncio, from the Court of Rome, with money,[2] military stores, and papal indulgences; and his influence had likewise been employed in throwing obstacles in the way of an accommodation.[3] Had not Ormonde wisely refused to treat with any but lay commissioners,[4] he might have found a settlement impossible.

When the year of truce was about to expire, the prospects of the King had not improved; and, from time to time, by mutual consent, the Cessation was continued. The Marquis of Ormonde had meanwhile been appointed Lord Lieutenant; and, aware how much the interests of his royal master would be served were he delivered from the Irish difficulty, he laboured earnestly to make peace with the Confederates. But they insisted on terms which he did not feel himself at liberty to sanction. They did not cease, however, to press their demands; and, in the end, Charles, surrounded by accumulating perils, deputed the Earl of Glamorgan, a

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[1] Carte, i. 452.

[2] The money, amounting to 20,000 dollars, had been collected by the celebrated Luke Wadding, a native of Waterford, and the editor of the works of John Duns Scotus, as well as the author of many other publications, including the *Annals of the Franciscans*. This latter work—*Annales Minorum*—is said to have occupied him for twenty-four years. Wadding was the founder of an Irish college at Rome, of which he acted as guardian. He was now agent for the Confederates at the Papal Court, and, as a return for his services, they wished him to be made a Cardinal. But he modestly suppressed the memorial to the Pope containing this request. Brenan, pp. 521, 528.

[3] Carte, pp. 447, 452. Scarampi arrived in July, 1643. Warner, i. 286.

[4] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 396, 438. Ormonde attached great importance to this principle, knowing how impracticable were the clergy.

wealthy Roman Catholic nobleman, to visit Ireland; and gave him full powers to conclude a treaty. This new commissioner, after escaping many dangers from ships employed by the English Parliament to intercept him in the Channel, at length managed to reach his place of destination; and, on his arrival in Kilkenny, succeeded, notwithstanding the obstructions of the Nuncio Scarampi,[1] in arranging terms with the Confederates. The treaty was concluded on the 25th of August, 1645. On the part of the King, Glamorgan agreed that Roman Catholics should henceforth be admissible to all offices of trust and dignity; that they should be permitted publicly to celebrate the rites of their religion; that they should possess all the Irish churches not actually in the hands of Protestants; that they should exercise their own ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and that these concessions should be confirmed to them by Act of Parliament. On the part of the Romanists, it was stipulated that ten thousand men should be sent, by order of their General Assembly, to serve the King in England, Scotland, or Wales; and that these troops should be commanded by the Earl himself, and such other officers as the Confederates should appoint.[2]

Charles was anxious that the treaty should be kept secret—as he was well aware that many of his subjects would condemn its provisions. It conceded far more than mere toleration to Romanists. It made over to them large ecclesiastical endowments; permitted them to celebrate their worship ostentatiously in all its splendour, with its litanies and public processions; and guaranteed the unrestricted maintenance of their discipline, with its excommunications and interdicts. It made provision for the invasion of England by an army of ten thousand Popish soldiers under the command of officers of their own communion. But, notwithstanding the King's desire for its concealment, an accident brought the treaty to light, and immediately raised a storm of public indignation

[1] It would appear that, immediately after the Nuncio's arrival, "the Irish bishops began to pare off from the Irish gentry."—O'CONOR'S *Hist. Address*, part i. 62.

[2] Leland, iii. 256. A copy of the treaty may be found appended to Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. iii. 313-322. Edinburgh, 1751.

against the unhappy sovereign. The Cessation had not put an end to hostilities between the Confederates and the Protestants of the North; and, just about this time, the two parties came into collision in the neighbourhood of Sligo. In this engagement, the Romanists were defeated; and their General, Malachy O'Kelly, Romish Archbishop of Tuam,[1] lost his life. In the pocket of the episcopal warrior was found a complete and authentic copy of the treaty, together with a distinct recital of Glamorgan's commission.[2] These documents were forthwith transmitted to London; and published, far and wide, under the authority of the English Parliament. They proved most damaging to the royal cause. Many had long believed that Charles had no great disinclination to Popery, and that he was almost entirely under the influence of his wife. These papers confirmed their suspicions. The King's friends did not well know how to relieve him from the odium to which he had exposed himself. The Marquis of Ormonde pretended to believe that Glamorgan had forged his commission; the Earl was seized; and, for a few days, committed to not very rigorous custody. The King meanly prevaricated; and disavowed the articles of the treaty in a declaration addressed to the English Parliament.[3]

This disavowal greatly embarrassed the Confederates; as, under the circumstances, they had no security for the fulfilment of the conditions on which they had undertaken to supply military aid. But the Marquis of Ormonde—who was still at the head of the Irish Government—felt every day more and more the necessity for some permanent arrangement; and therefore continued to treat for an accommodation. He had now, however, to contend with fresh difficulties. A

[1] By Renehan he is called Malachy Quaely. He was made archbishop about the end of 1631. Renehan's *Collections*, p. 403. He fell on the Lord's Day, the 26th October, 1645. He appears to have fallen covered with wounds; but the stories told as to his "being cut into bits" by the Scotch are too ridiculous to require refutation. See an account of his defeat in Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 123, *note*. In Kinuccini's *Embassy*, it is stated that he was killed "by a pistol shot," p. 87.

[2] Carte, i. 537; Leland, iii. 267.

[3] Leland, iii. 273; Warner, ii. 67.

new Nuncio had just arrived from Rome of far higher pretensions than Scarampi;[1] he had been received with enthusiasm by the whole Roman Catholic population; and, in addition to a large sum of money, he had brought with him 2,000 muskets, 2,000 cartouch belts, 4,000 swords, 2,000 pike-heads, 400 brace of pistols, and 20,000 pounds of powder.[2] The name of this new Papal minister was John Baptist Rinuccini; he was understood to have much influence among the cardinals; and he was himself Archbishop of Fermo. He was well acquainted with canon law; his habits were temperate; and his mode of life somewhat austere.[3] He was recommended by a dignified aspect, a bland address, and no little rhetorical ability. Trained in early life among the Jesuits, he had a taste for their peculiar diplomacy; he had no insuperable objection to equivocation or falsehood, if he could thereby accomplish his designs;[4] and he entertained most extravagant ideas of the power and prerogatives of his pontifical master. He was otherwise singularly unfitted for the mission he had undertaken. He was vain and irritable, obstinate, arrogant, and ambitious.[5] Instead of endeavouring

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[1] Scarampi remained in the country long afterwards. We find him scheming at Kilkenny in 1647. See Carte, i. 598. Luke Wadding is said to have suggested the mission of Rinuccini as well as of Scarampi. See Brenan, p. 526. Scarampi left Ireland about the end of February, 1647. See Rinuccini's *Embassy*, p. 274.

[2] Meehan, p. 106.

[3] He expected that the Most High would give him due credit for all his austerities. Thus, on one occasion, when obliged, on his way to Ireland, to submit to spare regimen and bleeding, he adds: "which fastings and effusion I should have much more willingly reserved, to *become meritorious* for the Catholic faith in Ireland. But the Lord God will be pleased to *accept these sufferings in France also*, and *will add to them, as a merit, the grief I feel* in losing these few days."—*Embassy in Ireland*, pp. 12, 13. Sometimes, when speaking of the Pope, his language is absolutely blasphemous. Thus he says: "There is no safeguard *so powerful* as the apostolic benediction."—*Embassy*, p. 79; and again he tells of the "*infinite* wisdom" of the Pontiff, p. 222.

[4] Leyburn, the Queen's chaplain, accused him of deliberate falsehood in the presence of the General Assembly at Kilkenny. Carte, i. 564-5. See also another instance of his deception in Carte, i. 578.

[5] He seems to have been also singularly credulous. Soon after his arrival in Ireland his confessor, Arcamoni, wrote a letter in which he gave an account of the country; and in which he stated, among other things, that some of the Hibernian women had "as many as *thirty children alive*;" and that the number of those who

to weld firmly together the various elements of the Confederacy, he insisted on carrying out his own High Church principles. He thus soon managed to alienate a large number of the most influential of his co-religionists; and eventually to involve them all in one common ruin.

When Rinuccini made his first appearance at Kilkenny, the capital of the Confederation, he was received with extraordinary honours. Great preparations had been made for the occasion; thousands were assembled to witness the grand spectacle; and the clergy left nothing undone fitted to make it magnificent and impressive. On a rough November day,[1] surrounded by a vast multitude of all classes of the people, he approached the city. Conspicuous amongst the cavalcade was a troop of fifty students on horseback, armed with pistols. Their leader—gaily attired and wearing a crown of laurel—recited some Latin verses, and conveyed to the distinguished stranger the compliments and congratulations of his companions. At a short distance from the entrance gate, Rinuccini descended from his litter: and, arrayed in the insignia of his office, mounted a steed richly caparisoned. The secular and regular clergy walked before him in procession, preceded by the standard-bearers of their respective orders; and, under the old arch called St. Patrick's Gate, he was met by the magistrates of the city and county. A canopy was held over his head by some respectable citizens, who remained uncovered, though the rain all the while poured down in torrents. The streets were lined by regiments of infantry, and the bells rang merrily. The procession moved on to the Cathedral, where he was received by the aged David Rothe

had "from fifteen to twenty" was "*immense*." The same authority affirms that, even in the wild and mountainous districts of Munster there was not one man, woman, or *child, however small*, that could not repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Creed and the Commandments of the Holy Church. See the appendix to Meehan's *Confederation of Kilkenny*, p. 233. It is evident that the priests, in the first instance, took care to show the Italian the fair side of the picture. Hence, in the same letter the confessor states that the people "give most superb entertainments" "*the usual drinks* being Spanish wines, French claret, most delicious beer, and most excellent milk." The reader must recollect that Ireland was then a very poor country.

[1] The 12th of November, 1645.

Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory.[1] The two prelates entered the sacred edifice together; the *Te Deum* was chanted; and the Nuncio Extraordinary then dismissed the dense concourse by pronouncing the benediction.[2]

But the scene soon changed. When Rinuccini, some time afterwards, was ushered into the presence of the Supreme Council assembled in the Castle, he received a very significant intimation that from them he was not to expect slavish submission. There were there some who believed that even the representative of the Pope might meddle with matters which did not pertain to him; and who could tell how before, as well as since, the Reformation, the Italian high priest had attempted again and again to encroach on the rights of civil rulers. The President, Lord Mountgarret, who inherited some of the manly independence of an Anglo-Irish chief, now determined to assert his position as the head of the Confederacy. He accordingly kept his chair when the Nuncio approached; and permitted him to make his way, as he best could, to that part of the Great Gallery in which he was himself seated.[3] The proud churchman who, when passing through Paris some time before, had refused to uncover his head in the presence of the Queen of England,[4] was no little mortified to find that an Irish Roman Catholic peer would not advance one inch to meet him.[5] Mountgarret at length rose to salute his visitor; and soon afterwards resumed his seat.

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[1] He was born in 1572, so that he was now 73 years of age. He was connected by birth with some of the most respectable citizens. Ussher has described him as a writer to whose works he was much indebted.—*Antiquitates.* Works, vol. vi., p. 284. He was very credulous. He was the author of *Analecta Sacra* and other publications. He died in 1650. See Brenan, pp. 520-1. A likeness of him, from an original painting, may be found in Grave's and Prim's *Cathedral of St. Canice*, p. 296. Dublin, 1857.

[2] Meehan, pp. 108-9. [3] *Ibid.* p. 110.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 103. He says in his *Embassy in Ireland* (p. 46) that he could not wait upon her "unless in a manner suitable to the dignity of the sovereign" who had sent him; and he maintains it to be "the prerogative of the Nuncio to appear covered *before all Queens.*" p. 563.

[5] Meehan, pp. 110, 111. In the account of his reception Rinuccini states no less than twice that the President "did not move from his place."—*Embassy in Ireland*, pp. 91, 92. This was rather mortifying, as he expected that he was himself to preside. p. xl.

It was not without cause that the President treated the Nuncio with such cold formality. He had good reason to believe that Rinuccini would insist on conditions of peace which were unattainable; and would thus contribute his influence towards the perpetuation of the horrors of a bootless war. Nor was he mistaken. The terms of a treaty were well-nigh settled with Ormonde: but, in a few days after the arrival of the Nuncio, it was apparent that he was altogether dissatisfied with the arrangement. At his first interview with the Supreme Council compliments were exchanged freely; and some of the Irish leaders incautiously assured him that they would take no step in reference to an accommodation without his knowledge and concurrence.[1] They had afterwards cause bitterly to repent the statement. He soon proved to be quite impracticable;[2] and he found it easy to organize a formidable clerical opposition.

Notwithstanding this powerful combination, the Lord Lieutenant succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Confederates on the 28th of March, 1646.[3] Ormonde was now well aware that the King was prepared to grant almost all their demands; but, on public grounds, it was deemed inexpedient to make such an acknowledgment; and the parties accordingly agreed that, in the meantime, some of the concessions should be rather understood than expressed. It must, however, be admitted that very extensive privileges and immunities were distinctly secured. It was stipulated that, on swearing allegiance according to a new form, Roman

[1] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 561.

[2] In "Memoranda" for his direction he was instructed to demand that "*all* the *offices* and *fortresses* of the *kingdom*" were to be in the hands of the Romanists. *Embassy in Ireland*, lxi., lxiii.

[3] Leland, iii. 280. The Articles of Peace may be found in Cox, ii., appendix, xxiv., 92-106. The Articles were signed at the date mentioned in the text; but the documents were not exchanged till the 29th of July of the same year. The Nuncio had assured the deputies of the General Assembly, who were sent to him, that a certain agreement existed between the Pope and the English Queen—a statement which turned out to be quite false—but, when he pledged himself to produce the document by the 1st of May following, they agreed that no peace should be concluded with Ormonde till that day. The treaty was in consequence kept concealed from Rinuccini till after that date. See Warner, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, ii. 76, 78, 79, 80.

Catholics were to be henceforth exempted from taking the Oath of Supremacy; that they were to be admissible to all civil offices of command, trust, profit, and dignity; that they were to be secured in the enjoyment of their estates; and that all offences—capital, criminal, and personal—committed since the 23rd of October, 1641, were to be covered by an act of oblivion. The Confederates, on their part, engaged to give the King pecuniary aid, and to provide him with ten thousand soldiers.

But the royal cause was already ruined: and no assistance which the Confederates might have furnished could have been of any service. A few weeks after the treaty was signed, Charles fled in disguise from Oxford, and placed himself in the hands of the Scotch army. Ormonde was still, however, Lord Lieutenant: and, had the treaty been consummated, his influence must have been considerably increased, as he would have been then at the head of both Royalists and Romanists.[1] But Rinuccini set himself most resolutely to oppose the proclamation of peace. He was supported energetically by the clergy,[2] who clearly saw that—with the Lord Lieutenant as their chief—their power would be weakened, and their prospects of ecclesiastical ascendency beclouded or blighted. They found it easy to excite the populace to resistance. Almost everywhere throughout the kingdom the old Irish exhibited their disappointment and hostility.[3] At Waterford and Clonmel, the officer sent to proclaim the peace was prevented from making the announcement. At Limerick, the mayor and herald—attacked by a tumultuous crowd led on by the priests—were severely wounded and dragged to prison. The mob received the thanks of the Nuncio for this outrage.[4] But Rinuccini did not stop here.

[1] According to the treaty (Art. 28) the Confederates were to be "*commanded*" by His Majesty's chief governor, with the advice and consent of certain commissioners.

[2] Warner says that "what above all things obstructed peace was the condition in which it would leave the Romish clergy to whom, by a fatal mistake in politics, through the blind zeal of their gentry and nobility, had been *given the benefices and dignities of the church*."—WARNER, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, ii. 56.

[3] Meehan, p. 159; Leland, iii. 289.

[4] Leland, iii. 291; Cox, ii. 166-7; Carte, i. 577; Borlase, p. 161. The fathers of the order of St. Vincent de Paul came to Ireland about this time; and for the

In the beginning of August he held a Synod at Waterford, which was attended by three archbishops, ten bishops, five abbots, two vicars apostolic, and fourteen or fifteen representatives of the religious orders, including the Provincial of the Jesuits.[1] His great object in the convocation of this Synod was to strengthen the political faction with which he was associated. Passing events contributed to give peculiar interest to its deliberations.

Though, at the commencement of the war, all the Confederates had professed an anxiety to support the King, as well as to defend the Roman Catholic religion, the misfortunes of Charles appear to have given them small concern; and many of them now began to think that the overthrow of the royal power in England would supply them with a better opportunity of "securing Ireland for the Irish." A great success recently achieved by their favourite leader, Owen Roe O'Neill, added vastly to their confidence. That General—who has been called the Irish Fabius, and who knew well how to protract a war with safety in the face of a superior force—was distinguished by caution and sagacity rather than by military daring. Since his arrival in the country, he had maintained the discipline of his troops, and had often displayed the qualities of a good soldier; but he had not signalized himself by any very brilliant feat of arms. On the 5th of June, 1646, he astonished both friends and foes by winning a splendid victory. On that day he encountered the Scottish commander, Monro, at Benburb, at the head of a well equipped army rather more numerous than his own; put him to an ignominious flight; captured all his artillery, tents, baggage, and provisions: and, with the loss of only about seventy of his own men, left upwards of three thousand of his foes dead on the battlefield.[2] Such a triumph had never before crowned the arms of the Confederates. The joy of

succeeding five years, that is, from 1646 to 1651, Limerick was the chief scene of their labours. At the end of that time only three priests of the order remained in the country. Moran's *Persecution of the Irish Catholics*, pp. 63, 65.

[1] Meehan, p. 160.

[2] Leland, iii. 290; Meehan, p. 152. After all, this victory was of little use to the Confederates. Instead of following up his advantage, O'Neill immediately

the clergy was unbounded; and, exulting in the hope that Romanism would soon be re-established in all its splendour throughout Ireland, the prelates assembled at Waterford to denounce the peace.

The Synod which met in Kilkenny at the commencement of the war, in May, 1642, had been strangely forgetful of the functions of a Christian judicatory; but its proceedings were not more extraordinary than those of this Synod which met at Waterford in August, 1646. The Roman Catholics of Ireland were now divided into two parties—the *Ormondists* and the *Nuncionists*. The Ormondists included the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry—the owners of a large portion of the landed property of the kingdom—who were anxious to enjoy freedom of worship and relief from civil disabilities; but they sought only full toleration, and not ascendency. As their all was at stake, they earnestly desired the termination of the war; and, according to their views, whatever they could fairly demand, or hope reasonably to obtain, had been either actually or virtually secured by the treaty with Ormonde. The Nuncionists consisted of the old Irish—who were looking for the recovery of estates which had been long out of their possession—and of the clergy who sighed for the return of the palmy days of Popish domination. These parties, generally speaking, had meanwhile little or nothing to lose;[1] the treaty with Ormonde closed to them the door of hope; but the victory of O'Neill revived their expectations. Rinuccini assured them that they would soon be masters of the kingdom; and they opposed the peace with dogged obstinacy. At the Synod of Waterford the Church threw her whole

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afterwards marched southwards, and thus gave the Scots time to recover from the disaster. In this way, by something like an act of hallucination on the part of the triumphant general, the Protestantism of Ulster was providentially preserved.

[1] The bishops, who had suddenly obtained possession of the revenues of so many sees throughout the kingdom, were, of course, exceptions; but should they lose their present incomes, they were almost sure of liberal pensions from foreign princes. Many of them, before the commencement of the war, enjoyed such endowments. None of them yet had the full profits of the bishoprics; as, by an arrangement made at the origin of the Confederacy, part of the temporalities was to be devoted to the maintenance of the Confederate soldiers. See "Acts of the Synod held at Kilkenny in May, 1642." Borlase, appendix, p. 43.

weight into the scale of the Nuncionists; and, for a time at least, gave them political preponderance.

By the Oath of Association all the Confederates were pledged to strive to maintain the "free exercise" of the Roman Catholic religion. In as far as the King was concerned, that object was substantially secured by the agreement with Ormonde. The Confederates were further bound by their oath "to obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made and to be made by the Supreme Council." That body, on behalf of the Association, had entered into the treaty with the Lord Lieutenant. A plain man might, therefore, have inferred that any Confederate who opposed the peace thereby most discreditably compromised himself. But Rinuccini and the clergy assembled at Waterford took quite a different view of the whole affair. With unblushing effrontery they unanimously adopted a Declaration to the effect that "all and every one of the Confederate Catholics" who adhered to the peace was to be held as "*absolutely perjured.*"[1] With the same recklessness, and in defiance of the light of the plainest testimony,[2] they affirmed in the same declaration that, in the Articles of Peace, there is "*no mention* made of the Catholic religion and the security thereof." The decision of this ecclesiastical conclave, published in English and Irish,[3] was

[1] "It is decreed, *nemine contradicente*, that all and every one of the Confederate Catholics who shall adhere to the like peace, or shall consent to the maintenance thereof, or otherwise embrace the same, be held *absolutely perjured*, especially for this cause that in those articles there is *no mention made of the Catholic religion* and *the security thereof.*" See the declaration in full in Cox, ii., appendix xxx., 122.

[2] In addition to the private assurances given by the King, the following statements appear in the Articles themselves:—"That his Majesty's said Commissioner and other Chief Governor . . . shall cause whatsoever shall be further directed by his Majesty to be passed in Parliament for and on behalf of his said Roman Catholic subjects to be accordingly drawn into bills . . . . to be afterwards passed as acts in the said Parliament. . . . It is further concluded . . . . that in the distribution, conferring and disposal of the places of command, honour, profit and trust in the civil government for the future *no difference* shall be made between the said *Roman Catholics* and others his Majesty's subjects."——"It is further concluded . . . . that the said Roman Catholic subjects may erect and keep free schools for education of youth in this kingdom, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding." See Cox, ii., appendix xxiv., 93, 96.

[3] It appears that the Nuncio had no less than two printing presses at work—one at Kilkenny and another at Waterford. O'Conor, *Historical Address*, p. 126, *note*.

circulated all over the country. Nor were these Most Reverend and Right Reverend divines contented with this deliverance. By another decree, adopted at Kilkenny on the 5th of the October following, they "excommunicated, execrated, and anathematized" all such as dared to "defend, adhere to, or approve, the justice of the said peace."[1] Nor did they stop here. They "forbad divine service to be celebrated in all cities and towns which admitted the peace, and suspended all the clergy, seculars and regulars, who preached or spoke in its favour."[2] They went even farther. To reduce the Supreme Council to a state of helplessness, they excommunicated all who received or paid any money or assessments pursuant to their orders, and all soldiers who attempted by force to maintain their authority. At the same time, as if conscious that their charge of perjury was baseless, they framed a *new oath* of association pledging all who took it not to adhere to any peace not "approved by the Congregation of *the clergy* of Ireland."[3]

Spiritual tyranny has often asserted its supremacy with all the audacity of a brazen forehead; and yet it has seldom acted more outrageously than in the Synod of Waterford. An insolent Italian, who had nothing at stake, and whose vanity had been wounded because the treaty with Ormonde had been signed without his knowledge or permission;[4] and a

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[1] This decree may be found in full in Cox, ii., appendix xxxi., 124; and in Borlase, p. 165.

[2] Carte's *Ormonde*, i. 577-8. On the 18th of August, 1646, the R.C. Bishop of Ossory published a manifesto in which he says:—"Whereas, notwithstanding our Declaration . . . . the Supreme Council . . . . have actually proceeded to the publication [of the peace] . . . . *in disobedience* . . . . *in matters of conscience to the Holy Church* . . . . [we] do by these presents . . . . pronounce and command henceforth a *general cessation of divine offices, throughout all the city* and *suburbs of Kilkenny, in all churches, monasteries, and houses in them whatsoever.*" See this document in full in Borlase, pp. 163-4.

[3] Carte, i. 578. See also Rinuccini's *Embassy in Ireland*, p. 238.

[4] "It appears from his *Memoirs*," says O'Conor, "that he knew nothing of that peace until the May following [the time when it was concluded]. The Supreme Council had moved from Kilkenny to Limerick, April 18th, and the Nuncio remained at Kilkenny to May 12th. Then he proceeded to Cashel, where he seems to have had the first intelligence of a peace; and even then only obscure and dubious."—*Historical Address*, p. 190.

few prelates and monks who had hazarded little—if anything —by engaging in the war; were not ashamed, in defiance of all truth, to brand the élite of their own communion with the odious crime of perjury. The men who were thus insulted and traduced were the wisest counsellors, the most generous patriots, the most devout nobility of whom the Confederacy could boast. They had proved their attachment to Romanism by evidences such as their accusers were unable to produce; for they had spent their treasures and imperilled their estates for the sake of their religion. Because they would not surrender their convictions at the bidding of these ecclesiastical adventurers, they must, after all their sacrifices, be excommunicated, execrated, and anathematized! They must be dragooned into subserviency by the sheer violence of priestly intimidation. By threatening to deprive such cities and towns as were in favour of the peace of all the ordinances of religion, the fathers of Waterford exposed themselves to many biting sarcasms. "How strange is it," exclaimed Ormonde, "that these men, who have professed to be so zealous for religious liberty, have—now that it is in their possession—arrived at the conclusion that they will suppress altogether the worship of God! They have shut up the churches of their own accord, and excommunicated those who would resort to them." [1]

The Nuncio had not over-estimated the superstition of the Irish people when he ventured to issue his impious denunciations. It was worse than absurd to impute perjury to the members of the Supreme Council; and they might have known, on the highest of all authority, that "the curse causeless shall not come." [2] They soon began, however, to quail before the threats of the haughty Italian. They accordingly sent deputies to Waterford in the hope of inducing him to adopt a more conciliatory tone; but their evident anxiety to treat with him only increased his arrogance.[3] When the Earl of Castlehaven undertook a similar mission he was equally unsuccessful. The Irish peer was sadly scandalized by Rinuccini's extreme violence. The Nuncio proclaimed his determination to oppose the peace to the utmost; and uttered,

[1] O'Conor's *Historical Address*, p. 202.
[2] *Prov.* xxvi. 2.
[3] Carte, i. 579.

says his Lordship, "other expressions, relating to blood, not becoming a churchman."[1] Backed by the army of Owen Roe O'Neill, he entered Kilkenny on the 18th September, 1646, and immediately assumed the position of head of the Catholic Confederation. All the members of the Supreme Council, with two exceptions, were committed to prison; and other influential Romanists, who were opposed to his views, received the same treatment. By his own authority he appointed a new Council, made up of his creatures—consisting of four bishops and eight laymen. Of this Board he acted as President; and superintended the military as well as the civil administration. In the highest spirits he wrote to the Pope, announcing his success. "This age," says he, "has never seen so unexpected and wonderful a change. . . . The clergy of Ireland, so much despised by the Ormondists, are, in the twinkling of an eye, masters of the kingdom. Soldiers, officers, and generals strive who are to fight for the clergy. . . . The Supreme Council are confounded with amazement to see obedience denied them. All the power and authority of the Confederates are devolved on the clergy!"[2]

But Rinuccini soon discovered that the position which he occupied was far from secure. He had thrust himself into it by military intimidation: and he wanted prudence and capacity to fit him for retaining permanent possession of his usurped power. His very first enterprise, as chief of the Confederates, ended disastrously. He was ambitious to be master of the capital of Ireland; and, almost immediately after he assumed the rank of President, he made an attempt to seize on Dublin—still in the hands of the Royalists. The city was accordingly invested by the combined armies of Preston[3] and O'Neill. But Ormonde conducted the defence with so much skill and courage that the Confederates were obliged to withdraw ingloriously. The Nuncio, on his return from the theatre of war, entered Kilkenny "*incognito*, in his

[1] The Earl of Castlehaven's *Review* or his *Memoirs*, p. 67. Dublin, 1815.

[2] Carte, i. 584; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, p. 205. See also Rinuccini's *Embassy in Ireland*, pp. 499, 204.

[3] Preston had the command of the Confederate troops in Leinster.

single litter, without guards or attendance"[1]—thus significantly indicating how complete had been his failure. The tide of public feeling—even at the headquarters of the Confederation—now began to turn: and the multitude, hitherto apparently destitute of sympathy for the imprisoned members of the Supreme Council, loudly demanded their release.[2] Rinuccini was obliged to yield; and the incarcerated senators were set free. It was now deemed necessary to convoke a new General Assembly at Kilkenny; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the Nuncionists, the liberated councillors were chosen as members of the convention. But Owen Roe O'Neill held a large part of the country in military occupation, and appointed his own officers to sit for those towns and counties of Ulster which were in the hands of the Protestants,[3] and which consequently had returned no representatives. The priests in various places counteracted the influence of the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, by refusing absolution to all in favour of the treaty with Ormonde.[4] Thus Rinuccini secured, in the General Assembly, a large majority of devoted adherents.

The new Assembly met at Kilkenny on the 10th of January, 1647. The Nuncio was aware that he had already given much offence by usurping the Presidential office, and by the arbitrary manner in which he had administered the government; and, as he could safely rely on the pliancy of the newly-chosen representatives, he now formally resigned his dictatorship. But though his supporters greatly preponderated in numbers, they had to contend against a bold and vigilant minority, who far excelled them in intelligence and argumentative ability. The Declaration of the late Synod at Waterford soon became the subject of discussion. It was impossible to vindicate its atrocious verdict; for no

[1] Belling's *Fragmentum Historicum. Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. ii. p. 425. Richard Belling, the author of this narrative, was Secretary to the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 425.

[3] *Desid. Cur. Hiber.*, ii. 427. Belling states that, for some boroughs, three members were returned, and voted. *Ibid.*

[4] Belling's *Fragmentum Historicum. Desid. Curiosa Hibernica*, ii. 427.

reason could be assigned, sufficient to convince any man of candour or common sense, that all who approved of the treaty with Ormonde were guilty of perjury. But when the majority were unable to defend the proceedings of the Synod, they endeavoured to put down their antagonists by mere clamour. "The Bishop of Leighlin,[1] who always sat upon an eminent bench at the upper end of the house, could," says an eye-witness, "with waving his hat, raise such a storm from the middle seats, and towards the door, that nothing could be heard for a long time after but the repeated thunder of *Aye* or *No*, or that which he first dictated to them. In former times the less knowing burgess either held his peace, or sought to apprehend some colour of reason wherefore he should appear more of the one side than the other: but now those men, as a set of organ-pipes—as senseless and louder—depended for their squeaking, or being still, on the hand of another." [2] This bitter discussion, which continued for three weeks, ended in a compromise. The decision of the Synod of Waterford was virtually pronounced unjust; for the Assembly declared that the commissioners of the treaty had acted *honestly* and pursuant to their instructions in entering into the peace with Ormonde. But this award was balanced by the affirmation that, in rejecting the peace, the clergy also had behaved *conscientiously*.[3] At the same time the Assembly condemned the peace as *invalid;* and framed a new oath of association, pledging the Confederates not to lay down their arms until they had provided still more securely for the maintenance of Roman Catholic interests.[4] Thus the act of the Supreme Council, in ratifying

[1] The bishop here mentioned was Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, a very active partisan of the Nuncio. He was the author of *The Bleeding Iphigenia*, *The Unkind Deserter*, and other works. He died at Ghent in 1678, in the 75th year of his age. See Brenan, p. 534. In 1642 he was chosen as one of the representatives of the town of Wexford in the General Assembly. He was then only a parish priest; but the clergy were permitted by the Confederates to sit in their Lower House of Legislation, as well as to occupy places among the peers in the capacity of Lords Spiritual. *Ibid.* See also T. D. McGee's *Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century*, p. 133.

[2] Belling's *Prax. Hist. Dec. Cur. Hiber.*, ii. 429. [3] Meehan, p. 180.

[4] Haverty, p. 561. The following was the addition now made to the Oath of

the treaty with Ormonde, was formally disowned; and hostilities continued.

When the Confederation was first formed, its executive government was entrusted with the Church patronage. The

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Association (see before, p. 59, *note* (2)) adopted at Kilkenny in May, 1642: "Moreover I do further swear that I will not accept of, or submit to, any peace made, or to be made, with the said Confederate Catholics, without the consent and approbation of the General Assembly of the said Confederate Catholics. And for the preservation and strengthening of the association and union of the kingdom, that upon any peace or accommodation to be made or concluded with the said Confederate Catholics as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, insist upon and maintain the ensuing propositions until a peace as aforesaid be made, and the matters to be agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and secured by Parliament." Meehan (*Confed. of Kilkenny*, p. 29) and others have made this addition a part of the oath of 1642. But this is obviously a mistake. See the oath in full, as adopted by the General Assembly in January, 1647, in Burke's *Hib. Dominicana*, supplement, pp. 882, 883. The *propositions* mentioned in this addition, which were four in number, and which were *now* insisted on by the clergy, were the following:—

"I. That the R.C. clergy and laity, in their respective stations, have the free and public exercise of the R.C. religion and rites throughout the whole kingdom, in the same dignity and splendour as enjoyed in Ireland and England in the reign of Henry VII., or any of the other Catholic kings, his predecessors.

"II. That the secular clergy of Ireland, viz., primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, &c., &c.—vicars and other pastors, and their respective successors, shall all have and enjoy all jurisdiction, privileges, and immunities, in as full and ample a manner as the R.C. clergy had or enjoyed within this realm at any time during the reign of the late King Henry VII., King of England and Lord of Ireland, any laws, statutes, power, or authority to the contrary notwithstanding.

"III. That all laws and statutes made since the twentieth year of King Henry VIII. (A.D. 1529) whereby any restraint, penalty, or other incapacity is laid upon any Roman Catholics, whether clergy or laity, for the free exercise of the R.C. religion, and of their several functions, jurisdictions, and privileges, may be abrogated, and declared null and void in the next Parliament, by one or more Acts of Parliament to be passed therein.

"IV. That primates, archbishops, bishops, ordinaries, deans, &c., &c., shall have, hold, and enjoy the churches and church-livings in as full and ample a manner as the Protestant clergy respectively enjoyed the same on the 1st day of October, 1641, with all their fruits, emoluments, perquisites, liberties, and other rights belonging to the respective dioceses and churches, as well in the places now in the possession of the Confederate Catholics as also in all other places within the kingdom that shall be recovered by them from the adverse party, saving to the R.C. laity their respective rights according to the laws of this realm." See Burke, *Hib. Dominicana*, supplement, p. 883; Meehan, pp. 181-2; Brenan, p. 460. These propositions were, it appears, submitted by the clergy to the General Assembly on the very first day of its meeting in January, 1647. Cox, ii. 185.

Nuncio Scarampi announced, on his arrival in the country, that the Pope, his master, was resolved not to grant any provisions at Rome, for benefices or ecclesiastical dignities in Ireland, but to such as were nominated by the Supreme Council.[1] We may thus, to some extent, account for the comparative moderation of the clergy before the arrival of Rinuccini. They knew that, by offending the distinguished laymen at the head of the Confederacy, they would forfeit their prospects of ecclesiastical preferment. But the Nuncio Extraordinary dispensed the patronage according to his own pleasure; and thus secured the support of all who were anxious to obtain benefices or bishoprics. The Supreme Council felt annoyed by what they deemed a usurpation of their privilege: and, in the General Assembly now sitting, the introduction of this topic led to some warm debates. The lawyers insisted that the right of presentation belonged properly to the Crown; and that, in the peculiar circumstances of the country, it should be exercised by the Supreme Council. The Nuncio professed to be astonished at this claim;[2] though, as a canonist, he must have known well that it had no pretensions whatever to novelty. With great difficulty he contrived to stifle the discussion, by moving its adjournment until he should have an opportunity of consulting the Court of Rome. But meanwhile he continued, as before, to appropriate the disputed patronage.

If the prelates who sat in the Assembly at Kilkenny in January, 1647, had possessed an ordinary share of prudence and honourable feeling, they would have refused to place themselves in the very invidious position which they now occupied. The war was protracted chiefly to gratify their ambition. All were willing to contend to the last for the free exercise of religion: but the more intelligent minority did not think it necessary to require, as a condition of peace, that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland must be restored to the state of absolute supremacy which it enjoyed before the Reformation. Nothing less would satisfy the lords

[1] Belling, *Desid. Cur. Hibernica*, ii. 219.

[2] Carte, i. 597.

spiritual. The treaty with Ormonde must be broken because this object was not secured. During the discussions, at least one member of the Assembly earnestly pressed this point; and made an appeal to the bishops, explaining to them very clearly and pathetically the dangerous ground on which they stood. "There was a time, my Lords," said Colonel Bagnal, "when our ancestors, at the peril of their fortunes and of their lives, sheltered some of you, and of your predecessors, from the severity of the laws. They were not niggardly sharers in your wants; and it cannot be said that the splendour of your present state has added to the sincere filial reverence which was then paid you. We, their posterity, have with our blood and fortunes asserted the advantage which you now have over them. Reach forth your hands to pull us back from that precipice on which we now stand. Your zeal for the house of God will be deemed no less fervent that you have preserved the Irish nation. Rescue us, we beseech you. Grant somewhat to the memory of our fathers, and to the affection we bear you ourselves. Let a request find favour with you which is made to prevent *a violation of public faith*." [1] This speech, it is said, "moved compassion in some of the bishops:" but, in the end, spiritual pride would make no concessions. A resolution taken in the "Synodical Congregation" was deemed "*too sacred to be revoked*, or changed upon any consideration." [2]

This Assembly of 1647, composed largely of delegates returned by the influence of the clergy and Owen Roe O'Neill, continued obstinately to oppose the peace with Ormonde. The Lord Lieutenant sent deputies to Kilkenny in the hope of effecting some agreement; but, before their arrival, the Nuncionists had managed to make arrangements which rendered further negotiations useless.[3] Despairing of being able to come to any terms with the Confederates, Ormonde entered into stipulations with the Commissioners of the English Parliament;[4] surrendered Dublin into their

[1] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, pp. 210-11.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 211.

[3] Carte, i. 599.

[4] At this time Ormonde's second son, Lord Richard Butler, the Earl of Roscommon, and Sir James Ware, so celebrated for his antiquarian researches, were sent

hands in July, 1647; and immediately afterwards left the country. He at first repaired to South Britain; but, finding it unsafe to remain there, he passed over into France, and resided for some time at Paris.

The Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic nobility and gentry had been all along averse to insist on the King's compliance with the conditions proposed by the Nuncionists. Many of them had sufficient discernment to see that these terms—even if accepted by Charles—never could be realized; as they would have been firmly opposed by the combined Protestantism of Great Britain. Passing events abundantly justified this conclusion. When the royal authority was apparently annihilated in Ireland by the departure of Ormonde, the Confederates found themselves confronted by a far more formidable adversary. The English Parliament, released from the struggle with the King, could send ample reinforcements across the channel; and, a few months after the departure of the Lord Lieutenant, two of the Confederate armies were well-nigh cut to pieces. These reverses revealed very clearly the folly of the Nuncionists; and a new Assembly, convened at Kilkenny in November, 1647, attested the decline of their influence. The Ormondists, by great exertions, had been able to return a large majority of the representatives.[1] Rinuccini, still unwilling to resign his supremacy, had the effrontery to insist that eleven bishops of his own nomination—elect, but not yet consecrated—should be permitted to sit and vote; and, though the lawyers protested against the proceeding as contrary to all precedent,[2] the other members, for the sake of peace, consented to their admission.[3] The Nuncio next demanded that nine members from Ulster should each have

to England as hostages for the performance of his stipulations. Leland, iii. 309. When Dublin was given up to the Commissioners of Parliament, the use of the English Liturgy was interdicted, and the Directory of the Westminster Assembly substituted.

[1] Carte, ii. 16-17; Meehan, p. 204.

[2] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 138.

[3] Meehan states that the Bulls appointing them to their sees had already arrived (*Conf. of Kilkenny*, p. 205); but this was a falsehood told by Rinuccini to enable him to carry his point. The Bulls did not arrive till four months afterwards. See Carte, ii. 17; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 342; Warner, ii. 127.

seven votes—as the six-sevenths of the counties and towns of the Northern Province had been prevented from sending forward representatives;[1] but the Assembly refused to sanction so preposterous a proposal. In the end Rinuccini exhibited such an unaccommodating spirit that he lost all control over the deliberations; and the Supreme Council, wearied out by his tyrannical conduct, at length ventured openly to set him at defiance.

For some years past, Murrough O'Brien, better known as Lord Inchiquin—a scion of the royal house of Brian Boru—had commanded a powerful force in Munster in the interest of the English Parliament. He was by birth a Romanist. Like Ormonde he had been educated a Protestant. He was, however, of a somewhat fickle temperament; and towards the close of his life he is said to have returned to Popery.[2] At an early period of the struggle between the King and the Parliament, he had espoused the cause of the people, and distinguished himself as a successful soldier; but he had avenged the Irish massacre with terrible severity; and hence, because his triumphant career was marked by the desolation which he spread around him, he was commonly known, throughout all the south of Ireland, as *Murrough of the Burnings*. Offended, according to some, because, as he conceived, his services had not been sufficiently recognized—or, according to others, because he disapproved of the course at present pursued by those at the head of the Government in England—he meditated a return to the side of royalty; and, to strengthen his position, listened to overtures made to him about this time by the Supreme Council.[3] Alarmed by the recent successes of this stern General, even the Nuncio himself was at first disposed to recommend a truce;[4] but when delivered from the apprehension of immediate danger,

[1] Leland, iii. 318.

[2] Borlase, i. 278; Haverty, p. 590, *note*. By his will he left £20 to the Franciscan friars of Ennis, and another sum "for the performance of the usual duties of the R.C. clergy, and for other pious uses." *Ibid.* See also *Hist. Memoir of the O'Briens*, by O'Donoghue, p. 304. Dublin, 1860.

[3] Meehan, p. 215.

[4] Leland, iii. 324; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 344.

and when he discovered that Inchiquin was acting in concert with the Marquis of Ormonde, he forthwith changed his tone, and protested vehemently against any accommodation. The old Irish were now desirous to hand over their country to a foreign prince; and Rinuccini proposed that the Pope should be acknowledged as *Protector* of the Kingdom.[1] His real object in this overture was to place the island at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff. He had already tried, by the most contemptible casuistry, to convict his political antagonists of perjury; but, had he succeeded in his present scheme, he would have rendered the whole of the Confederates justly obnoxious to the odious charge; for they were all bound, by their oath of association, to bear true allegiance to the King, his heirs and successors.[2] A new treaty with the Royalists would have subverted the Nuncio's plans; and hence the fierce hostility encountered by the proposal of a cessation with Inchiquin.[3] The dreaded General had lately captured the city of Cashel; when the inhabitants fled for refuge to their Cathedral seated on a rock, well fortified and provided with a powerful garrison, he had stormed this stronghold; and twenty priests had lost their lives in the indiscriminate slaughter which followed.[4] Though Rinuccini, since his arrival in Ireland, had been often accessory to the shedding of human blood, and had in some cases performed the duties of a General, he professed to be utterly horrified by the killing of these twenty ecclesiastics. He declared that he would make no league with a commander who had committed such an impious atrocity. But the Supreme Council, pressed on

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[1] Meehan, pp. 206, 210; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 342. The instructions of the Supreme Council to the Commissioners at the Court of Rome, dated Kilkenny, 18th January, 1647-8, relative to this subject, may be found in Borlase, p. 176. The Commissioners were secretly instructed to request that Rinuccini be made a Cardinal. O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 343.

[2] Long ere this Rinuccini had been contemplating the suppression of the royal power in Ireland. In 1646 he wrote to Cardinal Pamphilio stating that "the King's destruction would be of most advantage to the Irish," and expressing a wish "that the Parliament might get the better of him, and make themselves masters of England."—WARNER'S *History of the Rebellion*, ii. 91.

[3] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 345; Carte, ii. 31.

[4] Leland, iii. 316.

all sides with difficulties, could not understand this High Church sentimentalism; and, notwithstanding the most strenuous resistance on the part of the Nuncio, the Cessation with Inchiquin – to continue to the 1st of November following, —was concluded at Dungarvan on the 20th of May, 1648.[1]

According to the terms arranged, Roman Catholics were to be permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion everywhere except in the garrisons or quarters of the late Parliamentary General:[2] and the property in their possession, whether they were laity or clergy, was to be retained by them without disturbance during the continuance of the truce. As soon as the Nuncio discovered that no regard was paid to his remonstrances, he withdrew privately from Kilkenny, and placed himself under the protection of Owen Roe O'Neill. From the camp of his favourite chief he soon began to fulminate his spiritual thunders. He had caused a protest against the act of the Supreme Council to be affixed to the doors of the Cathedral of Kilkenny; and, when it was contemptuously torn down, he published immediately afterwards,[3] a sentence of excommunication against those who favoured the Cessation; and placed under an interdict all those cities, towns, and districts in which it was accepted and maintained.[4] Instead of displaying an anxiety to preserve the peace of the Confederacy by yielding, in some points, to the Supreme Council, he absurdly rose in his demands, so as to render an agreement impossible. He insisted that two of the Confederate Generals,[5] with whom he was dissatisfied, should be set aside; that all governors and military officers should take an oath neither to move, do, nor agree to anything that might be deemed to the prejudice of the Church, without the permission of the clergy; and that the members of Council should swear not

[1] Carte, ii. 33.

[2] A copy of the terms of the Cessation may be found in Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, supplement, pp. 887-9. There were probably few, if any, Romanists at this time in the garrisons of Inchiquin.

[3] The excommunication, dated 27th of May, 1648, may be found in Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, appendix of Instruments, p. 34.

[4] Carte, ii. 34; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 347.

[5] That is Taafe and Preston, the commanders of the Confederate troops in Munster and Leinster. Leland, iii. 325.

to suffer any peace to be made but such as agreed with instructions given to agents sent to Rome.[1] Several bishops[2] at first signed the Nuncio's protest against the truce; but some of them soon became so ashamed of his proceedings that they withdrew their opposition. The Supreme Council appealed to Rome against his sentence of excommunication;[3] and thus endeavoured to ward off the immediate effects of the ecclesiastical anathema.

At this crisis the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland was in a very singular dilemma. The Nuncio Extraordinary—invested with the full power of the Pope—denounced all who adhered to the truce as guilty of mortal sin; and announced his determination to deprive of the ordinances of religion every place where it was recognized by the authorities. This assuredly was spiritual tyranny in perfection. There were leaders among the Confederates at least as wise and as worthy as this Archbishop of Fermo; but the whole nation must bow to the will of the overbearing autocrat. The mass of the population had as little to do with the making of the compact as Rinuccini himself; and yet they must suffer. Public worship must cease, and the whole country, as far as he could accomplish it, must be laid under the curse of the Almighty until the hated truce is disowned! The object of the Nuncio in resorting to this extreme measure is sufficiently clear. He wished to drive a superstitious people to the verge of despair; and compel the Supreme Council to resile from their position by the clamour of a terrified community. But there are times when the veriest slave will refuse any longer to endure the insolence of despotism. Conscience shed its light across the path of the Council: its members *had sworn* to the Cessation with Inchiquin; and they were not prepared to swallow the doctrine that no faith was to be kept with heretics. Rinuccini had declared their appeal to Rome in-

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[1] Carte, ii. 34.

[2] See O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 410. The bishops afterwards pleaded, as their apology, that they were misled by the Nuncio. *Ibid.* pp. 412-3.

[3] The appeal of the Supreme Council may be found at length in Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, appendix of Instruments, pp. 35-39. It is dated 31st of May, 1648, that is, four days after the date of the excommunication.

valid; and in this emergency they sought the advice of some of the clergy around them in whose knowledge and discretion they had confidence. David Rothe, the aged bishop of the diocese, was deemed the best theologian on the episcopal bench; and to him, and certain other divines selected to aid him by their counsel, they applied for information. Seven queries were submitted to them for solution. (1) They asked—Are the articles of the Cessation against the Catholic religion, or do they warrant a sentence of excommunication? (2) Does the appeal made by us to Rome, against the sentence, meanwhile suspend its execution? (3) Do certain answers returned by us to the proposals of the Nuncio render us liable to excommunication? (4) Does opposition to the Cessation, in defiance of the positive orders of the Supreme Council, by those who have taken the oath of association, involve the guilt of perjury? (5) If the law of the land, even as it existed in Catholic times, is violated by the sentence, are the Nuncio and his adherents at liberty to publish the excommunication and interdict? (6) Can any one, without the concurrence of the General Assembly, obtain a dispensation to break the Oath of Association? (7) Can any of the Confederates, under pretence of submitting to the Nuncio, disobey the orders of the Supreme Council? To all these queries the old Bishop of Ossory and his coadjutors promptly returned replies most satisfactory to the interrogators. They declared that the Cessation supplied no proper reason for a sentence of excommunication; and that, as such sentence was in itself groundless and invalid, an appeal was virtually unnecessary. They affirmed that the Pope himself might make mistakes; and that, if even he delivered a false judgment, he was not entitled to obedience. "If," said they, "his Holiness—who is the Supreme ecclesiastical judge on earth, and from whom there is no appeal, in matters belonging to his judicature, otherwise than from himself to himself—did, upon ill information, or for any other cause whatsoever, give judgment or pronounce censure contrary to justice and conscience, or which would be disadvantageous to our public cause, or destructive of our commonwealth, or of the lives, liberties, or fortunes of the Confederates, or of the

Council, or of that part of the Confederates who adhere to them and to the Cessation (being incomparably the greater part of the kingdom)—there is no Catholic divine in the world but must confess it would be lawful to resist and oppose his Holiness in this case, and to hinder the execution of such a sentence."[1] They declared further that those who had sworn the Oath of Association and yet opposed the Cessation, despite the command of the Supreme Council, incurred the guilt of perjury; that the Pope himself would commit "a mortal and most heinous crime"[2] were he to give a dispensation to break the oath: and that the appeal meanwhile stayed the execution of the excommunication and interdict.

These answers to the queries were the result of much deliberation. For ten days Bishop Rothe and his associates were busily employed in consulting the writings of divines and canonists, and in discussing the various points respecting which their opinion was solicited. When they had at length agreed upon the substance of their reply, Peter Walsh, one of their number—a learned Franciscan now residing at the headquarters of the Confederation—was entrusted with the preparation of the document in which their sentiments were to be embodied. Walsh addressed himself to his task with the zeal of an enthusiast; as he tells us that he never once closed his eyes, for the three days and three nights together, during which he was engaged in this literary labour.[3] The work itself supplies evidence that in the meantime he must have been fully occupied. It extends over twenty-seven closely-printed folio pages of carefully-arranged matter, bristling with quotations from a vast variety of the highest

[1] Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, appendix of Instruments. The queries, pp. 18, 19.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[3] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance.* To the reader, p. xlvi. Walsh here adds:—"I was forced to watch, moreover, even the very two next days and nights, immediately following the former three, for studying the first sermon that was preached in Ireland of purpose on the subject of the foresaid censures, against them and the Nuncio." It appears that, on the preceding Lord's Day it had been announced "in all the churches which kept not the interdict" that he would so preach, and thus he was obliged to make this extraordinary effort.

Romish authorities in questions of casuistry. It was forthwith committed to the press; and it appears to have at once produced a deep and extensive impression. No one ever attempted a reply.[1] Thomas Dease, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath—a prelate widely respected for his piety and learning—published his approval of it; and several other divines of eminence testified in the same way that, in all its parts and pages, "truth was enfranchised, ignorance enlightened;" and the proceedings of the Supreme Council in regard to the Cessation "vindicated from injustice."[2] Even the Jesuit fathers at Kilkenny attested that it was "a learned and laborious performance," most worthy to be published "to remove scruples," and "to settle the consciences of all sorts."[3] In the end, the Supreme Council were joined in their appeal to Rome by fourteen prelates and all the secular clergy in their dioceses, as well as by many of the monastic orders.[4] But the Pope rejected the appeal as frivolous;[5] and, for many years afterwards, the ban of the Church rested on those who supported the Cessation with Inchiquin. Though Rothe was thus permitted to close his earthly career under the sentence of excommunication,[6] he did not cease till his death to perform all the functions of a Roman Catholic prelate. At first the Dominicans and Franciscans at Kilkenny shut up their churches in obedience to the interdict;[7] but the Jesuits in the same city kept their chapels open.[8] The like course was generally pursued; and thus the ecclesiastical censures of Rinuccini proved practically abortive.

The immediate result of the intemperate conduct of Rinuccini was the virtual destruction of the Confederacy.

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[1] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, p. 165.

[2] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, appendix of Instruments. Queries, iii.

[3] *Ibid.* Queries, ii.

[4] Carte, ii. 34; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 348.

[5] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 414. It appears that the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry of Ireland were not *unconditionally* absolved until 1698! See Burke's *Hib. Dominicana*, p. 691. Ware says that, in 1665, "Pope Alexander VII. absolved the Irish from the excommunication of the Nuncio, *upon their doing penance.*"—*Gesta Hibernorum.*

[6] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, p. 168.

[7] Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance.* To the reader, p. xlv.

[8] *Ibid.*

On the 11th of June, 1648, Owen Roe O'Neill proclaimed war against the Supreme Council;[1] and every effort was made, by appealing to the superstitions of the soldiers, to induce them to desert to his standard. By the terrors of excommunication they had before been compelled to obey the wishes of the Pope's representative; but, on this occasion, they were not so easily intimidated. The Supreme Council denounced Owen Roe as a rebel and a traitor; and the Confederate armies were now arrayed against each other. Rinuccini published a Declaration in which he pronounced it to be "a mortal sin" to recognize the Cessation with Inchiquin;[2] but the troops who supported the views of the Supreme Council were found to be "excommunication proof;" so that the Nuncio himself was obliged to retire before them. After seeking refuge in various places, he at length withdrew to Galway[3]—where he summoned a Synod to assemble on the 15th of August. But the Supreme Council interdicted the meeting; the bishops who still supported him were prevented from attending; and Lord Clanricarde, a Roman Catholic peer who had all along remained faithful to the royal cause, laid siege to the city in which he had sought shelter. Galway was soon obliged to capitulate; and the inhabitants were forced to renounce the Nuncio and his adherents.[4] Even De Burgo, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam—to whose province Galway belonged—refused to carry out Rinuccini's sentence of ex-

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[1] Cox, ii. 200.

[2] This Declaration, dated 13th of August, 1648, may be found in Cox, ii. 201. The Nuncio here says:—"We, by these presents, declare that it is a mortal sin against God and his Church, and a breach of the Oath of Association, either to procure or suffer the publication of that truce; and that Catholics ought, and are bound to undergo the loss of all their temporal goods, their liberty, all that is dear to them, and even their life itself, rather than publish or obey it."

[3] About this time John Lynch—who, under the name of Gratianus Lucius, wrote the well-known work *Cambrensis Eversus*—resided at Galway. He was a native of the place. When the garrison surrendered in 1652 he retired to France. Lynch was quite opposed to the proceedings of Rinuccini. He was R.C. Archdeacon of Tuam, and he is said, but perhaps incorrectly, to have died R.C. Bishop of Killala. Lynch wrote various works. He was an excellent scholar, and well acquainted with Irish antiquities.

[4] Carte, ii. 36; Leland, iii. 327.

communication and interdict.[1] Such was the humiliating position in which this proud Italian now found himself.

Ormonde, who had been for some time past in France, had been anxiously watching the progress of events in Ireland. His correspondents in this country had of late been urgently pressing him to return; and the time seemed to have arrived when he could again appear with advantage on the political arena. Embarking at Havre de Grâce, he arrived at Cork towards the end of September, 1648, with a retinue of about one hundred persons; and, soon afterwards, was invited to repair to Kilkenny to settle the terms of a peace with the Supreme Council. He readily acceded to this overture; and his reception, in a place which had been for upwards of six years the capital of the Confederacy, revealed a wonderful change in public sentiment. As he approached the city, a large concourse—including the members of the General Assembly, the nobility, the gentry, and the clergy—met him to bid him welcome; he was received, in state, by the magistrates; and, surrounded by his own guards, was permitted to occupy the seat of his ancestors, the castle of Kilkenny.[2] After some weeks spent in negotiation, a peace was concluded; and, on the 17th of January, 1649, the whole of the Confederate Assembly, headed by their chairman, Sir Richard Blake, presented the articles to the Lord Lieutenant for his acceptance and confirmation. He caused them to be immediately proclaimed; and even the clergy, by declarations and circular letters,[3] signified their approval of the agreement.[4]

Though the terms fell far short of those proposed by Rinuccini, they were in some respects more favourable to the Romanists than any they had yet obtained.[5] All the penal statutes against them were to be repealed, and their freedom of worship was secured. They were to retain the churches already in their possession until the King's pleasure should be declared. Ormonde consented meanwhile to divest himself

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[1] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, p. 177.

[2] Borlase, p. 201.

[3] See Cox, ii., appendix xliv.

[4] Borlase, p. 202; Cox, ii. 205; Leland, iii. 334.

[5] For a copy of this treaty see Cox, ii., appendix xliii. See also Milton's observations on the Articles in his *Works*. Ed. London, 1866, pp. 247, 262.

partially of his authority as Lord Lieutenant, by sharing his power with twelve deputies appointed by the General Assembly—called "Commissioners of Trust." Without their approbation he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, nor erect garrisons. They were to take care that the articles of peace should be observed until ratified by Parliament. Thus, for a time, the Lord Lieutenant virtually committed a large part of the government into the hands of the Confederacy.

But these articles eventually secured to the Roman Catholics no substantial benefit. About a fortnight after the conclusion of the treaty Charles I. ended his career on the scaffold; and his death led very soon to important changes in the state of Ireland. Rinuccini had been already ordered by the Supreme Council to leave the kingdom;[1] and passing events admonished him to hasten his departure. On the 23rd of February, 1649, he embarked at Galway; and as various complaints against him had already reached Rome, he is said, on his arrival there in the following year, to have met with rather a discouraging reception from the Pope, his master.[2]

Rinuccini did not long survive his unfortunate expedition to Ireland. The evils he brought on his co-religionists in this country were incalculable. By insisting on unreasonable conditions of peace and hurling anathemas against all who opposed him, he exhibited intolerable pride, ignorance, and obstinacy; exposed the discipline of his Church to contempt; and hastened the ruin of the Confederacy. The bitter spirit he evoked was not confined to Ireland. In 1642 Luke Wadding[3]—an Irish Franciscan of great learning and ability

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[1] He certainly did not leave a blessing behind him. Hardiman remarks that "for upwards of a century after this period, war, pestilence, and persecution, succeeding each other in rapid and melancholy succession, afflicted its [Galway's] devoted community, and reduced this once opulent, populous, and respectable town to the most unenviable situation."—*History of Galway*, pp. 125-6. The plague appeared in it in July, 1649; and before the end of the following April, swept away upwards of 3,700 of the inhabitants. *Ibid.*

[2] Cox, ii., Charles II., p. 3. See also Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance. To the Catholics, &c.*, p. xxxiv.

[3] See before, p. 66, *note* (2). Contemporary with Wadding was John Colgan, a native of Co. Donegal, and one of the most learned of Irish antiquarians. He

long resident in Rome—was appointed agent for the Confederates at the Court of the sovereign Pontiff. Wadding was much respected in the metropolis of Italy; and the leaders of the Irish Romanists again and again felt and acknowledged the importance of his services. He provided officers for their armies; raised money to pay their troops; and otherwise exerted himself with wonderful zeal to promote their cause. But, during the decline of the Confederacy, he suffered much from misrepresentation and ingratitude. In 1649 the Marquis of Ormonde, aware of his influence, sent him a communication in which it was suggested that, under the peculiar circumstances of the country, special care should be taken to select pious and *loyal* men to preside over the religious orders in Ireland. The Irish monks at Rome in some way heard of this letter, and understood that Wadding was not indisposed to sanction the policy it recommended. Their wrath was ungovernable; and neither the age, nor the fame for almost unrivalled scholarship, nor the remembrance of the past career of the great Franciscan, could protect him from their insults. On one occasion when the Pope—Innocent X.—appeared in public, a mob of Irish monks, headed by an Irishman named Francis Magruairck, fell down before him on their knees, and presented to him a memorial in which Wadding was denounced as a correspondent of the English heretics, a patron of apostates, and a man personally infamous. "He took this procedure of his countrymen so to heart," says a contemporary, "that he carried the grief thereof with him not long after to his grave."[1] The monks, when presenting their complaint, cried out lustily, "Justice, Holy Father."[2] Wadding

spent much of his life on the Continent, and died at Louvain in 1658. He was the author of *Acta Sanctorum*, *Triadis Thaumaturga*, and other works. He succeeded, as lecturer on divinity at Louvain in 1635, another native of the Co. of Donegal, named Hugh Ward—a man noted for his acquaintance with the antiquities of his country. Ward left behind him a vast collection of manuscripts which Colgan turned to good account. Michael O'Clery, so well known as one of the compilers of the *Annals of the Four Masters*, was a fellow worker with Colgan and Ward in the field of Irish antiquarian literature. O'Clery died in his native Co. of Donegal in 1643, aged 63 years.

[1] Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 592-3.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 592.

appears never afterwards to have recovered his health and spirits. After lingering long in a state of infirmity, he died in 1657, in the seventieth year of his age.[1]

The seven years which embrace the history of the Catholic Confederation, from its commencement to the treaty with Ormonde immediately before the death of Charles I., present a series of exciting and extraordinary incidents. During all this period Ireland was in the throes of a political convulsion; but religion, instead of exerting a kindly and healing influence, only embittered the contention. Whilst the country was rent to pieces by civil strife, bishops and priests were among the fiercest belligerents. The voice of the Nuncio was still for war; and when the laity were anxious to beat their swords into ploughshares, they were forced into the battlefield by excommunications and interdicts. Prelates sat in the General Assembly: acted as members of the Supreme Council: managed diplomatic correspondence: and conducted military operations. If twenty priests perished at the siege of Cashel, it was absurd for Rinuccini to denounce the successful General as guilty of aggravated murder; for, when the clergy were so far forgetful of their sacred character as to engage in hand-to-hand encounters with their foes, they could not expect to escape the ordinary casualties of the conflict. The most daring wickedness was committed by those who were constantly charging others with impiety; for the Sacraments were horribly prostituted when they were employed as means to coerce men to act in opposition to the light of their own convictions, or to continue a bloody and useless contest.

The civil war was commenced for the avowed purpose of securing the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion; but it is noteworthy that its promoters refused to others a privilege which they asserted for themselves. Wherever the power of the Confederation was established, Protestant

[1] Brenan, p. 526. Walsh surely exaggerates enormously when he says that Wadding "in his own days, and at least continually for thirty years of them, had seen and heard his own *Annals* [*Annales Minorum*] with so much esteem daily read, during that long extent of time, in the public refectory pulpits of above *forty thousand Franciscan monasteries*, throughout all parts of the Christian world."—*History of the Remonstrance*, p. 592.

worship was forbidden.[1] At one time during the war the Roman Catholic lords and gentry of Leinster and Munster —apparently desirous to free themselves from the charge of intolerance—set forth a Declaration[2] repudiating the intention of extirpating the English and Scottish colonists, and stating that, on certain conditions, "each man *known to be a moderate, conformable* Protestant" might enjoy the freedom of his religion: but Puritans or Presbyterians were excepted from this act of grace;[3] and no consistent and conscientious Episcopalian could avail himself of the privilege on the conditions prescribed.[4] In point of fact, Protestant worship in every form was put down throughout all those parts of Ireland in which the Confederacy had established its authority. Though the adherents of the Reformed faith constituted perhaps nearly the one-fifth of the entire population of Ireland,[5] an attempt was now made to prevent altogether the celebration of their ritual.[6] By the oath of association—framed at the commencement of the war, and still retained with certain additions—the Confederates were pledged to maintain their allegiance to the King; and yet so great was their intolerance that they disputed whether His Majesty should be

[1] Cox, ii 187; and Charles, ii. 8; Leland, iii. 310.

[2] This Declaration, dated 9th of May, 1644, may be found in Cox, appendix xi., pp. 49, 50. See also Madden's *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, vol. i. p. 137. London, 1867. In Madden the oath, with the obnoxious conditions, is not given.

[3] Dr. O'Conor admits that the Confederates contemplated "the *expulsion* of the *Puritans*."—*Hist. Address*, part i. 191, *note*.

[4] The "*moderate, conformable* Protestant," that is, the lukewarm Episcopalian, was required to swear "in the presence of Almighty God, and *all* the *angels* and *saints in heaven*," that he would "*join with the Irish army*," that is, fight against the royal troops, and that "he would do no act, or thing, directly or indirectly, to prejudice the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion"—by which the Confederates meant its restoration to its ancient power and splendour. See the oath in Cox, appendix xi.

[5] See before, p. 93, *note* (2); and Petty's *Political Anatomy*, p. 317. Tracts. Ed. Dublin, 1769.

[6] Rothe and his associates boast, in their replies to the queries of the Supreme Council, that, according to the terms of the cessation with Inchiquin, the Protestant party were *not* to enjoy the "benefit or liberty of their function or religion" in the quarters of the Confederates. Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*. The Queries, p. 3.

allowed the use of one chapel in Dublin as soon as their dominion extended over the whole of the kingdom.[1] It is therefore obvious that they aimed, not merely at Roman Catholic ascendency, but at the extinction of Protestantism.

Ministers of religion, as well as other men, are members of the commonwealth, and as such may exercise their share of political influence; but they are not properly entitled, by virtue of their office, to claim any civil authority. The history of the Catholic Confederation illustrates the folly and the danger of permitting them to interfere unduly in matters of statesmanship. The policy of Rinuccini would have been fraught with disasters to any community. Had he been suffered to carry out his views, Ireland, with the exception of the States of the Church,[2] would have been the most priest-ridden country in Europe. The Pope would have been its sovereign; and the clergy would have regulated all its affairs. They would have framed its laws: guided its administration: and commanded its soldiers. The Church would have soon engrossed almost all the landed property of the kingdom; and there would have been no freedom, either civil or religious. But the mission of this Italian Nuncio was, from first to last, a most inglorious failure. He ruined the Confederacy, and contributed largely to bring down upon Ireland the more appalling misery with which it was soon afterwards oppressed.

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[1] Leland, iii. 310. During the war the Romanists exhibited their intolerance by refusing to permit the bodies of Protestants to be buried in the churchyards. See Borlase, p. 171. The Rev. John Yorke, Protestant Dean of Kilmacduagh (see Cotton's *Fasti*, iv. 203), was forced to bury the Protestants in his own garden. See answer of the Earl of Orrery to Peter Walsh's letter, dated October, 1660.

[2] Since the overthrow of the Pope's temporal power, Rome and the parts adjacent have experienced the advantages of deliverance from sacerdotal government.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLES I. TO THE RESTORATION. A.D. 1649 TO A.D. 1660.

DURING the earlier portion of the interval between the death of Charles I. and the Restoration, Ireland presented a spectacle of almost unparalleled wretchedness. At the commencement of this period it had already suffered, for seven years, from a desolating civil war. Famine and pestilence now supervened, and intensified its misery. The pestilence appeared first in Connaught; and soon spread over Leinster and Munster.[1] At a time when the population of Dublin did not probably exceed fifty thousand,[2] thirteen hundred persons died there weekly of the plague.[3] In the eleven years which immediately succeeded the breaking out of the rebellion, the kingdom is said to have lost fully two-fifths of its inhabitants.[4]

If we believe that God is the moral governor of the world, we cannot peruse the history of these times without seeing His hand in the awful calamities poured out on unhappy Ireland. "The Lord is known by the judgment which He

[1] Peter Walsh states that "the great plague, which began in the year 1649, continued above three years, running over all parts and corners of the island, *except only the North.*"—*Hist. of Remon.*, p. 585.

[2] Sir Wm. Petty reckons the population of Dublin in 1681 at 58,045. *Political Arithmetic*, p. 129. Tracts. Dublin, 1769.

[3] Petty, *Political Anatomy*, p. 314. Tracts.

[4] Sir Wm. Petty, the highest authority in Irish statistics, computes that in 1641 Ireland had a population of 1,466,000 souls; and in 1652, of only 850,000. *Political Anatomy*, p. 312. Tracts. Hardiman states that *in two years*, during this interval, *upwards of the one-third* of the population of Connaught was swept away. *History of Galway*, p. 134. Prendergast asserts most absurdly that "*five-sixths*" of the people now perished. *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, p. 307. London, 1870.

executeth;"[1] and in His dealings with nations we may often trace a remarkable correspondence between misconduct and its providential punishment. Protestantism had been the established religion of the island for well-nigh a century; and yet it had done very little for the spiritual benefit of the people. Instead of labouring to win their confidence by treating them with forbearance and with kindness, by addressing itself in right earnest to the task of their instruction, and by diffusing among them a knowledge of the Gospel through the agency of faithful and able preachers, it had set up a costly hierarchy closely resembling that of Rome; it had compelled all its ministers to use a Liturgy, with which many of them were dissatisfied; it had tried to sustain itself by leaning on the royal authority; and it had aimed to promote its advancement by bribing the unprincipled, and coercing the conscientious. When a good man, such as Bedell, endeavoured to make the natives acquainted with the Word of God through the medium of their own language, his efforts were opposed and thwarted by his own brethren. Now, the hierarchy was prostrated: the King had fallen by the hand of the executioner: and the Liturgy was proscribed. The Episcopal Church, recently so rampant, now found itself utterly helpless. Popery all the while had been engaged in a determined struggle to recover its ascendency. But it had used the most unwarrantable means for the attainment of its object. Its priests and bishops had ever and anon been concocting treason, applying to foreigners for aid, and prompting them to invade the country. They had a large share in fomenting the rebellion which had led to such distress and bloodshed. And terrible was the retribution. They had sown to the wind, and they reaped the whirlwind. They were compelled to drink deeply of the reservoirs of sorrow which they had themselves filled. As we proceed to review the history of the various religious parties in the country during the period before us, the truth of these remarks will be fully confirmed.

In the interval between the death of Charles I. and the Restoration, the public celebration of the service of the Epis-

[1] Ps. ix. 16.

copal Church ceased throughout almost all Ireland. We have seen that in 1644 a considerable number of the episcopal clergy in Ulster became covenanters; and for many years afterwards they seem to have at least partially adopted the Presbyterian form of worship. Some more resolute spirits may have persisted in adhering to their old ritual; but such cases were rare. Martin, Bishop of Meath, is reported to have used the Liturgy in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, till his death in the summer of 1650.[1] Edward Synge, who had a benefice in the county of Donegal, continued to reside there throughout all this period; and, with the connivance of persons in authority, still employed the Book of Common Prayer "in all the public offices of his ministry."[2] Jeremy Taylor—who lived at Portmore, near Lisburn, for some time before the Restoration—often preached, according to tradition, to a small congregation of Royalists in a half-ruined church in his neighbourhood:[3] but it is somewhat doubtful whether even he, on such occasions, ventured to use the obnoxious service-book.[4]

The Protestant prelates suffered heavily by the fall of their establishment. Their revenues were sequestered: they were driven from their palaces: and, wherever the power of the Confederacy prevailed, the Popish bishops immediately took possession of the deserted mansions. Hardships and vexation shortened the lives of the fallen dignitaries; and twelve of them died during the eleven years immediately preceding the Restoration.[5] The pious and erudite Ussher had special

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[1] After the Rebellion of 1641, Martin was chosen Provost of the College. He died of the plague in Dublin in July 1650. Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 118.

[2] Mant, i. 592. At the restoration, Synge was made Bishop of Limerick, and subsequently advanced to the united sees of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. He died in December, 1678. The original name of the family was *Millington*; but it had been changed to Synge (Sing) on account of the remarkable sweetness of voice and skill in vocal music exhibited by some of its members. Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 228.

[3] Mant, i. 600.

[4] When at Portmore he was, on one occasion, reported to the Irish Privy Council as having used the sign of the cross in *private* baptism. Mant, i. 599. Such a complaint would not have been preferred had he publicly used the whole Liturgy.

[5] Two of these, the Bishop of Limerick and the Bishop of Cork and Ross, died

reason to acknowledge the goodness of God in this day of adversity. In the beginning of the civil war in England, he joined the royal party; and yielded, with quite too much facility, to courtly influence; but all admitted, notwithstanding, his genuine worth; and even Cromwell recognized his excellence by giving him a pension of £400 per annum.[1] He spent his latter years under the hospitable roof of the Countess of Peterborough;[2] and, at his death, his remains were awarded the honour of a splendid public funeral. Under the Protectorate, Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down and Connor, and John Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe, received each a pension of £120 per annum from Government.[3] Another of the disestablished prelates pursued a most extraordinary course. Henry Jones, Bishop of Clogher, accommodated himself to the times; laid aside for a season the clerical character; and became Scoutmaster General to Oliver Cromwell![4] He was a formidable swordsman; and, in hand-to-hand fights with the foe, many reeled and fell beneath the blows of the warrior bishop.[5] After the death of Cromwell he changed sides again; interested himself in the restoration of Charles II.; recovered his bishopric; and subsequently obtained another step of promotion on the episcopal ladder! He died Bishop of Meath in 1681.[6]

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in 1649; and four, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Killala, died in 1650.

[1] This pension was granted to him as early as 1643 by the English Parliament; but it was at one time irregularly paid. In the time of the Protector the payments appear to have been more punctual. See Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 251.

[2] See before, p. 6, *note* (3). After his death his library was purchased for £2,200 by Henry Cromwell, and presented to Trinity College, Dublin. Borlase, p. 315. Elrington alleges that the books were purchased by Cromwell's officers and soldiers, and that they were intended for a new college or hall which Oliver and his son proposed to erect in Dublin. On the accession of Charles II. they were placed in Trinity College. Elrington's *Life*, p. 303. See also Reid, ii. 253, *note*.

[3] Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 211, *note*, 15. Several other Irish bishops received salaries out of the public treasury. *Ibid.*

[4] Carte's *Ormonde*, ii. 498. See also *Journal of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Arch. Society*, vol. vi., new series, 1867, p. 50. He obtained from Oliver Cromwell a grant of Lynch's Knock, the ancient seat of the Lynches of Summerfield, in Meath—now the demesne of Lord Langford. *Ibid.* p. 62.

[5] Nalson's *Collections*, ii. 535.

[6] Mant, i. 736.

In these troubled times the Presbyterians occupied a peculiar and, often, not very comfortable position. Ever since the arrival of the Scottish army in the Northern Province after the breaking out of the Rebellion, they had been busily organizing congregations in Ulster; their ministers had preached in the parish churches; and, where settled, had been recognized as the established clergy; but now they came into collision with the ruling powers in England. Regarding the execution of Charles I. as a proceeding in every way unjustifiable, the Irish Presbytery, assembled at Belfast[1] in February, 1649, proclaimed their detestation of it in a document which obtained extensive circulation. They had the boldness to denounce the regicides as guilty of "overturning the laws and liberties of the kingdom," of "rooting out all lawful and supreme magistracy," and of "introducing a fearful confusion and lawless anarchy."[2] "With cruel hands," said they, these men have "put the King to death—an act so horrible as no history, divine or human, ever had a precedent to the like." This paper was forthwith laid before the remnant of a Parliament then in London; and was deemed of so much consequence that the Council of State employed no less distinguished a writer than John Milton to prepare a reply. The great poet could soar high on the wings of fancy; but, when he took up the polemic pen, he often seemed to be inspired rather by the Furies than the Muses. Some of his controversial publications are among the most scurrilous in our literature. The Presbytery of Belfast, when giving vent to their abhorrence, had described the execution of the King as an act of *unprecedented* atrocity. They here certainly expressed themselves incautiously—as the broad page of history may afford a parallel to almost any deed of enormity; and Milton knew well how to take advantage of such an unguarded statement. His reply is otherwise most sophistical. Knox, the apostle of the Scottish Reformation, had inculcated the constitutional principle that, in a case of extremity,

[1] In his reply Milton speaks of Belfast as "a barbarous nook of Ireland." It was then an inconsiderable place.

[2] The paper now published by the Presbytery may be found in Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 88-95. See also Milton's *Works*, pp. 260-2.

a nation may put a tyrant to death. But the execution of Charles was the work of a faction who had usurped the government, and not the act of the people of England. Instead of meeting their approval, it sent a thrill of horror throughout the country. Milton ignored this fact; and, in a style of the coarsest vituperation, accused the Presbytery of ignorance and folly. "Had their knowledge," said he, "been equal to the knowledge of any stupid monk or abbot, they would have known at least, though ignorant of all things else, the life and acts of him who first instituted their order;[1] but these blockish presbyters of Claneboy know not that John Knox, who was the first founder of Presbytery in Scotland, taught professedly the doctrine of deposing and of killing kings. But wherefore spend we two such precious things as time and reason upon priests, the most prodigal mis-spenders of time, and the scarcest owners of reason?"[2] It is painful to find one of the intellectual nobility of the seventeenth century descending to such vulgar ribaldry.

For a time the Presbyterians of Ulster could afford to despise the scurrility of Milton; but the progress of events soon rendered their condition most embarrassing. When Cromwell, by the sword, had established the ascendency of his party in Ireland, the ministers were required to subscribe a bond called THE ENGAGEMENT, pledging all who signed it to disown the title of Charles II. to the crown, and to support a Government without a King and a House of Lords. Those who conscientiously adhered to the Solemn

[1] Milton expresses himself like a maniac, regardless of what he had before done and written. He had taken the Covenant; and in 1642 he had declared that Presbyterianism was sustained by "the *evident command of Scripture.*" "So little," said he, "is it that I fear lest any crookedness, any wrinkle or spot, should be found in Presbyterial government that . . . . I dare assure myself that *every True Protestant* will admire the integrity, the uprightness, *the divine and gracious purposes thereof.*" See Masson's *Life of Milton*, vol. ii., p. 381, and vol. iii., p. 12, 1871-73. But Milton's dangerous doctrine of divorce had meanwhile been condemned by the Westminster Assembly.

[2] Milton's *Observations on the Representation*, emitted by the Presbytery, may be found in his *Works*, and are surpassed in scurrility only by his *Defence of the People of England*, in reply to Salmasius. Such productions are exceedingly discreditable to the author of *Paradise Lost*. Milton at this time was identified with the regicides.

League and Covenant[1] could not append their names to any such agreement. The Presbyterian pastors were, in consequence, thrown again into the furnace of persecution. "They were violently excluded from their pulpits, their subsistence was withdrawn, they were in continual danger of being apprehended or imprisoned; and at a Council of war held at Carrickfergus in March, 1651 . . . a formal act of banishment from the kingdom was passed against them. The Engagement was also pressed on all classes throughout the country. Commissioners visited almost every parish, and the inhabitants upon summons were required to appear before them, and take this obnoxious oath."[2] Many of the ministers now returned to Scotland; but a few ventured to remain. One of this little band has described the privations endured by himself and his brethren. "Those that stayed in the country," says he, "though they could not exercise their ministry orderly as formerly, and though their stipends were sequestered, yet, changing their apparel to the habit of countrymen, they travelled into their own parishes frequently, and sometimes in other places, taking what opportunity they could to preach in the fields, or in barns and glens; and were seldom in their own houses. They persuaded the people to constancy in the received doctrines, in opposition to the wild heresies which were then spreading, and reminding them of their duty to their lawful magistrates, the King and Parliament, in opposition to the usurpation of the times, and in their (public) prayers always mentioning the *lawful magistrate*."[3]

After remaining in very discouraging circumstances about five years, a better day at length dawned on the ministers. Cromwell saw that, though he could not induce or compel them to express any approval of his policy, they were pious and inoffensive—mainly desirous to advance the interests of the Kingdom of Christ, and not likely to disturb his government by stirring

[1] Those who took it declared that "they had no thoughts or intentions to *diminish His Majesty's just power and greatness*;" and that they would "endeavour the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be, incendiaries . . . . *dividing the King from his people* . . . . or making any faction or parties amongst the people contrary to this League and Covenant." Cromwell himself was pledged by oath to these engagements. [2] Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 161.

[3] Adair's *Narrative*, pp. 180 1.

up insurrection. They were accordingly treated with more and more indulgence; and, some time before the death of the Protector, they began to receive an allowance from the State. This grant, which was quite sufficient for their maintenance,[1] continued to be paid till the Restoration. Meanwhile the ministers increased to upwards of seventy. With their elders they were divided into five sections—to enable them the more efficiently to exercise ecclesiastical discipline. The Irish Presbyterian Church, in the last days of the Protectorate, thus attained a degree of prosperity which it had never hitherto enjoyed.[2]

The period between the execution of Charles I. and the Restoration, is one of the most remarkable in the history of Irish Romanism. At the death of the King it occupied a position of much influence. By his treaty with the Confederates, Ormonde virtually gave up most of his authority, as Lord Lieutenant, into the hands of the Commissioners of Trust; and consented to the establishment of the popish hierarchy throughout a great part of Ireland. Protestantism still sustained itself in Ulster, as well as in Dublin, Cork, and a few other places; but elsewhere it found no toleration. And yet the Romish clergy were by no means satisfied with the influence they already possessed. They insisted that the Lord Lieutenant must belong to their communion;[3] and that their Church throughout the whole island must be restored to the privileges it enjoyed in the reign of Henry VII.[4] Notwithstanding recent reverses experienced by the troops of the Confederacy, the hierarchy obstinately pressed these claims.

It is well known that, about this time, some of the Confederates entertained the idea of severing the connection between England and Ireland. Ever since the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, the project had been regarded with favour; and

[1] Amounting generally to £100 per annum for each, equal to from £300 to £400 per annum of our money. See Adair's *Narrative*, p. 223.

[2] Adair states that, in 1653, there were not above twenty-four Presbyterian ministers in the country, and that, at the Restoration, they amounted to nearly eighty. *Narrative*, pp. 214-5. Presbyterian congregations were now formed where none had formerly existed, as in Armagh, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Monaghan, and Cavan. *Ibid.*

[3] Leland, iii. 369.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 379; Meehan, p. 48; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 420.

it had been recently encouraged by a large body of the clergy.[1] It had been suggested and recommended by the fact that, in periods of rebellion, military aid had been repeatedly received by the insurgents from France, Spain, and Italy. When the Nuncio Rinuccini proposed to make the Pope Protector of the kingdom, he gave a hint well understood by his partizans: and the extinction of royal authority in Great Britain by the execution of Charles I. seemed to them an excellent opportunity of asserting the national independence. But the Marquis of Ormonde—whose commission as Lord Lieutenant had been renewed by the young prince immediately after the death of his father—stood in the way of their designs. He had great influence with the Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic nobility and gentry; and, so long as he remained in the country, it was not to be expected that they could be seduced from their allegiance. The bishops accordingly determined to remove this impediment. At a Synod held in August, 1650, at Jamestown, in the County of Leitrim, they agreed to request him to withdraw from the kingdom, and to leave the royal authority in the hands of some one in whom the people had confidence.[2] The Marquis was no little perplexed by this strange message; but, at the same time, unwilling to come to an open rupture with men who wielded immense influence over the mass of the community, he invited them to a conference, that he might, if possible, bring about some accommodation. When they declined to meet him, he could not suppress his irritation; and declared that he would remain in the kingdom until driven from it by absolute necessity. The bishops now threw off the mask, and published "a Declaration against the continuance of His Majesty's authority in the Marquis of Ormonde for [on account of] the misgovernment of the subjects, the ill

[1] Carte, ii. 126; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 377.

[2] Borlase, p. 259; Leland, iii. 372; Haverty, p. 589. They proposed that he should repair to the young King, who was then on the Continent—hypocritically expressing a hope that the kingdom, "by his Excellency's presence with His Majesty," would "hold out until relieved with supplies from His Majesty."—Borlase, p. 259. They knew well that the young prince (Charles II.) was then perfectly helpless.

conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace."[1] Nor did they stop here. They issued a sentence of excommunication against all, of what quality soever, who should "feed, help, or adhere, to the Lord Lieutenant," or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience.

Ormonde was the head of the great house of Butler; and his family was now the most influential in the kingdom. Though a Protestant himself,[3] his nearest relatives still adhered to the Church of Rome; and many efforts had been made to induce him to return to the faith of his fathers. When argument failed, baser appliances were not neglected; and Rinuccini had attempted to bribe him, by holding out to him the crown of Ireland as the reward of his apostasy.[4] But the loyalty of the Marquis was incorruptible; and those who could not prevail on him to act the part of a traitor, became his deadly foes. He was an able statesman, and he had completely foiled the Romish bishops in negotiation; he had once and again made peace with the Confederates in opposition to their will; and his influence with his own party was undiminished. Hence the bitter aversion with which he was regarded by these churchmen. They still outwardly professed fealty to the son of Charles I.;[5] and yet they now hurled a sentence of excommunication against all who dared

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[1] Borlase, p. 261; Leland, iii. 373. This Declaration may be found in Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, appendix of Instruments, p. 65. It is "dated at Jamestown, in the Convent of the Fryers Minors, August 12, 1650."

[2] Borlase, p. 261; Leland, iii. 374; Haverty, p. 589.

[3] See before, p. 64, *note* (1).

[4] Carte. i. 559; ii. 126; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, i. 185, 236; ii. 380. This offer of the Irish crown to Ormonde was made "with the concurrence of the Court of Rome, and with the hopes of assistance from all the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe, at a time when the Irish Confederates were in all the fulness of their strength."—CARTE, ii. 126.

[5] The bishops afterwards tried to apologize for themselves by pleading that they were provoked by the conduct of Charles II., who, in Scotland, had been induced to sign a Declaration stating that he was convinced of the sinfulness of permitting the celebration of the Romish worship; but this was an afterthought, as it happens that their excommunication was signed on the 12th of August, 1650, whereas the Dunfermline Declaration bears date the 16th of the same month. See O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 383, 385; Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. ii., p. 372. Ed. London, 1811.

to "feed, help, or adhere to" his representative! Many of these same bishops had publicly declared their adherence to the treaty[1] made little more than eighteen months before, in which the Confederates were pledged to support the Lord Lieutenant; so that, in issuing this spiritual fulmination, these Irish Pharisees were guilty at once of a gross breach of faith, and of a blasphemous prostitution of the name and ordinance of the Almighty.

The clergy, as we have seen, had been long seeking a Roman Catholic ruler for Ireland; and, with this object in view, they had been recently making overtures to the Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Low Countries.[2] In due time it transpired that the attention of the Synod assembled at Jamestown had not been exclusively confined to the excommunication of the adherents of Ormonde. The bishops had appointed six of their number to sit as a Committee of public safety; had authorized them to correspond with foreign powers; and had deputed two confidential agents—one of whom was Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns—to conclude a treaty on behalf of "the whole Irish Catholic nation."[3] French acts a very prominent part in the history of the Confederacy.[4] He was the leader of the Nuncionists; a man of great activity of character, and fiercely opposed to Ormonde. In company with his fellow-deputy, he now proceeded to the Continent, and entered into negotiations with the Duke of Lorraine.[5] After much manœuvring, a treaty was signed in July, 1651, investing that foreign grandee, under the title of Lord Protector, with the sovereignty of Ireland.[6] The Duke had already advanced a large sum of money to purchase arms

[1] Nine bishops subscribed the articles of the treaty. O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 352, 420.

[2] Carte's *Ormonde*, ii. 126; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 377.

[3] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 450-1.

[4] See before, p. 149, *note* (1).

[5] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 453. In this treaty Lorraine engaged to "expel heretics" from the kingdom (Art. 4); and "having restored religion and the kingdom to their right state, to resign all his authority into his Majesty's hands, being first reimbursed of all his charges expended on that business." (Art. 3.) This clause was evidently a mere sham. See a copy of the treaty in Clanricarde's *Memoirs*, pp. 78-83. Dublin. 1744.

[6] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 455; Leland, iii. 386.

and ammunition for the Confederates.[1] But, after all, the negotiation came to nothing. Ormonde, who had withdrawn from Ireland, had left his authority in the hands of Earl Clanricarde; and the deputy forwarded to the intended Lord Protector a formal protest against the treaty. It was already apparent that the Confederates had no dominion to bestow in Ireland; and the Duke seems to have been well pleased that he had a decent apology for declining to continue the correspondence.[2]

It was high time for these Romish bishops to think of giving up their political scheming;[3] for the whole machinery of the Confederation was now well-nigh crushed to pieces in the iron grasp of Oliver Cromwell. That great captain, authorized by the English Parliament to act as Lord Lieutenant, and accompanied by a large force of well-appointed cavalry and infantry, arrived in Dublin about the middle of August,

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[1] Leland, iii. 383. [2] *Ibid.* iii. 386.

[3] "Primate Hugh Reily [in 1651] summoned a Provincial Synod at Clochuachter, at which the Bishops of Kilmore and Clonmacnois, and several others, attended to consider *the state of the nation*. Father A. Geoghagan, who had lately arrived from Rome *with instructions*, opened the first session with a speech, *in consequence of which it was decided* that no bishop should be admitted to the General Assembly unless he was *absolved from the censures of Rinuccini*; that all who did not submit to the Duke of Lorraine should be *excommunicated*; that the bishops of each province should take *an oath of secrecy*; that Clanricarde and his adherents should be *excommunicated*, and all those who had resisted Rinuccini's censures, and had not been absolved. Anthony Geoghagan, Bishop of Clonmacnois, and the above A. Geoghagan, Prior of Kilbeggan, were commissioned by this Synod to communicate *its decrees* to the Bishops of Leinster, to invite them to follow their example, and to exhort and urge them *to raise forces* in their several districts. Nic. Bern, Proxy for the Bishop of Down, was despatched with a similar errand to the Bishops of Connaught; and, strange as it may appear, *the acts of this Synod of Clochuachter were confirmed by all.* They were adopted by a Synod of Leinster, which the Bishop of Leighlin [French], as senior, took upon him to convene at Belach-Droichet, September 1st, 1651; and by a Synod of Connaught at Jamestown; and the bishops of both these provinces *engaged to raise an army* of 14,000 men *by excommunications*, without further delay." Such is the testimony of an honest Roman Catholic historian. O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part ii., 461-2. It is scarcely necessary to add that the General Assembly of Confederates, from which these bishops proposed to exclude their brethren who had not been absolved from the censures of Rinuccini, never met; and that the army which they undertook to raise *by excommunications*, never appeared in the field.

1649. He immediately commenced the subjugation of the country; and stronghold after stronghold fell into his hands. Drogheda first succumbed. It was defended by a powerful garrison composed of the very best troops of the Royalists and of the Confederacy, commanded by Sir Arthur Aston, a brave and skilful Roman Catholic officer; but a few days after he appeared before it, Cromwell took it by storm. He here performed one of the greatest feats of personal daring which marked the progress of his triumphant career. When a breach had been made in the walls, and when the storming parties who entered had been met with determined courage, and had been twice beaten back, Oliver himself led them on a third time, and carried all before him. The inhabitants, who aided in the defence, as well as the garrison, were put to the sword.[1] The butchery was terrible. Thousands of persons —including, priests, monks, citizens, and soldiers—were mercilessly slaughtered. Other towns in terror opened their gates; and Wexford was next compelled to yield. The same horrible scene of carnage was repeated. In some cases the conqueror encountered a stout resistance; but the Confederates could not effectively check the progress of his arms. When he had been about nine months in Ireland, he found it necessary to

[1] Cromwell says: "*I forbade them to spare any* that were *in arms* in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword 2,000." Again he says: "The enemy were about 3,000 strong in the town. . . . I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives. Those that did are in safe custody for the Barbadoes." CARLYLE'S *Cromwell*, i. 457. He states further that nearly 1,000 people, fleeing for safety to St. Peter's Church, were put to the sword. *Ibid.* i. 463. Carlyle asserts that "the garrison of Drogheda consisted *mostly of Englishmen*." i. 456. Edition 1845. See also Ludlow's *Memoirs*, i. 301. According to some Cromwell perpetrated this butchery to testify his abhorrence of the Irish massacre of 1641; but, on that principle, we cannot explain why he killed so many natives of his own country. His object seems to have been partly to weaken the enemy by destroying so many of their best soldiers, and partly to inspire terror all over the island. Some women and children may have lost their lives; but the statement that *all* of them were deliberately butchered seems to be totally without foundation. See *The English in Ireland*, by Froude, vol. i., p. 124, *note*. It is well known that, during the Civil War in England, Cromwell and his soldiers always treated the vanquished very mercifully. See the *Pictorial History of England*, iii. 401.

return to England, and left his son-in-law Ireton to prosecute the war. After a lengthened siege, Limerick was taken in October, 1651; but opposition did not entirely cease for another year. At length, in October, 1652, Lord Clanricarde was obliged to accept of conditions from the Republicans. He was permitted to withdraw from the kingdom, and to transfer himself and three thousand followers who still adhered to him, to the service of any prince at peace with England.[1] Thus, eleven years after the breaking out of the rebellion, civil war was suppressed in Ireland.

The Romish clergy had hoped to reap a splendid harvest from the labours of the Catholic Confederation. They framed its machinery; they superintended its movements; and they often led its armies. When it did not proceed exactly according to their dictation, they again and again sought to concuss it into submission by excommunications and interdicts. But it proved more disastrous to their cause than any agency ever yet set up in the country for the subversion of Popery. During its continuance, Ireland lost well-nigh the one-half of its Romish population.[2] The Romish nobility and gentry forfeited the greater portion of their property; and comparatively few of their descendants have recovered the position which they then occupied.[3] The prelates, priests, and monks, who

[1] The stories related by R.C. writers as to persons having been offered their lives, should they turn Protestants, are all very stupid falsehoods. Cromwell would have spurned such converts. Though he would not tolerate the public celebration of the mass, he used no violence to peaceable Romanists. He delivers the following challenge to the Romish prelates in his Declaration, dated Youghal, January, 1650:—"Give us *one instance of one man* since my coming to Ireland, *not in arms*, massacred, destroyed or banished, concerning the massacre or the destruction of whom justice hath not been done, or endeavoured to be done."—*Letters and Speeches*, by Carlyle. Supplement to first edition, p. 98.

[2] If the population of the country in 1641 amounted to 1,466,000, of whom 20,000 were Protestants; and if, in 1652, it amounted only to 850,000, of whom 150,000 were Protestants, the conclusion in the text is established. See before, pp. 52, *note* (4) and 100, *note* (4).

[3] It appears from the answer of the Protestants to the *Rebels' Remonstrance*, that in 1641 the Protestants had not more than *one-fifth* part of the landed property of the country. See Rushworth, iv. 390. In this estimate the rough land—almost all of which was in the hands of Romanists—seems to have been included. According to Sir Wm. Petty the Protestants had, in 1641, somewhat less than the *one-third* of the good meadow, arable, and pasture land. See his *Tracts*, p. 300.

took such an active part in fomenting the rebellion, suffered dreadfully before its close. Many of them perished in the sack of cities, on the battlefield, or by the hands of the public executioner. It is absurd to speak of these men as martyrs. They "ate of the fruit of their own ways, and were filled with their own devices." They appealed to the decision of the God of battles, and why should they be canonized because they were defeated? As a body, the Romish bishops of this period occupied a very low moral position. The Marquis of Ormonde, who knew most of them well, declared that, with a single exception, there was not one of them in whose word he could place any confidence.[1] Nicholas French, Bishop of Ferns, was a most unscrupulous partizan; and on one occasion, when Lord Taafe's name could not be obtained to an important public document, the leader of the Nuncionists did not hesitate to forge the signature.[2] Swiney, the drunken Bishop of Kilmore, so well known in connection with the last days of Bedell, still flourished. O'Brien, Bishop of Emly, was distinguished by his factious character;[3] and, in consequence, when Limerick surrendered, was exempted from mercy. He was hanged by order of Ireton; yet his admirers represent him as both a prophet and a martyr; and tell how, in his last moments, he predicted the death of Cromwell's son-in-law! Evor MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher,[4] had evidently mistaken

[1] Borlase, pp. 254, 255. See an instance of their gross duplicity in Carte, ii. 119, 120; and Cox, ii., Charles II., p. 19.

[2] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 455; Leland, iii. 386.

[3] Carte, ii. 155. Moran, R.C. Bishop of Ossory, tells a story to the effect that O'Brien, at the point of death, summoned Ireton, "to appear *in eight days* before the tribunal of the just Judge." "This *prophecy*," it is alleged, "was verified, and *on the eighth day*, Ireton, stricken with *the plague*, and crying out that the execution of the *innocent bishop* was the cause of his death, miserably expired."—Moran's *Hist. Sketch of the Persecutions suffered by the Catholics of Ireland*, p. 182. Dublin, 1865. This whole tale is evidently apocryphal. Ireton died, not of the plague, but of an ordinary fever, brought on by excessive fatigue. Borlase, p. 300. He survived the death of O'Brien, not eight days, but about a month. See Borlase, *Ibid.*, and Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 129. Ludlow states that O'Brien at first exhibited great fear of death. He said that "*having many sins to confess* he desired time to prepare himself" for death; and adds that he died with "more resolution," after all, than some of his companions. *Memoirs*, i. 322.

See before, p. 41, *note* (1). He seems to have been very unscrupulous. He

his profession; for he was far more in his element in the camp than in the sanctuary. His temper was violent; and, when under provocation, his language was interlarded with "bloody oaths."[1] After the death of Owen Roe O'Neill,[2] he was chosen commander-in-chief of the Confederate troops in Ulster. He was taken prisoner when defeated near Letterkenny, and died covered with wounds.[3] And yet he too is celebrated as one of the Roman Catholic martyrs!

Oliver Cromwell has been often represented as the apostle of toleration: but certainly his career in Ireland gives him no title to any such character. He distinctly indicated his policy at the siege of Ross, when Taafe, the Governor, proposed to capitulate if the inhabitants were permitted to enjoy liberty of conscience. "I meddle not," replied Oliver, "with any man's conscience;[4] but if, by liberty of conscience, be meant liberty to celebrate the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know that where the Parliament of England has power, that will not be allowed."[5] When he first appeared

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has been described as "an intriguer—guilty of repeated violations of the public faith."—O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii 210 Brenan makes him a martyr, and says that he fell into the hands of Coote "while in the discharge of his *pastoral duties!*" *Ecc. Hist.*, p. 469. Fighting is rather a strange species of pastoral duty.

[1] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 584, and to the reader, xliv.

[2] Owen Roe O'Neill died at Cloughouter Castle in Lough Erne, where Bedell had been confined about eight years before. He died November 6th, 1649, and was buried in the old Abbey of Cavan. *Des. Cur. Hibernica*, ii. 521.

[3] Borlase, p. 253. He did not die of his wounds; for, according to one account, he was hanged; and, according to another, decapitated. Among the prelates, in addition to those already named, there were other fighting bishops. One of these was the Bishop of Dromore. Carte, ii. 115-6. Another was the Bishop of Ross, who was defeated, taken prisoner, and hanged. Borlase, p. 240; Carte, ii. 115. Brenan gives an entirely false report of the circumstances of his death, and represents him as a martyr. *Ecc. Hist.*, p. 469. Another of the fighting bishops was the Bishop of Killaloe. Carte, ii. 128. He too was defeated, and owed his life to the Marquis of Ormonde. *Ibid.*

[4] This policy seems to have been consistently carried out. In the articles for the capitulation of the Castle of Ross, agreed on by the Parliamentary commander-in-chief, June 22nd, 1652, there is the following stipulation as to religion:—"We do declare it is not our intention, nor, as we conceive, the intention of those whom we serve, *to force any to their worship and service contrary to their consciences.*" See *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. *Antiq.*, part vii., p. 409. Dublin, 1866.

[5] See his *Letters and Speeches*, by Carlyle. Supplement to first edition, p. 94.

in Ireland, and when it was doubtful whether he would be able to conquer a whole nation in arms,[1] he did not venture to express himself so decidedly. At a still earlier period he was pledged by oath to the Solemn League and Covenant; but he had now renounced its principles, and had become the persecutor of its honest adherents. He had contrived to commence a secret correspondence with some of the Nuncionists: and they proved so false to all their previous professions, as well as so utterly blinded by their hatred of Ormonde and Clanricarde, that they were the very first among the Romish party to propose to enter into terms with the bloody victor of Drogheda and Wexford. An attempt was made to apologize for his cruelties by pleading that they proceeded, not from himself, but from Presbyterians with whom he was associated;[2] though it was notorious that, at the time, the Presbyterians had deserted him, and, like the Romanists, were suffering from his tyranny. It soon appeared very clearly that he and his party were prepared to perpetrate greater atrocities than any ever yet inflicted on wretched Ireland.

Immediately after the termination of the war, about 40,000 Irish soldiers, with their officers, availed themselves of Oliver's permission to enlist in foreign armies.[3] Thus the country, already so much weakened by intestine strife, famine, and disease, was still further depopulated. About the same time thousands of poor women and children, left without means of subsistence at home, were sent to the West Indies, where they were reduced to a state of slavery.[4] But the Romish clergy, and the Romish nobility and gentry, felt most severely the effects of the rebellion. The clergy had long been proscribed. In January, 1653, the authorities in Dublin Castle published an order requiring all "Jesuits, seminary priests, and persons in Popish orders," to leave the kingdom

[1] When Cromwell came into Ireland, only Dublin and a few other towns were in the hands of his party. When marching to Wexford, the Irish were induced to believe that he would give them the free exercise of their religion; and, under this impression, supplied his camp plentifully with provisions. Leland, iii. 352.

[2] Leland, iii. 388; O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 470; Borlase, p. 293.

[3] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, pp. 88, 89.

[4] Prendergast, pp. 88-92.

within twenty days; and should they venture to remain, they were declared guilty of high treason, and subject to the penalty of death.[1] More than a thousand priests were thus driven into exile. In former times such proclamations of banishment had often been little better than empty threats, never intended for execution: but all felt that the government was now thoroughly in earnest; and that no one, without imminent peril, could tamper with this ordinance. Swiney, the Romish Bishop of Kilmore—bowed down by age and infirmities—was the only Roman Catholic prelate left at this time in the country.[2] Any one lodging a priest in jail was entitled to a reward of five pounds; and some of the soldiers of Cromwell earned considerable sums by capturing such prisoners.[3] The constancy of the sufferers sometimes gave way under the hardships of confinement; and hence we find some of the Roman Catholic clergy declaring their readiness to renounce the Pope's supremacy, and to attend Protestant worship.[4] The incarcerated priests were at first transported to Barbadoes; but at a more advanced stage of the persecution, the Isles of Arran and the Island of Innisboffin—off the western coast of Ireland—became their prisons. During the three years preceding the Restoration, a number of them dwelt there in cabins built by Government for their accommodation, and were maintained on an allowance of sixpence a day.[5]

At this gloomy period the greater portion of the landed

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[1] Prendergast, p. 319.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 320. Renehan states that, "from the year 1652 to the year 1655, neither the sacrament of confirmation nor of holy orders was conferred in Ireland." —*Collections on Irish Church History*, p. 55.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 320.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 324. Roman Catholic writers are in the habit of boasting that almost all the Irish Romanists remained devoted to their religion in the time of Cromwell; but impartial witnesses give a different account. "About the year 1656," says Sir Wm. Petty, "when the adventurers and soldiers appeared to be their landlords and patrons, they were observed to have been *forward enough to relax the stiffness of their pertinacy to the Pope and his impositions.*"—*Tracts*, p. 365. See also Prendergast, pp. 131, 132, 281, *note.*

[5] Prendergast, pp. 324-5. Hardiman alleges that their allowance was only twopence a day. *History of Galway*, p. 134.

property of the kingdom was confiscated.[1] All the Romish nobility and gentry who had taken a prominent part in the proceedings of the Confederacy forfeited the whole of their estates.[2] Those who had been merely involved in the war against the Parliament—including nearly all the rest of the leading Roman Catholics of the country—escaped with the loss of two-thirds of their possessions.[3] The confiscated lands were handed over—partly to the soldiers of Cromwell, to satisfy their arrears of pay—and partly to claimants called "adventurers." Not a few of these adventurers were citizens of London who, ten years before, had, under the authority of Parliament, *adventured* to advance money on this security to support the army in Ireland. Many of the best mansions and estates were given to the favourites of Cromwell.[4]

The most extraordinary part of the Cromwellian settlement of Ireland was that which related to the transportation of the Romanists to Connaught. The utter extirpation of the natives was too bold and bloody an undertaking even for the stern Protector. But he was determined completely to extinguish their influence. He accordingly resolved to shut up all their leaders in the western province; so that,

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[1] In 1641 the Protestants had only from *one-fifth* to *one-third* of the landed property of the island. See before, p. 113, *note* (3). The Protestants, after the Restoration, had *three-fourths* of the landed property. Sir Wm. Petty's *Tracts*, p. 319.

[2] Many of the Royalists who opposed the Parliament incurred the same forfeiture. Among these may be mentioned the Marquis of Ormonde, Earl Clanricarde, and Lord Inchiquin. The Act of Forfeiture is given in Lingard, vol. x., pp. 422-8. London, 1847.

[3] Roman Catholic writers assert that their co-religionists were at this time required to take what they call an oath of abjuration, in which Popery was formally renounced. The words of the oath are also given. See Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 708; and Moran's *Mem. of Plunket*. Introd. p. lx. This is a gross delusion. Cromwell declared, as we have seen, that he meddled with no man's conscience; and he certainly imposed no such oath. But certain persons, *who professed to be Protestants*, and who thereby expected to secure certain privileges in regard to transplantation, were, it appears, *as a test of their sincerity*, required to take some such oath before two Justices of the Peace. See Prendergast, p. 131. The schemers, it would seem, complained heavily of this oath.

[4] Thus, Portumna Castle—the ancient seat of the Earls of Clanricarde—with its park, garden, and 6,000 acres of land adjoining, was given to Henry Cromwell, the Protector's son. Prendergast, p. 163.

bounded on the one side by the sea and on the other by the Shannon, they would be comparatively innocuous—dwelling there like lepers in a separate place, and unable either to disturb the Government or to contaminate the rest of the population. For greater security, they were to be surrounded by a belt of British settlements several miles in breadth, extending all along the sea-coast and the western bank of the Shannon, and occupied by men trained to military service.[1] The Romish nobility and landed gentry, who escaped with the loss of two-thirds of their property, were not permitted to retain possession of the remaining third, if their estates were in Ulster, Leinster, or Munster. They must accept an equivalent in Connaught. The whole island was accordingly surveyed and mapped;[2] and the various allotments of these landowners were assigned to them by commissioners appointed for the purpose. When it was considered that the needful arrangements were in a sufficient state of forwardness, the parties to be transplanted were commanded peremptorily to depart for Connaught. In September, 1653, the English Parliament passed an Act requiring them to remove before the 1st of May, 1654. If found after that date on the eastern side of the Shannon, they incurred the penalty of DEATH.[3] All the Romish landowners in Ireland were subjected to this cruel proscription, except those who could show that, during the entire time of the civil war, they had manifested "constant good affection to the cause of the Parliament."[4]

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[1] Prendergast, p. 149.

[2] This survey, known as the *Down Survey*, was made by Sir Wm. Petty. It was called the Down Survey because it was *laid down* on charts or maps. Prendergast, pp. 204-6. Sir Wm. Petty was the founder of the Lansdowne family.

[3] The penalty was subsequently changed to transportation. Prendergast, p. 145. See also *Transac. of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. *Antiq.*, part vii, p. 396.

[4] Prendergast, pp. 101-2. Hardiman, in his *History of Galway* (pp. 136, 137), describes the brutal manner in which the Roman Catholic inhabitants were removed out of "the city of the tribes." In the midst of a peculiarly severe winter, they were forced to take shelter by the ditches and in poor cabins in the country, without fire or sufficient clothing, and many died. According to Mr.

But it was found impossible to carry out summarily and completely this horrid policy. During the preceding eleven years the open country of Connaught had been desolated by the ravages of war; so that, in many parts of it, a habitable abode was not to be seen. As the transported Romanists were not to be permitted to enter a walled town, or to dwell even within four or five miles of Galway or Athlone,[1] they sometimes found themselves without any shelter in their new allotments. The delicate wives and daughters of the old Anglo-Irish gentry, who could count back their lineage to the days of Henry Plantagenet,[2] and who had been accustomed to move about in comfortable houses or stately castles, contrived various apologies for postponing their removal to the wilds of the west. The soldiers or adventurers, who were to enjoy the fair inheritances from which they were to part, were generally urgent for their transplantation; and the tales of misery connected with this banishment to Connaught are full of thrilling and mournful interest.[3] Some of those driven from their ancestral dwellings lost their reason; some committed suicide; and many died in extreme wretchedness.[4] The emigrants had to take their cattle and household stuff along with them, so that they were obliged to move very slowly; and, that they might be in time to commence the cultivation of the soil, so as to have a crop in the coming season, they often found it necessary to travel in inclement weather, or perhaps in the

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Hardinge, the following was the proportion of the forfeited and unforfeited lands in Ireland at this period:—

	Forfeited after 1641 in statute acres.	Unforfeited ditto.
Leinster	2,744,441	2,079,866
Ulster	1,153,693	4,106,034
Munster	3,912,055	2,003,507
Connaught	3,198,269	980,708
Total	11,008,458	9,170,115

The whole number of persons transplanted to Connaught appears to have been 44,210. More therefore by far must have been left behind. See *Transactions of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. *Antiq.*, part vii. 418, 394-5, 416. Dublin, 1866.

[1] Prendergast, p. 102; Haverty, p. 595.

[2] Among those required to remove was the Vicountess Thurles, mother of the Marquis of Ormonde, the late Lord Lieutenant. She appears to have contrived to baffle the Commissioners. See Prendergast, p. 255.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 176-186.

[4] *Ibid.*

depth of winter. Petitions for delay in transplanting were numerous and perplexing; and cases of peculiar hardship, which had not been anticipated, were continually occurring. The whole affair proved most embarrassing, and exposed the Government to immense odium. At length Cromwell saw the propriety of instructing his Irish council to dispense with the orders for transferring the natives to Connaught;[1] but much of the misery which the measure was calculated to produce had already been inflicted.

The plan for peopling Ulster, Leinster, and Munster with Protestants was also found to be impracticable. The colonists required servants; and as, according to an act of the English Parliament[2] passed at the conclusion of the war, pardon was secured to everyone who had no real estate in Ireland, nor any personal estate to the value of ten pounds, provided such person engaged to be faithful to the Commonwealth, it was soon discovered that a large portion of the farm servants throughout the three provinces, as well as tradesmen and others in humble life, belonged to the communion of the Church of Rome. Nor was it so easy, as had been supposed, to induce Protestants from other lands[3] to remove to Ireland. They might be told of its beautiful scenery, its cheap farms, and its fertile soil; but there were other things connected with it well fitted to deter them from immigration. The word Tory[4]

[1] Leland, iii. 399. An attempt was made at this time to reserve the garrison towns of the country for Protestants. In April, 1651, an order was issued requiring all the habitations of the Irish, within a circle of two miles of these towns, to be thrown down, and their wives and children to leave within fifteen days, on pain of being treated as spies and enemies. Prendergast, pp. 275-6. But it was found that the order could not be strictly enforced. It appears that in 1659 the entire number of inhabitants of the city and liberties of Kilkenny was, of English 421, of Irish 1,301: total 1,722. *Proceedings and Papers of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol v., part iii., new series, 1866, p. 415. Even here the Romanists were still by far the majority.

[2] See the act in Lingard, vol. x. 427. In Cromwell's Parliament there were 400 representatives for England, thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland. This country had no separate Parliament during the Protectorate.

[3] All foreign Protestants were made as free to settle in Ireland as natives of England. Hopes were entertained that natives of Bohemia, and other parts of the Continent, would avail themselves of this privilege. Some families from New England did so. Prendergast, pp. 248 50.

[4] It is said to be derived from "toruighim"—to pursue for the sake of plunder.

—since so celebrated as a party name—already spread terror among the Irish colonists. The "Tory" was often the son of an Irish gentleman—if not an Irish gentleman himself—whose estate had been forfeited.[1] Without the means of an honest livelihood, and driven to desperation, he betook himself to the woods, and lived as a freebooter. Joined by a troop of banditti as reckless as himself, he prowled about the ancestral property; and swooped down, every now and then, on the new settlers. He drove away their cattle in the dark nights, burned their houses, took possession of their money, and perhaps murdered themselves. It was not strange that Protestants from other lands did not care to settle in a country where life and property were in such danger. The attempt to colonize three of the Irish provinces with Protestants was thus quite unsuccessful.

Nor was Cromwell much more fortunate in some other departments of his Irish policy. Towards the close of the year 1651, the Commissioners of Parliament were required to appoint a competent maintenance, "by way of stipend, out of the public revenue for all such persons of pious life and conversation as they shall find qualified with gifts for the preaching of the gospel."[2] The political party known as "The Sectaries"—consisting of Independents, Baptists, and others—had now obtained the complete ascendency; and many of them did not consider a professional education at all necessary for those who were to communicate religious instruction. The Episcopal clergy dare not at this time celebrate their worship;

Lingard, x. 369, *note*. It has been stated that it was first used in a public document by Ormonde, who introduced it into one of his proclamations. Prendergast, p. 332.

[1] The celebrated Redmond O'Hanlon was a dispossessed proprietor of Ulster. Prendergast, p. 352.

[2] Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 160. A catechism of considerable size, with scripture proofs annexed, all in Irish, was printed in Dublin in 1652 by Godfrey Daniel. In it were rules for reading the Irish tongue, and these rules, though brief, are said to have been excellent. This catechism was printed with the types furnished by Queen Elizabeth before they were carried away to the Continent by the Jesuits. See Anderson's *Sketches of the Native Irish*, p. 37. See also Madden's *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, vol. i. 159, 160. The Irish types are said to have been taken to Douay. *Essays on the Irish Church*, p. 103, *note*. Dublin, 1866.

the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster were in nearly the same dilemma; and Cromwell expected to enlighten Ireland by means of men "of pious life and conversation," selected by himself and his officers. The whole scheme was pervaded by a spirit of the purest Erastianism. The rights of the Christian people were ignored, and civil rulers placed in a position which they were not entitled to occupy. A few ministers of eminence were about this period settled in Ireland;[1] but the great mass of those chosen for the spiritual enlightenment of the kingdom were of a very different character. As their salaries could at any time be withdrawn, they were completely dependent on their political employer. In 1655 one hundred and fifty ministers[2]—with allowances varying from £300 to £20 a year—were distributed all over the four provinces of Ireland.[3] Of these, upwards of one hundred and thirty were Independents or Baptists. The Baptists—who seem to have been most numerous—were too often distinguished by a very narrow and factious spirit. Some of them promulgated the dreams of a distempered fancy as divine communications.[4] Some were fifth-monarchy men;[5] and some objected to the singing of psalms in public worship.[6] Some of them were unlettered mechanics; and some inferior officers of the army.[7] Such a motley company of preachers, venting such a variety

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[1] The celebrated John Owen remained for some time in Ireland. Charnock and Winter also received appointments as preachers. Winter was made Provost of Trinity College.

[2] It is a curious fact that Sir Wm. Petty, writing some time after the Restoration, considered 150 ministers sufficient for all the members of the Established Church. *Tracts*, p. 311.

[3] Dr. Thomas Harrison had £300 a year, and nine others had £200 a year each. Of the 151 ministers paid out of the public treasury, twelve were Episcopalians, and six were Presbyterians. Reid, ii., appendix vi. The Episcopalians were not at liberty to use the Liturgy.

[4] Reid, ii. 174. [5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.* p. 214, *note.*

[7] *Ibid.* ii. 209. At this time the Quakers made their appearance in Ireland. William Edmundson, an Englishman, who settled as a dealer in the town of Antrim in 1652, is said to have been the first who embraced their opinions. Reid, ii. 215. In 1654 he removed to Lurgan, and there "the first settled meeting" of the Quakers was held in Ireland. Wight and Rutty's *Hist. of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers*, p. 77. London, 1811. Some time afterwards "a meeting was settled at the Grange below Antrim, at the house of Gabriel Clark." *Ibid.* p. 81.

of doctrines, were ill fitted for the religious instruction of the population. The Independents and Baptists, who now figured so conspicuously, seem never to have obtained any very solid footing in the country; and, shortly after the Restoration, they nearly vanish from the ecclesiastical census.

Though so many priests were driven out of the island, a considerable number remained. Among these, one of the most noted was James Finaghty,[1] an ignorant and knavish fanatic, who pretended to the power of working miracles. Multitudes followed him through the bogs and mountains, in the hope of deliverance from their maladies; and it was boastfully proclaimed that he had been raised up, in this time of trial, to prove that the Roman Catholic Church still enjoyed the favour of Heaven. His fame survived the Restoration: and on one occasion a Portuguese Countess,[2] who was afflicted with blindness, applied to him for cure. He was taken to London; and, as he travelled back from the metropolis, a coach and six conveyed the great man to Holyhead.[3] When the Roman Catholic bishopric of Elphin was vacant, he aspired to the dignity.[4] But his career only illustrated the besotted superstition of his followers. Discerning men never had any confidence in his pretensions; all his miracles were of a very equivocal character;[5] his signal failures often exposed him to scorn; it was discovered that several of his incantations were taken from a book of necromancy;[6] and he eventually sank

[1] An account of him may be found in Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 710-35. According to his own story his first miracle was the recovery of a pair of breeches stolen by the devil from his brother! Walsh, p. 722. Finaghty often received large presents from his dupes. *Ibid.* p. 718.

[2] Walsh, p. 717. On this occasion Finaghty was taken to the Palace in London by direction of the Queen of Charles II. He totally failed in his attempt to heal this Portuguese lady. *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* p. 717; *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, vi. 170, 171.

[4] Walsh, p. 717. Though not made bishop, it appears he was appointed vicar-general of the diocese of Elphin. See Moran's *Persecution of the Irish Catholics*, p. 124.

[5] Sir Wm. Petty, who was himself a Doctor of Medicine, offered to forfeit one hundred pounds if he would not, out of a given number of sick persons, and *by the employment of the very same means*, cure as many as this priest. Finaghty declined the challenge. Subsequently he resiled from a challenge, as to a trial of his gifts given by himself, when he found that it was accepted. *Ibid.* pp. 731, 734.

[6] Walsh, p. 729.

into contempt. Other priests, who remained in Ireland during the days of the Protectorate, continued, under sundry disguises, to dispense the rites of their Church to those who sought their ministrations. In the dead of night, in a secluded glen, or under a tree, they assembled their adherents, and celebrated their worship. Sometimes a priest might be seen walking along the streets of Dublin or Galway in the dress of a cavalry officer; sometimes he assumed the more humble garb of a porter or a gardener; sometimes he arrayed himself as a beggar; and sometimes he entered the service of a Protestant gentleman, acted as butler, passed off as a Puritan, joined in family worship, and commended himself to his master by his grave and devout deportment.[1] If he escaped detection, he was not very scrupulous as to the amount of conformity to which he submitted. But, during this reign of terror, many of the priests signalized themselves by their zeal and courage. They were ready to compass sea and land to gain a proselyte, and they often faced death with heroic fortitude.

Though the Cromwellian settlement of the country was fraught with so much misery to the Roman Catholic nobility and gentry, it must be remembered that no one was removed to Connaught who had not forfeited his life by rebellion. Though the Popish mass was suppressed, no visible mark of the divine displeasure rested on the island; for meanwhile it enjoyed an unwonted measure of material prosperity. During the Protectorate it was blessed with unbroken peace; its agriculture flourished; and its trade experienced a wonderful revival.[2] Had Cromwell lived for another quarter of a century, and had the policy which he inaugurated been maintained, Ireland might have escaped the Revolution and all its bitter accompaniments and consequences. But he never succeeded in establishing a stable government. When his own firm hand was withdrawn from its regulation, the whole ma-

[1] See Prendergast's account of Father Nugent. *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 316, 318.

[2] "All testimony agrees that Ireland never prospered as she prospered in the years of the Protectorate."—FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, vol. i. 137. Cromwell placed Ireland on a level with England in regard to imports and exports.

chinery speedily went to pieces. He sought supremacy, as well in the Church as in the State; and he left both in sad confusion. He wanted the single-mindedness of a true patriot. His regard to personal interests would not permit him, even for the sake of the people of England, to part with the authority which he had once grasped. Neither can he be considered as a fair specimen of a Puritan. He was essentially a fanatic—though singular wit and wisdom pervaded his fanaticism. He confounded his own impressions with the dictates of heaven; and thus laboured under sundry delusions. Those who had the best opportunities of knowing him did not entertain any high idea of his spiritual character.[1] He was a staunch Protestant; and in him High Churchmen found a determined foe. He possessed not a few noble qualities, and he exhibited remarkable ability in various departments of administration; but he was not one of those great characters—such as the American Washington—whose integrity is so far above suspicion that not even the breath of calumny has been able to dim its lustre. His whole course, as a ruler, was tortuous and tyrannical. At an early period of his career he was under deep spiritual convictions;[2] he continued throughout life to use the language of one who had experienced the power of godliness; and he was, no doubt, to the last more or less under the influence of religion. But, when success placed him at the head of the army, he permitted his ambition to override all his better principles; and he was pre-

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[1] The Rev. Robert Blair, who was acquainted with him, had no confidence in his veracity. Baxter complains of his duplicity; and he evidently did not stand very high in the estimation of John Howe, though that celebrated man was his chaplain. See *The Life and Character of John Howe*, by Henry Rogers, p. 95. London, 1836; and Baxter's *Narrative of his Life and Times*, part i., pp. 59, 99. London, 1696.

[2] There seems no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of what is stated as one of his dying utterances. "Tell me," said he to one of his chaplains, "is it possible to fall from grace?" "It is not possible," replied the minister. "Then," exclaimed the dying man, "I am safe: for I know that *I was once in grace.*" —GUIZOT'S *Life of Oliver Cromwell*, p. 449. London, 1860. Stoughton (*Ecc. Hist. of England*, ii. 516) attempts to discredit this story. There may be a mistake as to the name of the chaplain concerned; but it bears internal marks of truth.

pared to sacrifice almost everything to his lust for power.[1] It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he frequently made the profession of piety a cloak for the concealment of very mundane aspirations; and that he was miserably deficient in truthfulness and candour. He was a daring soldier, a skilful general, and an able diplomatist; and he had the merit of conceiving the idea of uniting the Three Kingdoms under one imperial legislature. But he was false to the cause of constitutional liberty, and he certainly did not improve the state of his country when he supplanted monarchy by a military despotism. Instead of reforming the Church of England, by removing its abuses and improving its organization, he ignored it altogether; and made Christianity itself almost contemptible by encouraging the most grotesque sectarianism. The religious Establishment which he set up in Ireland must have fallen, sooner or later, under the weight of its own contradictions. He had a noble opportunity of commending the Gospel to the people of this island, and of exhibiting its holy and genial influence as compared with the tyranny and superstitions of the priesthood; but he was known to them as a man of blood, as a canting hypocrite, and as a heartless spoiler. Irishmen never will forget "the curse of Cromwell." They will repeat his name with horror to the latest generations; and he perhaps did more than any other ruler who ever possessed authority among them to make Protestantism detested.[2]

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[1] Guizot has truly said of him:—"He was an ambitious and selfish, though really great man, who had narrow-minded and hard-hearted fanatics for his instruments." *Life*, p. 59. This account of him is much more correct than the estimate formed of his character by such a blind admirer as Carlyle. An incident related by Guizot illustrates the unscrupulous spirit of Cromwell:—"One night he went to confer secretly with Thurloe (his Secretary) on a matter of great importance, and all at once he perceived Thurloe's clerk, Samuel Morland, sleeping on a desk in a corner of the room. Fearing that he might have overheard them, *Cromwell drew a dagger and was about to despatch him*, if Thurloe had not, with great entreaties, prevailed on him to desist, assuring him that Morland had sat up two nights together, and was certainly fast asleep."—*Life*, p. 433. See also, p. 443.

[2] Mr. Hardinge in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy* (vol. xxiv. *Antiq.*, part iv. 325, 326) has given what he considers the census of Ireland in 1659. It was found among the MSS. of Sir Wm. Petty in the possession of the

Marquis of Lansdowne. According to it there were in 1659, in the four provinces, the following numbers of English and Scotch and of Irish: —

	English and Scotch.	Irish.
Leinster	23,641	131,893
Ulster	40,651	63,272
Munster	14,143	139,139
Connaught	7,672	79,680
	86,107	413,984
Total		500,091

It is obvious that this cannot represent the entire population of the country, as, according to Sir Wm. Petty himself, Ireland, in 1652, at the close of the war, had a population of 850,000; and in 1672, a population of 1,100,000. See his *Tracts*, p. 312. We may presume, therefore, that the census here given represents only the *male* population. Assuming the females to be equal to the males, we have an aggregate of something more than a million—a result which probably approaches very near to the truth. In the census published by Mr. Hardinge the returns for some counties, or parts of counties, are wanting; and he has endeavoured to supply them by estimates based upon the others.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE DEPARTURE OF JAMES II. FROM IRELAND AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE. A.D. 1660 TO A.D. 1690.

THE Restoration was like life from the dead to the Irish Protestant Episcopacy. Eight members of its hierarchy still remained: and Charles II. very soon proceeded to fill up the vacancies. As early as August, 1660, two new archbishops and ten new bishops were nominated. Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, was promoted to the Primacy; and the celebrated Jeremy Taylor was made Bishop of Down and Connor. In January, 1661, the new prelates were consecrated[1] in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, in presence of a large and brilliant auditory. The friends of the restored Establishment were delighted above measure with the ceremony; and an anthem which was sung on the occasion, and which was composed by Dr. Fuller—afterwards Bishop of Limerick—was specially admired. Its concluding words may be quoted as a specimen of this jubilant piece of devotional poetry:

> "Angels! look down, and joy to see,
> Like that above, a monarchy:
> Angels! look down, and joy to see,
> Like that above, a hierarchy."[2]

[1] Mant states that the Bishop of Clogher was associated as one of the assistants at the consecration. Mant, i. 608. This is a mistake; as Henry Jones was not permitted to lay on hands on the occasion. The rest of the bishops, it appears, objected to allow the blood-stained hands of Cromwell's Scoutmaster-General to take part in the ceremony. See Harris's *Ware, Bishops of Meath, Works*, vol. i., p. 160. For further information respecting this bishop, see Nalson's *Collections*, vol. ii. 535; and Carte, ii. 58, 498.

[2] Mant, i. 611; Reid, ii. 256, *note*. Fuller, the author of the anthem, was a

Adversity had not improved the spirit of the Irish Episcopal Church. Among the prelates who flourished immediately after the Restoration, there were none at all to be compared to Bedell or Ussher. In the selection of the new dignitaries, political services or family connections had generally more influence than piety or learning. Instead of devoting themselves to the spiritual duties of their office, and thus seeking to remove the odium which had so long rested on their order, most of the bishops still continued to give offence by their covetousness, secularity, and ambition. Thomas Price, who was now promoted to the see of Kildare, and who subsequently became Archbishop of Cashel, was noted for his penuriousness and indolence.[1] Michael Boyle—appointed in 1660 Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross—was not satisfied with these three sees. Under the groundless plea that he could not find clergymen to supply six parishes within the bounds of his jurisdiction, he contrived for years to appropriate their incomes,[2] and permitted them meanwhile to remain without a Protestant ministry. This gross misconduct did not prevent his promotion. In 1663 he was made Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland;[3] and he was subsequently advanced to the Primacy of Armagh. Even Bramhall, though now verging on threescore years and ten, had not ceased to be a keen political partizan. At the opening of the new Parliament he was chosen speaker of the Irish House of Lords. The selection was ominous. "In such a choice," says a contemporary peer, "we let the

native of London, and a warm loyalist. About this time he was made Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. In 1664 he was made Bishop of Limerick, but he held the Deanery of St. Patrick's *in commendam* for two years afterwards. In 1667 he exchanged the see of Limerick for the English bishopric of Lincoln. He died in 1675. Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 385-6; ii. 100.

[1] Harris's *Ware*, i. 393. It should, however, be mentioned, to his credit, that he encouraged the instruction of the natives through the medium of their own tongue. In the time of Bedell he was Archdeacon of Kilmore, and his intercourse with the good bishop had doubtless led him to take some interest in this matter. See Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 15, *note*.

[2] Harris's *Ware*, i. 509; Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, pp. 107, 108, *note*.

[3] He held the office of Lord Chancellor for twenty-two years, viz., from 1663 to 1685. He died in 1702.

dissenters and fanatics see what we intend as to Church government."[1]

There are times when the utter want of principle in persons holding a high social position is revealed with startling evidence. Never, perhaps, was a disregard even for outward consistency more glaringly exhibited than at the period of the Restoration. Many of the leading men in Ireland now, all at once, changed their religious profession. In the days of the Commonwealth, Sir Charles Coote had been the bitter persecutor of both Prelatists and Presbyterians.[2] Now, created Earl of Mountrath, he was not ashamed to take the lead in urging conformity to the Book of Common Prayer. Lord Broghill had been won over to the side of Cromwell: and had supported the Protector in his policy. Now, under the title of the Earl of Orrery, he made himself conspicuous as an ardent Royalist and high-flying Episcopalian. Others, who had pledged themselves by oath to adhere to the Solemn League and Covenant, now assailed it in the language of execration. Most of the members of the Irish House of Commons of 1661 had been long connected with Independent, Baptist, or Presbyterian congregations: and yet, with marvellous facility, they agreed to require all the subjects of the kingdom to conform to the Episcopal mode of Church government and the English Liturgy.[3] The Covenant, which not a few of them had sworn to maintain, was ordered to be burned in all cities, and corporate and market towns, by the hands of the common hangman.[4] Nor did the Irish senators stop even here in their anxiety to testify their zeal for the restored ritual. At their own request the Lord's Supper was administered to the members of the House of

[1] See letter from the Earl of Orrery to the Duke of Ormond. Mant, i. 631.

[2] Reid, ii. 239.

[3] Mant, i. 632. The Declaration on this subject, agreed to by both Houses, was adopted in the Lords on the motion of Viscount Montgomery of the Ards, who had *twice* sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant. Reid, ii. 272, *note*.

[4] The only Irish magistrate who scrupled to burn the Solemn League and Covenant was Captain John Dalway, Mayor of Carrickfergus. He was involved, in consequence, in considerable trouble; and he appears to have very reluctantly complied. Reid, ii. 273, *note*.

Commons[1] in June, 1661, by Primate Bramhall—the most distinguished representative of High Church intolerance.

These legislators had special reasons of their own for their ecclesiastical subserviency. They held their estates by a most precarious tenure. These estates consisted, to a large extent, of confiscated lands which they had very recently acquired, and which were still claimed by the former proprietors.[2] The present holders were therefore most anxious to recommend themselves to the King—who was known to be bent on the re-establishment of prelacy; and they were well aware that, by opposing the Royal wishes in relation to the Church, they would imperil their possessions. Powerful influence was used to induce Charles to restore the forfeited lands to their previous Roman Catholic owners;[3] and, had not reasons of State interposed, he would have felt very much inclined to eject those who now enjoyed them. The new senators were sensible of the insecurity of their position: and as most of them had all along been mainly desirous to accumulate wealth in Ireland, it is not difficult to account for the time-serving spirit which they now exhibited.

There is nothing more remarkable in this portion of the ecclesiastical history of the country than the sudden collapse of both Anabaptism and Independency. We have seen[4] that,

[1] Mant, i. 633. It would appear that at this time there was only one Roman Catholic returned to the Irish House of Commons. Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 147. Of the Peers, twenty-one are said to have been Romanists, and seventy-two Protestants. Haverty, p. 602.

[2] At the Restoration there were two classes to whom no favour was to be shown, that is, those directly implicated in the massacre of 1641, and those concerned in the death of Charles I. Many of the Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic nobility and gentry had all along been more favourable to the King than most of those who had recently obtained possession of their forfeited lands.

[3] The great difficulty in the way was the influence of those who now had possession. The attempt to expel them might have sent Charles a second time into exile.

[4] See before, p. 123. Those who at the present day are called *Baptists* were then generally known as *Anabaptists*; because they *rebaptized* their converts. Roman Catholic writers account, in their own way, for the disappearance of the Protestant colonists. They declare that they were "struck with Egyptian plagues" which carried them off in vast numbers! "They were not," says one writer, "as yet three months in Ireland when most fetid vermin crawled forth from their bodies in such swarms that their hair, and beard, and garments were covered with them, so that they could not appear in public through shame, nor could they

when Cromwell attained to supreme power, seven-eighths of all the ministers paid by the State were connected with these two denominations. The Baptist and Congregational preachers were located in the chief garrison towns of all the four provinces; and were specially favoured in the way of maintenance.[1] But, thirty years after the Restoration, pastors and flocks had almost entirely disappeared. It was computed, in 1672, that nearly one-half of the Irish Protestants of English origin dissented from the Established Church;[2] and almost all these non-conformists must have belonged to the two denominations of "sectaries" whom the Protector specially encouraged.[3] It is now perhaps impossible to trace, with any great degree of accuracy, the progress of their extinction. Some of them returned to England; perhaps a larger number emigrated to America;[4] and many were gradually absorbed by the Episcopal Church. "Two are better than one, and a threefold cord is not quickly broken;" but their system of ecclesiastical polity—ignoring any firm bond of confederation—peculiarly exposed them in a time of trial to disintegration and decay. There is reason to think that in a few generations, in consequence of inter-marriages and

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anywhere find rest . . . . it was confined to the strangers alone, and by that disease and in other ways God so humbled their pride that from 1641 to 1650 more than 180,000 English in various parts of Ireland, were carried away, not so much slain in war as destroyed by this Herodian disease and other plagues."—MORAN'S *Persecutions of the Irish Catholics*, pp. 170, 171. It is well known that Roman Catholics suffered even more than Protestants from the plague which raged in Ireland during the last three years of the Roman Catholic Confederation; and Roman Catholics themselves admit that the Presbyterians of Ulster entirely escaped that visitation. See before, p. 100, *note* (1).

[1] Thus, whilst Presbyterian ministers had £100 per annum, several Baptists and Independents had twice that sum.

[2] Sir Wm. Petty's *Political Anatomy. Tracts*, p. 305.

[3] The Presbyterians can be easily ascertained; and there is no reason to believe that at this time they amounted to more than *one-third* of the Protestant population. The Episcopalians formed another third. See Petty's *Political Anatomy*, p. 305. In 1659 there were "no Scotch settlers in the provinces of Munster or Connaught, and but *seven* in the province of Leinster."—*Observations of W. H. Hardinge, M.R.I.A., on the Earliest Known MS. Census Returns of the People of Ireland.* Trans. R.I.A., vol. xxiv. Antiq. part iv., p. 326. Dublin, 1865.

[4] Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 156.

otherwise, a considerable portion of their descendants became Romanists.[1] At the present day Anabaptism and Independency are almost unknown in the two provinces of Leinster and Munster, where, little more than two centuries ago, they were numerically as strong as Episcopacy.[2]

A conspiracy in which Anabaptists and Congregationalists were largely involved, and which was discovered in 1663, exposed the Irish Protestant Dissenters to considerable odium. The army of Ireland at the period of the Restoration was made up to a great extent of the sectaries; and such of the officers and men, as were believed to be still republicans at heart, were soon quietly disbanded by the new administration.[3] The dismissal of so many privates, lieutenants, and captains, created deep dissatisfaction; and not a few of them were quite prepared to welcome another revolution. The Acts of Settlement and Explanation[4]—which disposed of a large portion of the landed property of the kingdom—gave them additional offence. By these Acts, Episcopalians and Romanists, who had remained faithful to the Royal cause, were restored to their possessions; whilst large numbers of the soldiers of Cromwell were deprived of advantages on which they had been calculating.[5] The malcontents at length

[1] See Prendergast, pp. 261, 262, 266; and Mant, ii. 572.

[2] Lord Clare, in his famous speech in the Irish House of Lords in February 1800, makes the following remarkable statement:—"A new colony [in the time of Cromwell] composed of all the various sects which then infested England—Independents, Anabaptists, Seceders, Brownists, Socinians, Millenarians, and Dissenters of every description, many of them infected with the leaven of democracy—poured into Ireland, and a very considerable portion of the opulence and power of the kingdom of Ireland centres, at this day, in the descendants of this motley collection of English adventurers."—*Speech*, pp. 16, 17. Dublin, 1800. According to the Census, the Independents in all Munster amounted in 1871 only to 330 persons; and the Baptists, only to 169.

[3] Carte's *Ormonde*, ii. 259.

[4] The Act of Settlement is the 14th and 15th of Charles II., chap. ii. The Act of Explanation, which professed to explain, and which somewhat modified the Act of Settlement, is the 17th and 18th of Charles II., chap. iii. "Of the 5,200,000 acres [Irish Plantation measure] which had been forfeited, there were given back to Catholics . . . . 2,340,000 acres; 200,000 more were restored to Ormond, Inchiquin, Roscommon, and other Royalist Protestants; 120,000 were given to the Duke of York."—FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, i. 153.

[5] "By the 17th and 18th of Charles II., chap. iii. (1665), the soldiers, adventurers, and debenture holders consented to accept *two-thirds of their legitimate claims*, and those already in possession to *part with a third* of the land they held

formed a plan for the subversion of the Government. Colonel Blood, a man of restless temperament and of daring character, was the most active of the conspirators. They proposed to make a prisoner of the Duke of Ormonde,[1] to seize the Castle of Dublin, to put an end to the tyranny of the bishops, and to take steps for the suppression of Popery. Though most of them had long before repudiated the guidance of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster, they now seemed inclined to retrace their steps; for they talked of "settling religion according to the Solemn League and Covenant."[2] But the whole scheme—which was conceived in folly—terminated in disaster. The plot was detected when it was ripe for execution; Blood contrived to make his escape; but others who were implicated were captured and executed.[3] A Presbyterian minister named Lecky, who was resident in Dublin, and who was the brother-in-law of Blood, had been so misguided as to join in the conspiracy; and he was one of those who suffered the penalty of death.

As a body, the Presbyterians of Ulster had no part in this movement. Blood had been among them, and had earnestly sought their co-operation; but they refused to give him any encouragement.[4] One or two of their ministers of little note deviated from the course pursued by their wiser and more experienced brethren; and were, in consequence, obliged to quit the country. But though, with a single exception, the Presbyterian pastors in Down and Antrim had not been in any way connected with the plot, orders were issued by a suspicious Government for the apprehension of them all; a considerable number endured a tedious imprisonment;[5] and many of them were forced to leave the kingdom.

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to secure an unchallenged tenure of all that remained."—FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, i. 151. Between the passing of the Act of Settlement in 1662, and the passing of the Act of Explanation in 1665, there was much dissatisfaction among all classes in Ireland.

[1] Immediately after the Restoration, this nobleman—before a marquis—was made a duke.

[2] Carte, ii. 268; Reid, ii. 292.

[3] Carte, ii. 270.

[4] Reid, ii. 290-1.

[5] Carte has supplied a very confused and somewhat contradictory report of this affair; and he is followed by Mant, who absurdly speaks of it as if it had been

It was not strange that Blood expected the Presbyterians of the north to join in his conspiracy—as they had abundant cause for discontent. Their ministers had all along been the friends of constitutional freedom; and, when Charles I. was put to death, they had strenuously denounced his execution. Their protest—which had attracted attention all over the three kingdoms—had brought down on them the wrath of the regicides, and the scurrility of John Milton. They had, immediately afterwards, acknowledged Charles II. as their rightful sovereign; had prayed for him in public; and had, in consequence, been proscribed. When, however, Cromwell saw that they were not factious politicians, and that they were peacefully attending to the duties of their ministry, he became more tolerant; and, though he still refused to permit them to receive the tithes of their parishes, he gave them something like an equivalent out of the public treasury. Their adherents, in consequence, rapidly multiplied in Ulster, so that, towards the end of the Protectorate, they had the charge of eighty congregations.[1] They hailed, with the highest satisfaction, the return of Charles II; he led them to expect that he would prove their friend; and they zealously endeavoured to promote his restoration. But, of all the Protestants of the three kingdoms, they were the very first to suffer for their non-conformity. The prelates were not well in office when a proclamation appeared, which was understood to be of their dictation, and in which meetings of presbytery were denounced as "unlawful assemblies."[2] About the same time a party of horse was sent to break up a presbytery convened at Ballymena in the County of Antrim; but the court had terminated its proceedings before the troopers arrived.[3] In the spring of 1661—only a few months after his consecration—Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, silenced, at his first visitation, no less than thirty-six Presbyterian ministers in his diocese. The Irish Parliament had not

a conspiracy of the "Scoto-Irish Presbyterians."—Mant, i. 641. Adair, in his *Narrative*, has given a very full and candid account of it. *Narrative*, pp. 270-282.

[1] Reid, ii. 252. Some of these congregations had not ministers. They were supplied with preaching and other ordinances by the pastors near them.

[2] Reid, ii. 256.

[3] Adair's *Narrative*, p. 246.

yet assembled; and, had he been at all inclined to lenity, he might have permitted these brethren to remain still in the Establishment.[1] He proceeded on the principle that all laws, in existence before the overthrow of the royal authority, were valid; and that, consequently, he was authorized to insist on the observance of the Act of Uniformity. But that Act—passed a century before—had, until now, been seldom carried strictly into execution; and the author of the "Liberty of Prophesying" was guilty of the most shameful inconsistency when he thus commenced his episcopal career by deposing the best and most faithful preachers in Down and Antrim.

Bramhall, the Primate, adopted a course somewhat different from that pursued by Taylor. He assumed that those who had received only Presbyterian ordination were not qualified to officiate as ministers of the Church of Ireland; and, when they refused to be re-ordained, he declined to recognize them, and declared their places vacant.[2] He thus acted without any legal warrant; for the law had not yet pronounced ordination by Presbyters invalid;[3] and, in the confession drawn up by Ussher for the use of the Established Church in 1615, it was virtually acknowledged. It was, however, useless, in the present position of affairs in Ireland, to dispute the will of the lords spiritual.

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[1] About this time some changes were made in the English ritual. In 1665 the Irish Parliament passed an Act requiring all the clergy to adopt the revised English Liturgy. The Act is the 17th and 18th of Charles II., chap. vi. Several parts of the Act of Uniformity, passed in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, had never been generally enforced. Had Taylor been at all inclined to lenity, he might have indulged the Presbyterian ministers for four years longer, that is, until the passing of the new Act of Uniformity in 1665.

[2] Afraid to offend the Protestant churches on the Continent, Bramhall and others did not profess to annihilate Presbyterian ordination; but they practically treated it as a nullity. See Mant, i. 623.

[3] The Statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, chap. 12, admits the ministrations of those ordained in Scotland or in foreign churches. In 1665 the Irish Parliament virtually acknowledged that the prelates had previously acted illegally; for it made a law to the effect that, from the 29th of September, 1667, every person not in holy orders by episcopal ordination, or who should not be ordained before that date "according to the form of episcopal ordination," should be disabled from holding an ecclesiastical benefice. See Mant, i. 646. This Act would have been unnecessary had not Bramhall been acting unconstitutionally.

Of the sixty-eight or sixty-nine Presbyterian ministers now in Ulster, only seven or eight conformed. The remaining sixty-one submitted to deprivation rather than sacrifice their religious convictions.[1] The brethren thus driven out of the Establishment experienced no little harsh treatment. As they did not feel at liberty to relinquish the sacred office, they continued to minister to the people in private dwellings and in barns; and, when forbidden to preach, they were harassed by grievous prosecutions because they refused obedience.[2] Four of them were imprisoned for the long term of *six years* by Leslie, Bishop of Raphoe.[3] In 1665 the Irish Parliament passed an Act providing that any one of them who dared to celebrate the Lord's Supper thereby incurred a fine of one hundred pounds.[4] But, regardless of these pains and penalties, they persevered in their pastoral labours, and often met with the people at dead of night to dispense to them the ordinances of the Gospel.[5] Their proceedings were narrowly watched; their steps were tracked by informers; and the people, as well as the ministers, were sadly distressed by the proceedings of the bishops' courts.

According to the Act of Uniformity, everyone absent from the Established worship was liable to a fine; and the prelates had now recourse to this odious method of enforcing attendance. But the mulcting system was bitterly resented by all classes of non-conformists—whether Romanists or Protestants—so that the Government was at length compelled to interfere, and insist on its discontinuance.[6] The bishops now saw that they might overshoot the mark by measures of extreme harsh-

[1] Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 266.

[2] On the 29th of July, 1661, the Irish Parliament ordered that Mr. Boyd, Presbyterian minister of Aghadoey, be examined by the Judges of Assize who ride that circuit, for holding a conventicle at Desertoel, in the County of Derry, contrary to the Declaration of the House. Mant, i. 635.

[3] The imprisonment lasted from 1664 to 1670. Reid, ii. 304.

[4] Mant, i. 646, 648-9. [5] Reid, ii. 264, 277.

[6] Reid, ii. 280-1. In 1669 George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, appeared in Ireland. On this occasion he sent a challenge to "all the friars, monks, priests, and jesuits, to come forth and try their God and their Christ, which they had made of their bread and wine." In the same year Solomon Eccles, a Quaker, was imprisoned at Galway for disturbing a Roman Catholic congregation. "He went naked above his waist with a chafing-dish of coals and burning brimstone upon

ness. Though, for a time, the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster suffered severely because of their supposed connection with Blood's Plot, the prosecution, on the whole, was not permanently prejudicial to their interests; for their innocence was so fully established, and their peaceable demeanour so clearly ascertained, that the State at length seemed disposed to make amends for their unjust imprisonment by permitting them to preach without molestation. The ministers who had fled into Scotland began, one after another, to return; the people, in defiance of the threats of the episcopal party, attended on their services; and meeting-houses were soon erected in various districts. In 1669 presbyteries were organized; and, though it was deemed prudent to hold these courts in private, arrangements were made by them for the maintenance of discipline, and for the supply of vacant congregations.[1] The Duke of Ormonde, when Lord Lieutenant, was disposed to treat the Presbyterians with indulgence; and he was wont to say that their case was a hard one, as they had formerly suffered *for* the King, and were now obliged to suffer *under* him.[2] In 1672 Sir Arthur Forbes—afterwards Earl Granard—who, about that time, was one of the Lords Justices of Ireland, recommended them to the monarch's favour; and, in consequence, their ministers then obtained their first grant of Regium Donum. This grant—amounting to £600 per annum[3]—was to be shared with the widows and orphans of those who had been ejected at the Restoration. Though they received so substantial a token of royal consideration, they were patronized, as it were, by stealth; for the Regium Donum was given under the name of secret service money.[4] The civil disabilities imposed on them in the statute book were not removed; and

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his head, and entered the chapel, when all the people were on their knees praying to their idol, or images, and spoke as followeth: 'Woe to these idolatrous worshippers: God hath sent me this day to warn you, and to show you what will be your portion, except you repent'—which when he had done, he went away to the town."—WIGHT AND RUTTY'S *History of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers*, pp. 117, 119, 120.

[1] Reid, ii. 309.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. 285.

[3] Charles II. proposed to give them £1,200 per annum; but it appeared that nothing more than the sum mentioned in the text was forthcoming. Reid, ii. 334, 335, *note.*

[4] Reid, ii. 334, 335, *note.*

they were kept in alarm even when the penal laws were not rigorously carried into execution. For years they did not venture to engage publicly in the act of ordination—as that proceeding would certainly have brought down on them the vengeance of the prelates. Young pastors were set apart to their office, "by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery," in circumstances of great privacy. But their Church, notwithstanding, continued to flourish, and attained a degree of expansion which it had not reached before.

The treatment experienced by the Romanists under the Protectorate was certainly not fitted to win them over to Protestantism. A catechism had been translated into Irish for their use;[1] and they were invited and urged to attend on the services of the preachers paid out of the public treasury; but men driven from their homes, stripped of their property, and smarting under a sense of wrong, were not likely to listen with much patience to the instructions of ministers patronized by Cromwell. With a view to their enlightenment, Jeremy Taylor, shortly after the Restoration, published, at the request of his episcopal brethren, a work entitled, *A Dissuasive from Popery*. This production was ill adapted to instruct those for whose benefit it was designed—as it was too large and too pretentious; and less likely to convince than to exasperate. The Bishop of Down and Connor had a rich imagination, a graceful style, and a large amount of various learning; but as he was himself deeply infected with the errors of Pelagianism, he was indifferently qualified to deal with the subtleties of Romanism. Like his early patron, Archbishop Laud, he had no great aversion to some of the peculiarities of the system he attacked; and as his book wanted the pithy earnestness which such a controversy required, it seems to have produced little impression.

Though the adherents of the Catholic Confederation had been long in collision with the Irish Lord Lieutenant, they professed to be attached to the royal cause; and they were certainly bound by their oath of association to render allegiance to the English sovereign. It was no easy matter

[1] See before, p. 122, *note* (2).

to reconcile these professions with the course which they pursued; and their proceedings, about the time of the death of Charles I. and afterwards, were strangely at variance with them; for they were then prepared to hand over the kingdom to a foreign potentate. But, under the Protectorate, the condition of the Romanists was more intolerable than it had ever been before; and many of them looked for better days when Charles II. regained possession of the throne. Those who had taken no part in the rebellion expected the recovery of their lands; and those who had consented to the peace concluded with Ormonde early in 1649, were disposed to cherish the hope that the promises then made to them would now be fulfilled. But they soon discovered that they still had formidable enemies to encounter. The adventurers and soldiers—who occupied their lands, and who claimed them by right of purchase—denounced the natives as disloyal; and affirmed that their fealty to the Pope rendered them unfit to be trusted by Protestant rulers. Nor did they want weighty reasons in support of their allegations. Ever since the Reformation the bishops of Rome had been fomenting rebellion in Ireland. Their bulls encouraging sedition had been published all over the country; and they had been sending, to the disaffected, supplies of men, money, and warlike stores. No oath of allegiance could be framed to which they could be induced to give their sanction; and they had more than once evinced a disposition to affirm the principle that those who acknowledged their supremacy were not bound, in conscience, to be faithful to a heretical sovereign. At the Restoration, Irish Romanists found themselves thus placed in a disadvantageous position; and those of them who were expecting to recover their lands deemed it specially necessary in some way to vindicate their loyalty.[1] Towards the close of the year 1661

[1] About this time the story that, in November, 1641, three thousand Romanists were driven over the Gobbins in Islandmagee was concocted and published. In 1655, and the years following, the sufferings of the persecuted Waldenses had awakened the deepest sympathy throughout the British Islands; and Milton had told, in immortal verses, of

> "The bloody Piedmontese who rolled
> Mother with infant down the rocks."

Many of the Irish who had fled from their native country after 1641 were concerned

some of their leaders accordingly met in Dublin; and agreed to draw up, for presentation to the King, an address known as "The Remonstrance." The document was prepared by Richard Belling, who had acted as Secretary to the Supreme Council of the Catholic Confederation; and that part of it which related to the authority of the Pope was a literal transcript of the printed Declaration of the Roman Catholics of South Britain, composed by an English Benedictine, and laid before Charles I. in 1640.[1] As an avowal of allegiance it was, unquestionably, sufficiently explicit. "We acknowledge and confess ourselves," said the Remonstrants, "to be obliged, under pain of sin, to obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's subjects, and as the laws and rules of government in this kingdom do require at our hands. And that notwithstanding any power or pretension of the Pope, or the see of Rome, or any sentence or declaration of what kind or quality soever, given, or to be given, by the Pope, his predecessors, or successors, or by any authority, spiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived from him or his see, against your Majesty or royal authority, we will still acknowledge and perform, to the uttermost of our abilities, our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able or shall pretend, to free, discharge, or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us leave or license to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any violence to your Majesty's person, royal authority, or to the State or Government."[2]

This Remonstrance was forwarded to Peter Walsh, a Fran-

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in these atrocities, as they had meanwhile been taken into the service of the Duke of Savoy. Their partizans now endeavoured to turn the torrent of public indignation by producing, *for the first time*, this absurd tale of the three thousand martyrs of Islandmagee.

[1] Brenan's *Eccles. History of Ireland*, p. 477; O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part ii., p. 144.

[2] The Remonstrance may be found at length in a work often already quoted —Walsh's *History and Vindication of the Loyal Formulary or Irish Remonstrance*, pp. 7-9. See also Brenan, appendix iv. 675-6.

ciscan friar then resident in London,[1] who had been appointed by the Irish Romanists, with the papal primate of Armagh at their head, to act as their Procurator, or accredited agent, in the English metropolis. When submitted to Government, the Duke of Ormonde immediately objected that it was not properly authenticated—as it wanted the signatures of the parties from whom it professed to emanate. To remove this difficulty, Oliver Darcy, the Romish bishop of Dromore, and twenty-four Irish priests then living in disguise in the British capital, at once affixed their names to it; but five or six others —afraid, as it would appear, of the displeasure of the Court of Rome—withheld their subscriptions. The Romish nobility and gentry of Ireland, with great unanimity, adopted the Remonstrance.[2] Early in 1662 many of them met at the house of Earl Clanricarde, in Dublin; and among those who then had signed it were Lords Castlehaven, Clancarty, Carlingford, Mountgarret, Fingal, Tyrconnel, Galmoy, and Gormanstown.[3] Upwards of two hundred of the principal inhabitants of the county and town of Wexford also annexed their signatures.[4]

An account of these proceedings in due time reached Rome;

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[1] Peter Walsh was born at Moortown in County Kildare early in the seventeenth century. He was educated at Louvain, where he was for some time Professor of Divinity. He possessed great learning and undoubted ability. He is noticed by Mr. T. D. McGee in his *Irish Writers of the Seventeenth Century;* but here there receives very scant justice, as he was immensely superior to many of the authors bepraised. It is unfair to speak of him as the mere *shadow* of Ormonde. He came into collision with the Nuncionists (see before, p. 91), and they could never forgive him for his opposition to them. His offence was all the more intolerable, inasmuch as his arguments were unanswerable. He was an honest and independent Irishman; and, though a sincere Romanist, he could never swallow the doctrine of slavish submission to the Pope. It has been alleged that, at the last, he recanted his principles; and Brenan (*Ecc. Hist. of Ireland*, p. 486) has published a document, dated 13th of March, 1688, apparently extorted from him when at the point of death, in which he promises to withdraw anything in his published works "which may be deemed necessary either to be condemned or suppressed;" but no reliance can be placed on such a paper. Forgeries of this kind are numberless: and the signature of a man in a state of unconsciousness to any memorial is of no value. Peter Walsh was a zealous Jansenist.

[2] See O'Conor's *Historical Address*, part i., p. 107.

[3] Some of these had signed it shortly before in London. See Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, pp. 11, 95. See also Brenan, p. 479.

[4] Brenan, p. 479. See the names in Walsh's *History of the Remonstrance*, pp. 99, 100.

and it soon obvious that they were exceedingly disliked by the vereign Pontiff. The Remonstrance implied that the P was very far from infallible; that in times past he had l as a sower of sedition; and that circumstances might se in which it would be perfectly right to resist the dictation f his Briefs and Bulls. Such sentiments were quite at variance th omission which he claimed. The Nun t I the charge of ecclesiastical affairs in 11 posed, and addressed an admonitory letter lergy, in which he denounced the priests who the document as *Valesian heretics*.[1] He de same epistle, that such a memorial woul more than any former persecution; and ex ul to submit to martyrdom rather than annex their signatures.[2] Cardinal Barberini, in the name of the whole congregation of the Propaganda, addressed to the nobility and gentry a similar epistle.[3] These communications appear to have been but little regarded by the more intelligent laity; but their influence on the clergy was decided. Of two thousand priests resident in Ireland in 1665, only sixty-nine ventured to put their names to the Remonstrance.[4] Another formula, expressive of loyalty, was proposed; but, by those acquainted with the subtle distinctions of Romish theologians, it was deemed evasive and jesuitical. The subject created great excitement; and it was at length arranged that a national synod should assemble for its discussion.

This Synod met at Dublin, by connivance of the Duke of Ormonde, on the 11th of June, 1666. It sat for upwards of a fortnight: and meanwhile Peter Walsh, who had already acted such a prominent part in the affair, vindicated at great

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[1] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 160. *Valesius* was Walsh Latinized. See also Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 16.

[2] O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 161; Brenan, p. 480.

[3] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 17.

[4] Brenan, p. 481. Of these 2,000 priests, 1,200 were secular and 800 regular clergy. See *Cambrensis Eversus*, by Kelly, i. 60, 61, *note*. It appears from this that Romish priests, in great numbers, must have flocked back to Ireland immediately after the Restoration.

length, the sentiments embodied in the Remonstrance. But his arguments were addressed to a hostile auditory. Edmund O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh [1]—who had been obliged to leave the country at the Restoration—now reappeared; and presented to the Synod various official communications from the Nuncio and others, all condemnatory of the paper which had created so much controversy. O'Reilly was an adept in the chicanery of the Jesuits: he had induced the Lord Lieutenant to believe that, if suffered to come to Ireland, he would support the views of Peter Walsh; [2] and, deceived by his fair professions, Ormonde had given him permission to return: but, when he presented himself before the Synod, he threw off his disguise, and most energetically denounced the Remonstrance. The document was, in consequence, condemned, and another formula of allegiance adopted; but, though this new protestation seemed to be very satisfactory,[3] some of the proceedings of the Synod were fitted to awaken the suspicion that, after all, implicit confidence could not be placed in the loyalty of Romanists. When it was moved that such of the clergy as had rendered themselves obnoxious to the laws during the civil war should

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[1] O'Reilly was R.C. Primate of Armagh from 1654 to 1669. If we may believe Peter Walsh, he was one of the most contemptible of mortals. *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, pp. 608-9. See also an account of him in O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part ii. 172-192. The following letter to Ormonde, in which he supplicates for leave to visit Ireland, is a specimen of his servility and low cunning:—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

"I am the Publican standing afar off, not daring to lift up mine eyes to the heavens and your Grace; but knocking my breast, humbly pray your Excellency be pleased to be favourable to me, and make me partaker of his Majesty's unparalleled mercies: promising in the sight of God and his angels that I will endeavour to comply in all points with his Sovereign Majesty's most gracious will, and your Excellency's commands, as far as shall become a modest, faithful and thankful subject. If otherwise, who am I? but a worm, the reproach of mankind, the vilitie of the people, a dead dog, a flea.

"And yet, my gracious Lord,

"Your Excellency's most humble servant,

"EDMUND ARMAGH."

PARIS, *August* 31, 1665.—WALSH'S *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 611.

[2] Leland, iii. 461.

[3] See a copy of this document in Brenan, appendix v., 676-7.

implore the pardon of the Government, the party headed by the primate proudly declared that they knew of no crime they had committed.[1] The Synod broke up in confusion; and those who had opposed the Ultramontane spirit of the majority were afterwards made to feel the weight of ecclesiastical vengeance.[2]

Before the Restoration the Roman Catholic hierarchy had been brought very low in Ireland. We have seen that in 1653, only one bishop remained in the island;[3] a number of the prelates who attended the Dublin Synod in 1666 soon afterwards took their departure for the continent; and, at the close of the year 1668, not more than two members of the episcopal order were to be found in the country.[4] As they could now live in it with perfect safety, the Court of Rome took steps to add to their numbers; and in 1669 four archbishops and one bishop were consecrated. These were Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh; Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin; William Burgatt, Archbishop of Cashel; James Lynch, Archbishop of Tuam; and James Phelan, Bishop of Ossory.[5] Other appointments soon followed. A contemporary states that, between the years 1669 and 1673, thirteen or fourteen Romish prelates "publicly and freely lived and exercised their functions at home in Ireland."[6] During the same period the inferior clergy—already sufficiently numerous—were greatly increased. Patrick Plunket,[7]

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[1] Leland, iii. 461; Cox, *Charles II.*, p. 8. O'Reilly, before coming to Ireland, had expressly declared that the R. C. clergy should *ask the King's pardon for their misconduct during the preceding twenty-five years.* Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 612.

[2] Leland, iii. 462.

[3] See before, p. 117.

[4] Moran's *Memoirs of Oliver Plunket*, p. 20. The two bishops now in Ireland were Patrick Plunket of Ardagh and Sweeny of Kilmore. Notwithstanding his intemperate habits, Sweeny still lived. He is described at this time as "either delirious or deficient in many things."—*Ibid.* p. 31.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 20, 29.

[6] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 747.

[7] Patrick Plunket, the son of Lord Killeen, was made R. C. Bishop of Ardagh in 1647. In 1669 he was advanced to the see of Meath. He died in November, 1679. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 97, 118, 127. He lived a number of years on the Continent, where he had from the French King a free house and garden, and a pension of 300 pistoles a year. Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 750.

the Roman Catholic Bishop of Ardagh, is said to have been mainly instrumental in their multiplication. Nor was he very fastidious in the choice of those whom he admitted to the priesthood. It is reported of him, by a respectable witness, that "a vast number of all sorts of most illiterate, and otherwise too in all respects contemptible persons" were ordained by him; whereby, it is added, "the order of priesthood is now despised, even amongst those of the Roman Catholic profession."[1]

Ever since the accession of Charles II. to the throne, the Romish party had been using their influence at the English Court in favour of their Church in Ireland. For years the King was prevented by prudential considerations from giving them very open encouragement; but at length, in 1670, he ventured on a more decided policy. In the month of May of that year Lord Berkeley became Viceroy. The new Lord Lieutenant, in his public instructions,[2] was enjoined to use all his influence for the support of the Established Church, and the discouragement of Popery; but it was soon manifest that he was not disposed to act up strictly to the letter of these requirements.[3] It was believed that he had received secret orders quite different from those openly acknowledged—an impression which was strengthened by the fact that his administration was very favourable to Romanism. Its adherents acted with a boldness which they had not exhibited since the days of the Confederation. Provincial councils and diocesan synods were held by the Romish prelates throughout the kingdom; and those of their clergy who had signed the

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[1] Walsh's *Hist. of the Remonstrance*, pp. 748-9. In 1673 we find Archbishop Plunket himself complaining that the priests were "*too numerous.*" "Every gentleman," says he, "desires a chaplain; and is anxious to hear mass in his room, under pretence of fear of the Government."—MORAN'S *Memoirs of Plunket*, p. 86.

[2] These instructions may be found in Cox, *Charles II.*, pp. 9-11.

[3] Cox, *Charles II.*, p. 11. Even in the Protestant parts of the country the priests at this time seem to have enjoyed perfect impunity. In a letter written by Oliver Plunket, the R.C. Primate, and dated the 23rd of February, 1671 (2), it is stated that three priests sent to minister in the Hebrides by the Marquis of Antrim would not consent to remain there because they had "*good parishes in the County Antrim.*"—Hill's *Macdonnels of Antrim*, p. 345.

Remonstrance were excommunicated. Deprived of the means of subsistence by the loss of their situations, they could not well avoid starvation, except by submitting to their spiritual dictators. Those of them who fled into foreign countries did not much better their position, as they were in danger of being denounced as heretics, and of falling into the hands of the Inquisition. The Lord Lieutenant had been ostensibly directed to support them; but when they appealed to him for protection they could obtain no redress.[1] Even when the Protestant primate complained of the harsh treatment they experienced, the Viceroy turned a deaf ear to his remonstrances.[2]

It might be said that in matters of spiritual jurisdiction, Government had no right to interfere; but, in this case, such an argument was scarcely relevant, as the question in dispute related to the encroachments of the Pope on the rights of temporal sovereignty. If any church, or its representative, claims prerogatives which are subversive of civil freedom, the State is clearly bound to interpose, and sustain those who uphold its independence. On this occasion, had Government been anxious to succour the Remonstrants, it might, without travelling beyond the bounds of its legitimate province, have found means to shelter them against oppression. But it had no desire to afford them aid. The Executive at this time gave grievous offence to the Irish Protestants by other proceedings which at the present day would be quite proper; but which, as the law then stood, involved its open violation. In various places Romanists were introduced into corporate towns, were permitted to become aldermen or common councillors, and were entrusted with the commission of the peace.[3] The manner in which Peter Talbot, the Roman

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[1] The R. C. prelates were aware that Walsh would experience no sympathy from Government. In June, 1669, the R.C. Bishop of Meath could boast that he was obliged to leave Ireland; in the preceding May it was affirmed in Rome that "if the new Viceroy found Peter Walsh in Ireland on his arrival *he would send him to the scaffold.*"—Moran's *Memoirs of Plunket*, pp. 4, 25.

[2] Mant, i. 654; Leland, iii. 463.

[3] Sir Wm. Petty in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, written in 1672, states that "the number of sheriffs and sub-sheriffs, sheriffs' bailiffs, high and petty

Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, was suffered to deport himself, created still greater dissatisfaction. This ecclesiastic, who had so recently been appointed to his office by the Pope, was expected by his patron to employ all his authority in crushing those who had ventured to subscribe the Remonstrance. But he did not confine himself to the supervision of his own clergy. He announced that he had received special powers from the English sovereign: intermeddled in politics; and contrived in some cases even to overawe the Lord Lieutenant.[1] The King, as afterwards appeared, had privately entered the Church of Rome prior to the Restoration; and Peter Talbot had been the officiating minister on the occasion of his admission.[2] He had subsequently been well received at the English Court; he belonged to a highly respectable Irish family; and, as he was distinguished by activity and tact, he possessed a large amount of social influence. His knowledge of the grand secret of the King's conversion inspired him with confidence: and led him to pursue a course on which he would not have otherwise adventured. On one occasion he had the assurance to appear before the council at Dublin in his archiepiscopal vestments—an act which involved a direct violation of the law—and yet the Lord Lieutenant overlooked this public defiance of authority. On another occasion he proposed to celebrate mass in the Irish metropolis with extraordinary splendour: and applied to Sir Ellis Leighton[3] for the use of some hangings and plate, which formed part of the furniture of the castle, that they might grace the solemnity. The obsequious secretary complied with the request—expressing, at the same time, his hope that

constables, are about three thousand persons, whereof *not above one tenth are English or Protestants.*"—*Tracts*, p. 379. We may infer from this that Romanists must have had far more than their fair share of public offices.

[1] Leland, iii. 402-3. In April, 1762, we find the R.C. Bishop of Waterford, Dr. Brenan, stating that Peter Talbot and his brother, Colonel Talbot, were seeking to procure for Berkeley "a continuation in his office of Viceroy."—MORAN'S *Memoirs of Plunket*, p. 223.

[2] Carte, ii. 172; Renehan's *Collections*, p. 203.

[3] He was brother of Archbishop Leighton, so well known in Scotland after the Restoration. Ellis became a convert to Popery. He died in 1684. Burnet describes him as a very immoral and worthless man. *Hist. of his own Time*, i. 189.

high mass would ere long be performed in Christ Church Cathedral.[1]

These proceedings were soon well known in the sister island; and, as there was a widespread impression among the more earnest Protestants of that country that the King was under Popish influence, they created no little uneasiness. The popular clamour so alarmed the British Cabinet that they deemed it prudent to remove Lord Berkeley from the Viceroyalty, and to appoint the Earl of Essex as his successor.[2] When the English Parliament soon afterwards assembled, it agreed to present an address to the throne, relative to the affairs of Ireland. In this memorial His Majesty was requested to give order that no Romanists should be admitted to sheriffs, coroners, or justices of the peace in that country; that all licences authorizing them to reside in corporate towns should be withdrawn; that all prelates and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction by the Pope's warrant should be commanded to leave the kingdom; that all convents should be dissolved, and all priests banished.[3] The Court was obliged to give way to the pressure from without, and to pursue a somewhat different policy; but, withal, the Romish clergy managed, with little difficulty, to maintain their position in a land occupied so largely by their own adherents.[4]

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[1] Leland, iii. 462-3.

[2] About this time Irish Protestantism gained a distinguished convert from the Church of Rome in Dr. Andrew Sall, a Jesuit, who had at one time been Professor of Moral Philosophy at Salamanca. He was of a highly respectable Irish family and a native of Cashel. He was led to embrace Protestantism after much careful investigation. He was well acquainted with the native tongue, and was employed for a considerable time before his death in the revision of Bedell's *Bible*. He embraced Protestantism in 1674, when he was about sixty-two years of age. He was, in 1675, made Prebendary of Swords, and afterwards obtained other preferments. His adoption of Protestantism created a great sensation, and led to several controversial publications. He died in 1682. See Clogy's *Memoirs of Bedell*, p. 125, *note;* and Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 45.

[3] Leland, iii. 466.

[4] According to Sir Wm. Petty, Ireland had in 1672 a population of 1,100,000, divided into 800,000 Romanists and 300,000 Protestants of all denominations. But though this estimate has been often quoted and accepted, its accuracy may be fairly challenged for the following reasons:—I. Petty admits that, in the same year, the English and Protestants, though confessedly superior in wealth and education, held not more than *one-tenth* of the public offices. II. It appears, from his own

In 1677, the Duke of Ormonde—who had long been out of favour with his sovereign—was re-appointed Lord Lieutenant. At this period the Duke was by far the most influential statesman connected with Ireland; for he was greatly respected, as well by the Roman Catholic as by the Protestant nobility. But, though not indisposed to treat the adherents of Popery with indulgence, he was cordially hated by the great body of the priests. They knew that he was the patron of Peter Walsh; and they believed that, in the days of the Catholic Confederation, he had blighted their hopes of political ascendency. He had not long entered on his Irish administration when the neighbouring island was thrown into a state of excitement by the alarms of popish conspiracies; and several wicked adventurers—among whom Titus Oates has acquired an infamous notoriety—took advantage of this morbid con-

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reckoning, that in 1652, at the end of the Civil War, the population amounted to 850,000, divided into 700,000 Romanists, and 150,000 Protestants of all denominations. III. If we take the census first published by Mr. Hardinge (see before, p. 127, *note* (2)), and found among the papers of Sir Wm. Petty, as an account of the *males* in 1659, and assuming it to represent the one-half of the population, it follows that in all there were then in the country 827,968 Irish, and only 172,214 English and Scotch. IV. Between 1659 and 1672 we have no reason to believe that there was any considerable increase among the Protestant non-conformists, as many of them in disgust left the country and removed to America. Neither have we any reason to believe that the Irish declined in numbers, as their circumstances were in every way improved after the Restoration. But if the Irish and the English and Scotch existed in the numbers indicated in 1659, it would seem, from Sir Wm. Petty's reckoning, that, during the next thirteen years, the Romish population *diminished*, whilst the Protestants increased 75 per cent. V. We know that about this time in most of the *towns* of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, there were *three* Romanists to *one* Protestant, whilst in rural districts, as Sir Wm. Petty himself acknowledges, the Romanists were as twenty to one Protestant. (*Tracts*, p. 376. See also Moran's *Mem.*, p. lxv.) As to the population of Kilkenny in 1659, see before, p. 121, *note* (1). VI. About this very time well-informed Romanists, such as Talbot, R.C. Archbishop of Dublin, reckoned that their co-religionists were to the Protestants as *six* to *one*. See a remarkable paper drawn up by him in 1671 in King's *State of the Protestants in Ireland*, p. 291. ed. London, 1692. VII. In the paper just mentioned—a document evidently drawn up with great care—Talbot reckons the population at that time as 1,200,000. According to another estimate it amounted to 1,320,000. See Hardinge, *Trans. of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. Antiq., part iv., p. 327. We may infer, for these reasons, that the estimate of Petty cannot be sustained. We would not perhaps greatly err were we to say that in 1672 there were in Ireland not more than 250,000 Protestants, and not less than 950,000 Romanists.

a of the public mind to concoct tales which produced odigious sensation. There were, no doubt, Jesuits at this e prepared to sanction any piece of villany likely to vance the interests of their Church; and the cruel treatment r experienced by the Protestants of France may be traced ctly to their intrigues; but the stories of Oates and his adjutors appear to have been a tissue of fabrications. y obtained, however, ready credence; and led to fresh lictions of pains and penalties on Romanists. It was to be pected that, at such a juncture, the state of Ireland would aken the anxiety of a Protestant Government; and that laws against recusants would be enforced with increased erity. The professors of the obnoxious creed were disued; and, as the Romish clergy were supposed to symthize with the tories, or banditti who infested several districts of the country, a proclamation was issued directing that any popish priest, in any place where murder or robbery was committed by these freebooters, should be lodged in prison and transported, unless within fourteen days the guilty persons were killed or taken, or such discovery made that they could be brought to justice.[1]

The concoctors of the Popish Plot affirmed that it extended to Ireland, that men of high consideration in this country were involved in it, and that persons had been hired to assassinate the Lord Lieutenant. But, with all his vigilance, and with the best means of procuring information, Ormonde could discover no trace whatever of the existence of any such dark design.[2] The evidence against the accused possessed transparent marks of falsehood: for some, who were arraigned as chief conspirators, were incapacitated by extreme age or infirmity from engaging in the schemes imputed to them; and it was obvious that the depositions had been framed in total ignorance of their actual condition. Peter Talbot, the Romish Archbishop of Dublin, who was represented as organizing insurrection, now suffered from disease; and was in such a state of pain and languor as to be unfit to undertake

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[1] Leland, iii. 475.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 477, 479.

any ordinary duty.[1] Lord Mountgarret—denounced as a dangerous conspirator—was eighty years of age, bedridden, and in a state of dotage.[2] Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was an ecclesiastic of blameless morals and pacific temper; but, according to the testimony produced against him, he was a most desperate revolutionist. As a short account of the career of this prelate will illustrate the history of the times, it may be here given.

Plunket, who was of highly respectable parentage, was born at Loughcrew in Meath in 1629. At an early age he resolved to become a priest; and in his sixteenth year was sent to Rome to receive a professional education. The political convulsions of the times long prevented his return to his native country; but he had meanwhile attained literary eminence, so that he found employment in the Italian capital as a professor of Theology. When appointed to the archbishopric of Armagh in 1669, he was in the prime of life; and the fact of his advancement to the Primatial see of Ireland, at so critical a period, attests the confidence reposed in him by the Sovereign Pontiff. When he reached London, on his way back to his native land to take possession of his new dignity, he was convinced that the zeal for the maintenance of Protestantism which animated the English people was not promoted by the highest personage in the realm. The Queen admitted him to an audience; her almoner, the Rev. Father Howard, drove him about in his carriage to see the curiosities of the city; he was secretly lodged for ten days in the royal palace; and subsequently the King led him to expect an allowance of £200 a year out of his own purse.[3] When he arrived in Dublin, he found that his Church had little to fear from the officials of the Viceregal Court. Four of the principal personages connected with it were Romanists, though making an outward profession of the Reformed faith.[4] The new Primate was received with the utmost kindness by

[1] He was, notwithstanding, imprisoned; and he died in confinement towards the close of 1680. Renehan's *Collections*, p. 226.

[2] Leland, iii. 474.

[3] Moran's *Memoirs*, pp. 43, 189. This pension was not long paid. *Ibid.* p. 102.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 45.

his Irish kinsmen. "Sir Nicholas Plunket," says he, "at once invited me to his house, and gave me his carriage. The Earl of Fingall, who is my cousin, invited me to his country seat. The Baron of Louth will give me board and lodging in my own diocese as long as I please. . . . . There are also three other knights, who are married to three of my cousins, and who vie with each other in seeing which of them shall receive me into his house."[1]

Plunket signalized himself as a laborious and exemplary prelate. He reports that, within four years after his arrival in Ireland, he administered the rite of Confirmation to nearly fifty thousand persons.[2] He established schools for the education of the Romanists of his province, and the tuition they supplied attracted a considerable number of Protestant youths; but, though these seminaries were conducted by Jesuits, even the Viceroy for a time seemed disposed to give them encouragement.[3] Plunket endeavoured to correct the intemperate habits of his clergy;[4] and as he was himself abstemious, his exertions seem to have led to a decided improvement. But, as might have been expected, he was a zealous ultramontane; for he had been promoted to the Primacy by the Pope, and he had spent five-and-twenty years in Rome. He was a determined enemy of Peter Walsh; and he could not tolerate the spirit of independence displayed by the whole party of the Remonstrants. Some of the priests ventured to affirm that the clergy and people should have a voice in ecclesiastical appointments; and they could easily show that such was the ancient order of the Church of Ireland; but Oliver Plunket denounced the claim as an attempt to abridge the papal prerogative.[5] As he was a strict disciplinarian, he soon came into collision with some of the monks and clergy within the bounds of his jurisdiction; and he gave deadly

[1] Moran's *Memoirs*, p. 45.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 63. The exact number is 48,655. *Ibid.*

[3] Moran, pp. 99, 101, 102.

[4] Moran, p. 78. In one of his letters Plunket makes the significant remark, "Give me an Irish priest without this vice [drunkenness], and he is assuredly a saint." *Ibid.*

[5] Moran, pp. 131, 254.

offence by the manner in which he punished their irregularities. The success of Oates and his coadjutors in spreading alarms of popish plots in England emboldened these dissatisfied ecclesiastics[1] to attempt the ruin of their metropolitan. The leading witnesses against him were two friars and a priest; they accused him of high treason;[2] and their depositions were sufficiently minute and circumstantial. They affirmed that he had entered into an engagement to betray Ireland to the French; that he had undertaken to raise an army of 70,000 men; and that he had fixed on Carlingford as a proper landing-place for the foreign invader. In December, 1679, Plunket was arrested and committed a close prisoner to Dublin Castle. It was arranged that his trial was to take place in Dundalk; but, in a town where the Primate was well known, the witnesses did not dare to confront him even before a Protestant jury; and, in consequence of the absence of some whose testimony was alleged to be essential, the case was postponed. In the end he was removed to England, and tried at Westminster. In those days contrary winds often caused great delays in the communication between the two countries; the witnesses in his defence were too late in making their appearance; the English jurors were not aware of the worthless character of his accusers; and, in the absence of rebutting evidence, they brought in a verdict of guilty. He was accordingly executed at Tyburn on the 11th of July, 1681.[3]

Roman Catholic writers often speak of Oliver Plunket as

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[1] Moran expressly states that "*the three chief witnesses* who plotted the death of Dr. Plunket" were "unworthy ecclesiastics whose vicious career the zealous archbishop had long, but in vain, endeavoured to check."—*Memoirs*, pp. 305, 298. Their names were Murphy, MacMoyer, and Duffy.

[2] Edmund Murphy—who had been parish priest of Killevy, and who lived in the Fews near Newry, but who had been degraded—was one of the principal witnesses against Plunket. *Journal of the Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. vi., new series, 1867, pp. 57, 62, 63. This Murphy was brother to the famous tory or robber of that day, named Cormac O'Murphy, who was at one time connected with the gang of which the notorious Redmond O'Hanlon was the leader. *Ibid.* p. 57. These two freebooters at length parted company and became deadly foes. *Ibid.* p. 58.

[3] Moran's *Memoirs*, p. 347.

dying a martyr for his religion; but this view of his career is obviously not sustained by the facts of his history. His lot was cast in evil times; and his position, as Roman Catholic Primate, more than once exposed him to persecution. The encouragement he at first received from the Irish Viceroy was soon withdrawn; and, to avoid apprehension, he was obliged to retire to a secluded district where, for months, he had no better accommodation than what was furnished by a miserable hovel. But he died the victim of a vile conspiracy concocted by some of his own clergy. He was accused, not of professing Popery, but of being deeply implicated in treasonable designs:[1] and such a charge, even at the present day, if properly substantiated, would involve the punishment of death. In the case of Plunket the accusation had not even the semblance of probability. The man whose whole official income did not much exceed £60 a year, was certainly not in a position to raise an army of 70,000 soldiers. At the time, Englishmen were disposed to believe any tale, no matter how extraordinary, which was damaging to Romanism; the proceedings of the Pope and his minions, wherever they had power, had given them ample cause for suspicion; and the double-dealing of the Jesuits had contributed to foment their prejudices; but Plunket was condemned, not because he was a Romish dignitary, but because he was believed to be an

[1] It is evident that Plunket was exceedingly disliked by a number of his own clergy; and that many of them sympathized with Murphy, MacMoyer, and Duffy. Thus in a letter to the Propaganda from Dr. Cusack, a contemporary R.C. bishop, dated January, 1682, the writer says:—"The murderers of our most illustrious Oliver of Armagh . . . . *whose fault was that he reprehended the faults of the wicked* . . . . now add iniquity to iniquity, and seek by new warrants to procure the death of the Bishop of Clogher . . . . *How many amongst the clergy* will the impunity of these, contrary to all justice and law, cause to be promoted, not through any merit of their piety, but through *fear of their own subjects*. . . . Since those from Ulster, in the Convent of St. Isidore's in Rome, *destroyed the archbishop in effigy, as they afterwards did in reality in London*; and as *the clergy and people of Ulster now receive these parricides*, it is manifest that *the crime is not so personal that only the immediate actors in it should receive punishment*." See the letter in Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. ii. 133, 134, 135. These letters present a startling view of the deep depravity of many of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ulster at this period.

Irish traitor. His accusers were members of his own Church,[1] goaded on by avarice and malignity.

Oliver Plunket was far superior, in almost every way, to his episcopal brethren. He had enjoyed the advantages of a good education; and, during his residence of a quarter of a century in the capital of Italy, he must have acquired a large amount of general information. But the rank and file of the priests throughout his province of Armagh presented a beggarly array of vice and ignorance. The very fact that a diabolical conspiracy, hatched against him by a number of his own clergy, was not defeated by the fidelity and zeal of others of a higher character, does not give us a favourable idea of the ecclesiastics under his supervision. As a body, the Irish priests of this period had a very limited amount of education. A few who aspired to bishoprics, deaneries, and other dignities, went abroad, and studied for years at foreign seminaries; but the greater number of the clergy had merely as much training as fitted them for the celebration of mass. An intelligent Englishman, who now spent many years in Ireland, and who had good opportunities of estimating their character all over the country, has left behind him a somewhat curious account of them. "The priests," says Sir William Petty, "are chosen for the most part out of old Irish gentry, and thereby influence the people, as well by their interest as their office. Their preaching seems rather bugbearing of their flocks with dreadful stories, than persuading them by reason or the Scriptures. They have an incredible opinion of the Pope and his sanctity, [and] of the happiness of those who can obtain his blessing at the third or fourth hand. . . . The common priests have few of them been out of Ireland."[2] He adds that they "are of small learning, but are thought by their flocks to have much, because they can speak Latin more or less, and can often outtalk in Latin those that dispute with them."[3] The account given of the Roman Catholic laity of

[1] Some time after the death of Plunket, MacMoyer and Duffy, two of the principal witnesses, were declared "apostates, excommunicated, and entirely cut off from the bosom of religion and of holy church."—MORAN, p. 306. MacMoyer is described by Moran as "the *originator* of that wicked conspiracy." *Ibid.* p. 298.

[2] *Tracts*, pp. 363-4.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 363.

this period by the same witness is not less noteworthy. "They make," says he, "little esteem of an oath upon a Protestant Bible; but will more devoutly take up a stone and swear upon it, calling it a book, than by the said book of books, the Bible.[1] But of all oaths, they think themselves as much at liberty to take a *land-oath*, as they call it,—which is an oath to prove a forged deed, a possession, livery or seisin, payment of rents, &c., in order to recover for their countrymen the lands which they had forfeited. . . . They do not much fear death, if it be upon a tree, unto which, or the gallows, they will go upon their knees from the place they can first see it. They confess nothing at their executions, though never so guilty. In brief, there is much superstition among them, but formerly much more than is now; forasmuch as by the conversation of Protestants, they become ashamed of their ridiculous practices."[2]

During the war which commenced with the Irish massacre, many of the established churches were ruined;[3] and, thirty years after the termination of the struggle, little appears to have been done for their restoration. About the close of the reign of Charles II. not more than one in seven of these edifices, in several parts of the island, was in a state fit for the celebration of worship.[4] This fact supplies melancholy evidence of the apathy of the clergy; for had either the

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[1] Roman Catholic writers are in the habit of speaking of Petty as an infidel. Such passages prove that the imputation is groundless. In his last will he declares his faith in the great doctrines of the Christian religion. See a copy of his will prefixed to his *Tracts*, p. xii.-xiii. Dublin, 1769.

[2] *Tracts*, pp. 364-5.

[3] Dr. Mant has quoted a passage from a sermon by Dean Swift in which the ruin of the churches is absurdly ascribed to "*Puritan* zeal."—Mant. i. 668. Mant, with equal absurdity, endorses the statement. It was certainly no part of the policy of Oliver Cromwell to pull down churches. The ruin of the churches, as Mant should have known, commenced with the massacre in 1641, and was the work of the Romanists. Thus the Remonstrance "of the poor, despoiled and distressed [Protestant] ministers of the Gospel in Ireland," presented to the Parliament of England in March, 1642, complains of the Papists "breaking into churches, burning pulpits, pews, and all belonging thereunto." See Somers' *Tracts*, vol. v., p. 578. The destruction was then only beginning. See also Cotton's *Fasti*, iv. 127, *note*.

[4] Mant, i. 664.

bishops or rectors been at all worthy of their position, they would have made some effective efforts to repair the dilapidations. Whilst there were at this time in Ireland perhaps 3,000 Popish priests,[1] there were not in all—curates included—more than 500 ministers of the Establishment.[2] Three or four, and sometimes nine, parishes were grouped together to make up what was called "a living;"[3] and as it was impossible for one clergyman to attend to the spiritual wants of a people scattered over so large a district, Protestantism died out in many places where no provision was made for the dispensation of its ordinances. In 1681 an edition of the New Testament in Irish—consisting of between seven and eight hundred copies—was published;[4] but the Church was indebted for this service to the enlightened zeal of a pious layman—the Honourable Robert Boyle.[5] Four years afterwards Bedell's Irish Bible issued from the press. The same Christian patriot who had reprinted the Irish Testament contributed largely to the expense of this first edition of the whole scriptures in the native language.[6] An excellent Irish

[1] Peter Walsh states that in 1665 there were in Ireland of secular priests "betwixt a thousand and eleven hundred." "But," he adds, "now in 1672 I doubt not they are *well nigh so many more* by reason of the indiscreet laying [on] of hands ever since 1666."—*Hist. of the Remonstrance*, p. 576. In this enumeration the regulars are not included. Sir Wm. Petty reckoned the Romish clergy in Ireland in 1672 as 3,500 in all. *Tracts*, p. 327.

[2] Sir Wm. Petty, in his *Political Anatomy of Ireland*, says that "the parsons, vicars and curates for the Protestant religion, are in all Ireland at this day [1672] *near five hundred*."—*Tracts*, p. 326.

[3] Mant, i. 665.

[4] Anderson's *Sketches of the Native Irish*, p. 43. According to Dr. Monck Mason only 500 copies were printed. *Life of Bedell*, p. 301.

[5] Mant, i. 669. Robert Boyle was the seventh and youngest son of the first Earl of Cork. He was distinguished for his philosophical attainments as well as for his eminent piety. His works are numerous. He was born at Lismore in County Waterford; and died in December, 1691, in the 65th year of his age.

[6] This Bible wanted the Apocrypha. Ecc. Hist. Soc. Publications. *Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, i. Introd. xiii., *note*. London, 1849. This was not the only instance in which this truly illustrious Irishman promoted the circulation of the Scriptures. "He had, at his own charge, caused the Gospel and Acts of the Apostles to be translated into the Malayan tongue, and printed; he had contributed largely to impressions of the New Testament in the Turkish, and of the Bible in the Welsh language." Dr. Monck Mason's *Life of Bedell*, p. 299. He also largely contributed to the publication of the translation of the Scriptures in the language of the American Indians, by John Elliot, their apostle.

ned Higgins, who revised the translation before it
sed into the hands of the printer, is said to have been
self a convert from Romanism. Mr. Higgins was after-
rds admitted into the ministry of the Established Church,
settled in a parish in Tipperary, where he is reported to
e been instrumental in bringing over many of the people
otestantism.[1]

II. during his whole reign was at heart a papist,
ne did not venture to avow his convictions; but, when
ame to die, he threw off the mask, and received absolution
m a Roman Catholic clergyman. It was not to be supposed
t a prince, at once so hypocritical and so licentious, would
ve any desire to promote the cause of Irish Protestantism;
d, in his time, some of the most unworthy bishops of the
enteenth century received their appointments. In 1672
omas Hacket, who had at one period been his chaplain,[2]
was made Bishop of Down and Connor; and, for upwards of
twenty years, the cause of religion in the north of Ireland
continued to receive immense injury from that wretched
prelate.[3] Simon Digby, who was advanced to the see of
Limerick in 1679, seems to have owed his promotion to very
equivocal patronage. "He was," says a brother prelate, "a
great master of painting in little water colours, and by that
greatly recommended himself to men in power *and ladies*;
and so was early made a bishop."[4] Though Digby wore an
Irish mitre for upwards of forty years, he generally lived out
of his diocese.[5] Many of the rich rectors were equally
negligent. "The state of the Church," wrote Lord Clarendon,
the Irish Lord Lieutenant in May, 1686, "is very miserable;
most of the fabrics are in ruins; very few of the clergy reside
on their cures, but employ pitiful curates. . . . I find it
an ordinary thing for a minister to have five or six cures of
souls, and to get them supplied by those who will do it

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[1] Mant, i. 670-1.

[2] Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 208.

[3] See afterwards.

[4] Letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake, dated April 12th, 1720. See Mant, ii. 366.

[5] In 1691 Digby was removed to Elphin. He died in 1720. Cotton's *Fasti*, iv. 128.

cheapest. Some hold five or six ecclesiastical preferments worth £900 a year, get them all served for £150 a year, and preach themselves perhaps once a year. When I discourse with my lord bishops on these things, I confess I have not satisfactory answers."[1]

On the accession of James II. to the throne, a vigorous and sustained effort was made to weaken the power of the Protestants. The militia—from which popish recusants had been hitherto carefully excluded—was disarmed; and Colonel Talbot—an unscrupulous Romanist,[2] about this time created Earl of Tyrconnel—was placed at the head of the military establishment of the kingdom. He was empowered to remodel every regiment according to his pleasure; and even the Viceroy was not permitted to interfere with his proceedings. Protestant officers were removed, and their places supplied by the adherents of Popery: the same system of substitution was applied to the whole army; and, in a short time, almost all the common soldiers, as well as their superiors, belonged to the communion of Rome. Men who, in point of character and education, were totally unfit for the position, were entrusted with the commission of the peace—simply because they happened to be zealous Romanists; and persons of this description were thrust in large numbers into all the corporations throughout the island. Early in the reign of James, Lord Clarendon was selected as Irish Viceroy; but, though disposed to be very obsequious, he was not considered, by the popish party, sufficiently accommodating. In a short time he returned to England; and the Earl of Tyrconnel was appointed Lord Deputy, as well as Commander-in-Chief of the army.

These proceedings filled the adherents of the Reformed

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[1] Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury dated May 25, 1686. See Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 158.

[2] Lord Macaulay states in his *History of England* (ii. 302. London, 1858) that the Talbots "took part with the Celts in the Rebellion of 1641." This is apparently a mistake, as the Talbots of Malahide did not take part in the insurrection. See an article on "Richard Talbot Earl and Duke of Tyrconnel" in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. v., p. 274. The writer of that article but feebly meets the weighty charges adduced by Macaulay against Tyrconnel.

faith with consternation; and, when Lord Clarendon took his departure from the Irish shores, fifteen hundred of the Protestant families of Dublin are said to have left the country along with him.[1] Nor was it extraordinary that they were unwilling to remain longer in the island. They could expect protection for neither life nor property, as the vilest men were raised to power. Tyrconnel the Viceroy was a worthless profligate, without principle and without decency; and he selected agents as unscrupulous as himself to be the instruments of his tyranny. Sir Alexander Fitton—a man convicted of forgery—had recently professed himself a Romanist; and this most suspicious convert was suddenly promoted to the important office of Lord Chancellor.[2] Thomas Nugent—a person notoriously ignorant of his profession—was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench;[3] and Stephen Rice—infamous at the Inns of Court as a gamester and a cheat—was constituted Chief Baron of the Exchequer.[4] In other appointments Tyrconnel evinced as little respect for propriety. In a northern city an individual who had been condemned to the gallows was nominated Chief Magistrate.[5] One Turlogh O'Donnelly, who served for no less than two years as High Sheriff of Tyrone, was not even a freeholder of the county; and, when his term of office was about to expire, he was obliged to enlist as a foot-soldier to escape imprisonment for debt.[6] Converts to Popery were specially favoured. Upwards of one hundred persons of mean condition, who now relinquished Protestantism, were immediately advanced to the

[1] Leland, iii. 502.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 503: King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland*, pp. 28, 29, 65. Fourth edition. London, 1692.

[3] King, p. 68. Macaulay speaks of Nugent as a "personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the English Celt then imagined to be characteristic of the Popish Celt."—*Hist. of England*, iii. 167.

[4] King, p. 70.

[5] Leland, iii. 504.

[6] King, pp. 84, 85. Roman Catholic writers admit the recklessness of Tyrconnel's government. Thus Mr. O'Conor says that he "appointed Roman Catholic sheriffs and lord lieutenants for almost every county in Ireland, many of them paupers, without birth, education, or property."—*The Irish Brigades*, p. 166. Dublin, 1855.

rank of captains in the army.[1] These perverts evinced by their subsequent conduct that they belonged to the basest class of time-servers.

It was not to be expected that the Irish Protestant Established Church would obtain any favour from James or his bigoted Viceroy. The clergy often lost their tithes because the sheriffs refused to execute writs for their recovery; and it was vain to appeal for redress to courts of law—as the majority of the judges, under the influence of Tyrconnel, were prepared to connive at these delinquencies. Many buildings long used for Protestant worship, and held by a parliamentary title, were openly seized by the priests, on the unfounded plea that they stood on ground belonging to Roman Catholic proprietors.[2] The archbishopric of Cashel and the bishoprics of Clonfert, Elphin, and Clogher—now vacant—were permitted to remain so till James ended his reign; and their revenues were meanwhile appropriated to the maintenance of the Romish hierarchy.[3] When episcopal incumbents embraced the religion of the King, James insisted that they should remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of their benefices.[4] He attempted to gag the advocates of the Protestant faith by prohibiting the episcopal clergy from discussing controversial topics in the pulpit;[5] but it does not appear

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[1] King, p. 32. An attempt was made to weaken the impression produced by the publication of King's *State of the Protestants of Ireland, under the late King James's Government.* The reply is entitled *An Answer to a Book intituled The State of the Protestants in Ireland, &c.* It appeared in London in 1692; and, though anonymous, it was well known that the author was Charles Leslie—the famous non-juror, a man of very superior talent. Every one who reads this work must feel that Leslie does not even attempt to grapple with the mass of facts adduced by King. He produces a number of excellent arguments *ad hominem*, and convicts King of great inconsistency: as he had not long before been a strenuous assertor of the doctrine of passive obedience. He also endeavours to excite odium against King William for his treatment of the Scottish Episcopal clergy; but he scarcely ventures to defend the misgovernment of Tyrconnel.

[2] Mant, i. 689. [3] *Ibid.* i. 690.

[4] King, p. 231. The most noted of these converts was Peter Manby, Dean of Derry, who wrote a tract in vindication of his apostasy, which was answered by King. Dr. Mant states that there were only two apostates among the clergy, but he has himself named a third. Mant, i. 692, 693.

[5] Mant, i. 691.

that he imposed a similar restriction on the champions of Romanism.[1] Vacant parishes—where the patronage belonged to the Crown—were either left without a Protestant ministry, or supplied by men who reflected discredit on the cause of the Reformation.[2]

Nor were these the only expedients employed by this unworthy sovereign to promote the interests of Romanism in Ireland. Funds intended to provide a sound Protestant education were employed in supporting popish seminaries; and in one remarkable case a teacher who had conducted with great efficiency a school founded at Kilkenny by the Duke of Ormonde, was driven from the place; and the building converted into a military hospital.[3] A Jesuits' school was established in the same town; and a charter provided for a college. The University of Dublin did not escape the injurious interference of the Government. Even during the administration of the Earl of Clarendon, the King's mandate, addressed to the Provost and Fellows, required them to admit a Romanist, named Green, to the Professorship of the Irish language with all its emoluments and arrears of salary;[4] but, as no such office existed,[5] the attempt proved abortive. At a subsequent period James proposed completely to alter the constitution of the College, and to fill the Fellowships with the adherents of his own religion.[6]

The policy pursued by this infatuated monarch and his agents indicated a determination to root Protestantism out

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[1] At this time the popish priests and friars in the city of Dublin amounted to from three to four hundred, though the place had not then one-third of its present population. King, p. 138. With all this array of clergy, Dublin was a very den of iniquity. There were about fourteen chapels and convents built at this time in the metropolis. *Ibid.*

[2] Mant, i. 691. Bishops also were prevented from exercising discipline on scandalous clergymen. King, pp. 230, 231.

[3] Mant, i. 689.

[4] Leland, iii. 504-5.

[5] In 1680, Dr. Narcissus Marsh, then Provost, engaged teachers of Irish *at his own expense*, and about eighty students joined their classes. Publications of Ecc. Hist. Society. *Book of Common Prayer for Ireland*, i., Introd. xiv., *note*. This may have led persons outside the College to infer that there was an endowment for a Professor of Irish.

[6] Mant, i. 689.

of Ireland. Its professors were suddenly disarmed, and deprived of all political power. Lawyers were employed to discover defects in the title-deeds of their lands; they were exposed to countless annoyances and hardships; popish magistrates turned a deaf ear to their complaints; and even the tories or robbers, who infested the country, were permitted to spoil them with impunity. As was to be expected, many of them in the north, as well as elsewhere, fled from a land in which they met with such discouragement. In the beginning of the reign of James, Ireland was in the enjoyment of comparative prosperity; but before the close of his wretched rule, it presented a quite different aspect. Its trade was injured; its fountains of justice were polluted; and its whole social machinery was disorganized. Even the public revenue declined with such rapidity as to alarm the best friends of the Government.

Meanwhile the Romish prelates were busily engaged in endeavouring to impart increased vigour to their ecclesiastical machinery. Talbot, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, who died in prison in 1680, was succeeded, after a vacancy of a few years, by Patrick Russell. This prelate filled the Primatial chair of Leinster from 1683 to 1692; and during his official career witnessed some of the most exciting scenes in the history of Ireland. For the greater part of this period, Romanism was virtually restored to its ancient supremacy. Russell held two Provincial, and three Diocesan Synods. Some of the canons promulgated at these meetings are curious specimens of ecclesiastical legislation. Every priest who had the care of souls for five years in the diocese of Dublin was "to present to it a silver chalice and pixis; and in case he had spent ten years on its mission," he must give, "in addition, a missal and a set of appropriate ornaments for the altar."[1] "Piping and dancing" were forbidden "on Sundays[2] and festivals throughout the year until *after vespers*, or

[1] Meagher's *Notices of the Life and Character of his Grace the Most Reverend Daniel Murray*, p. 125. Dublin, 1853.

[2] In the old Irish church the regulations relative to the observance of the Lord's Day were much more stringent. See vol. i., p. 66, *note* (1).

three o'clock in the afternoon."[1] "Without his bishop's express permission, no priest was to attempt to wear false hair, commonly called a periwig;"[2] neither was he to go bail for anyone in any sum exceeding forty shillings.[3] On fast days the use of fish was prohibited; but, should the rosary be recited once in each week of Lent, the restriction need not be observed.[4] The priests were required to exert themselves "to eradicate the scandals of immodest singing and acting at wakes."[5] But the Revolution gave a rude shock to Irish Romanism; and no Popish Provincial Synods again assembled in the country until after the passing of the Emancipation Act of 1829. In addition to his other emoluments, Archbishop Russell received from James a pension of £200 per annum.[6] On the fall of the Stuart dynasty he fled to Paris.[7] When he ventured to return to Ireland he was seized and imprisoned. He died in July, 1692, in the sixty-third year of his age; and a coffin-plate, dug up some years ago in the graveyard attached to the old church of Lusk, in the county of Dublin, bears his epitaph.[8]

When James arrived in Ireland from France—where he fled on the appearance of the Prince of Orange in England—the country was sadly torn by political convulsions. At first he professed his willingness to protect the Protestants; but it was very soon obvious that they had nothing to expect but measures of the utmost rigour. A parliament assembled by him in Dublin, and composed almost exclusively of Romanists, repealed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; and thus, at one stroke, deprived the existing owners of a large portion of the landed property of the kingdom.[9] The parties

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[1] Meagher's *Notices of the Life and Character of his Grace the Most Reverend Daniel Murray*, p. 125.* Dublin, 1853.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 126.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 127.* [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 124.* * The Canons of the Council of Trent were adopted and enforced by Archbishop Russell at this time. See evidence of R. C. Archbishop of Cashel in the O'Keeffe case. Kirkpatrick's *Report*, p. 473.

[6] Renehan's *Collections*, p. 231.

[7] D'Alton's *Memoirs of Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 456.

[8] Renehan's *Collections*, p. 234.

[9] In the second Parliament of William, all the attainders and other acts of this Parliament were declared void.

most interested had no opportunity of defending their claims; and the conduct of James, in consenting to their spoliation, was all the more unwarrantable, as he had again and again solemnly signified his determination to uphold the arrangements now so summarily overturned.[1] By another Act of this Parliament, upwards of 2,400 persons—including peers, baronets, knights, clergy, gentry, and yeomanry—were attainted of high treason, and adjudged to suffer death, unless they surrendered within certain assigned periods.[2] Some of those proscribed had, no doubt, joined the Prince of Orange; but others had merely left the island, and had not returned in obedience to a royal proclamation. It was provided that the property even of such as were detained abroad by sickness should be seized by the King; and it was not to be restored until the parties proved their innocence. A clause inserted in the Act prevented the monarch himself from exercising the power of pardoning after the first day of the following November. The individuals thus proscribed had no opportunity whatever of making a defence. The provisions of the Act were studiously concealed;[3] and had it been carried into execution, many would have been hopelessly ruined before they were aware of their danger. Another Act made over to the Romish clergy all the tithes and ecclesiastical dues payable by members of their own communion.[4]

At this trying crisis the Protestants suffered severely all throughout Ireland. The Regium Donum, granted in 1672 by Charles II., was now withdrawn from the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster. Many of their adherents were driven from the country: some emigrated to America; not a few of them fled to Scotland; and others took refuge within the walls of Derry. That city sustained for months all the horrors of a siege; and the Presbyterians formed the great

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[1] It is said that Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath, *at the instigation of James*, spoke against the Bill. *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, i., part i., 87. James hoped thus to avoid the odium of the measure.

[2] Leland, iii. 538-9.

[3] King, p. 207. "The Act was concealed and no Protestant for any money permitted to see it, much less take a copy of it, till the time limited for pardons was passed at least four months."—*Ibid.*

[4] Leland, iii. 539-40.

body of its defenders. The Episcopal clergy in many districts were threatened with starvation;[1] and often actually endured fearful privations. Their places of worship were wrested from them by the popish clergy; and the authority of James did not avail to procure their restoration. As the necessities of the Government increased, old cannon, bells, and pewter were melted down to be converted into coin;[2] and all classes, to their own ruin, were compelled to receive this worthless currency. The Protestants in Dublin were watched with extreme jealousy. Attendance on their worship was virtually forbidden; as an order was issued, in the name of the chief magistrate of the city, proclaiming that not more than five of them should meet together, even in churches, on pain of death.[3] So intent was the senseless monarch on making Ireland a Roman Catholic Kingdom, that, immediately before his last struggle for the crown, he was employed in establishing a Benedictine nunnery in the metropolis, and in supplying the diocese of Meath with popish incumbents.[4]

But the battle of the Boyne[5] at once changed the aspect of ecclesiastical affairs. With the defeat of James, the hopes of Roman Catholic ascendency passed away; and Protestantism forthwith assumed the position it had previously occupied.

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[1] King states that, when many episcopal clergymen had nothing left to live on, their Protestant neighbours aided them to the utmost of their power, "*and made no distinction of sects*—many Dissenters of all sorts, *except Quakers*, contributing liberally to this good end, which," says he, "ought to be remembered to their honour."—*State of the Protestants*, p. 260.

[2] "Three-penny-worth of metal would make ten pounds sterling. . . . Just before the battle of the Boyne, the copper and brass money failing . . . . stamps and inscriptions were put upon pieces of pewter: which were intended to be sent abroad . . . . and a proclamation was ready for that purpose: but King William came sooner to Dublin than was expected, and thereupon that project was dropped."—NICHOLSON'S *Irish Historical Library*, p. 172.

[3] Leland, iii. 544-5.

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 545.

[5] July 1st (old style), 1690.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE TO THE DEATH OF WILLIAM III. A.D. 1690 TO A.D. 1702.

THE eighteen months immediately preceding the battle of the Boyne were spent in deep anxiety by the Protestants of Ireland. The hardships they experienced were aggravated by division among themselves; for a large number of the episcopal clergy had so long preached the doctrine of passive obedience that they could not see their way to disown the government of James. Until his fortunes became desperate, they continued to pray for his success;[1] and even to protest against the conduct of those who resisted his authority. Hopkins, Bishop of Derry, endeavoured to dissuade the apprentice boys of that city from closing the gates against his troops: Dopping, Bishop of Meath, in the excess of his zeal for his service, was desirous to accompany him to the battle of the Boyne:[2] and, long after William and Mary were acknowledged as King and Queen of England, several of the Irish Protestant prelates sat in the Parliament convened in Dublin by the dethroned sovereign.[3] Two members of their

[1] Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 409.

[2] Leslie's *Answer to King*, pp. 103, 109. The same prelate was one of the lords spiritual who, on the 10th of May, 1689, joined in an address to James expressing *abhorrence* of "the unnatural usurpation of the Prince of Orange, and the treason of those who joined with him in England and Ireland," and professing "to King James, with tongue and heart, that they will ever assert his rights to his crown, with their lives and fortunes, against the said *usurper* and his adherents."—*Ibid.* p. 103.

[3] At this time several sees were vacant, and a large portion of the bishops had left the country; but Dopping of Meath, Otway of Ossory, Digby of Limerick, and Wetenhall of Cork and Ross, were in attendance. Mant, i. 699, 706.

hierarchy persisted to the last in following the example of the non-jurors in England, and refused to take the oaths to the new Government.[1]

But though at this critical period so many of the established clergy pursued a very equivocal course,[2] most of them were ready, in the hour of victory, to claim the rewards of the conquerors. Nowhere was this spirit exhibited more offensively than in Derry. Upwards of three-fourths of the defenders of that city were Scoto-Irish Presbyterians; and their co-religionist, Colonel Adam Murray,[3] was unquestionably the hero of the siege; but the Rev. George Walker, an episcopal clergyman who had contrived to worm himself into the appointment of Assistant Governor, and who had more than once betrayed a disposition to capitulate, published a pamphlet immediately after the place obtained relief, in which he appropriated almost exclusively to himself the credit of its successful resistance.[4] Walker—who was a most plausible character—for a time enjoyed immense popularity. He was promoted to the see of Derry;[5] and the English Universities joined with the English monarch in loading him with honours. But, as he became better known, his reputation declined: and, when he was killed at the battle of the Boyne, King William is said to have heard of the disaster without any emotion.[6]

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[1] These were Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and Otway, Bishop of Ossory. Mant, ii. preface. Sheridan was deprived, and died in poverty in 1716. Mant, ii. 28. Otway, who died in March, 1693, contrived to hold his see till his death.

[2] One of the most distinguished of the non-juring clergy was Charles Leslie, Chancellor of Connor—second son of Dr. J. Leslie, Bishop of Clogher. He was deprived of his preferment for refusing to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary. He made several vain attempts to convert the Pretender to Protestantism. He died at Glasslough in March, 1722. See before, pp. 163, *note* (1).

[3] See Reid, ii. 374, and Professor Witherow's *Derry and Enniskillen*, pp. 265, 266. Belfast, 1873.

[4] See his "*True Account of the Siege of Londonderry.*" Mackenzie's *Narrative* strips Walker of his false plumage. Lord Macaulay has given a very incorrect account of this affair. See Professor Witherow's *Derry and Enniskillen*, pp. 267-280.

[5] Walker was never consecrated bishop. His predecessor Hopkins, whose death had been anticipated, survived until the 22nd of June, 1690—about a week before the battle of the Boyne.

[6] "William," says Macaulay, "thought him a busybody who had been properly

The successor of Walker in the Bishopric of Derry was a man of far higher professional attainments; but not less arrogant and exclusive. William King was born in the town of Antrim in 1650. His father was a Scotchman, who had settled there some time before; and, when John Howe lived at Antrim Castle as chaplain in the family of Lord Massareene, it is not improbable that young King often heard the celebrated Puritan preach in the parish church.[1] He was by birth a Presbyterian; but, as he grew up, he entered Trinity College as a sizar, and conformed to the Establishment.[2] Like others who have sold their principles for promotion, he subsequently evinced a singular antipathy to the Church he had deserted. At College he distinguished himself by his superior talent; and, soon after his ordination, obtained various preferments. In January, 1689, he became Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. He had hitherto been a staunch supporter of the doctrine of non-resistance, and when the inhabitants of Derry shut their gates against King James, he denounced their conduct as rebellion.[3] But the repeal of the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, and the virtual disestablishment of the Episcopal Church by the Irish Parliament, opened his eyes, and led him to espouse the cause of King William. He was now thrown into prison, where he is said to have employed his time in composing a work which eventually attracted much attention, and which appeared shortly afterwards, bearing the title of *The State of the Protestants of Ireland under the late King James's*

punished for running into danger without any call of duty, and expressed that feeling with characteristic bluntness on the field of battle. 'Sir,' said an attendant, 'the Bishop of Derry has been killed by a shot at the ford.' 'What took him there?' growled the King."—*Hist. of England*, iv. 271.

[1] Howe came to Antrim in May, 1671, and resided there till 1676. The Rev. Thomas Gowan, who was then Presbyterian minister of Antrim, was permitted for a time to conduct worship in the parish church. Reid, ii. 336, *note*.

[2] King has been often represented as by birth an Episcopalian. The Rev. John McBride of Belfast, who was his contemporary, and who was evidently well acquainted with his early career, speaks of him in 1697 as a person who had deserted the Presbyterians. See McBride's *Animadversions*, in reply to Pullen, p. 30. The name of McBride is not on the title-page of this pamphlet, but the authorship is well known. See Reid's *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, ii. 461, *note*.

[3] Reid, pp. 424-5.

Government.[1] When promoted to the bishopric of Derry, he speedily signalized himself by an attack on the Presbyterians. They were very numerous in his diocese; and he was grievously provoked by their aversion to the established worship. They had recently rendered important service to the Protestant cause by their noble defence of the maiden city; and, as their system had just subverted prelacy in Scotland, King was perhaps haunted by the apprehension that it might achieve a similar triumph in the north of Ireland.[2] Such an occurrence would have placed a bishop and a pervert in rather an awkward predicament. William had publicly acknowledged his obligations to the Irish Presbyterians; for, to a man, they had hailed his arrival in England with delight, and had lost no time in assuring him of their assistance; and even before the battle of the Boyne he had restored and doubled the grant of the Regium Donum withdrawn from them by James. In 1691 the English Parliament repealed the Act requiring them to take the Oath of Supremacy;[3] and thus made them admissible to all offices, civil and military. A considerable number of French Presbyterian refugees had settled in Ireland after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in 1685; and in 1692 they and other foreign Protestants were authorized by Act of Parliament to celebrate their worship according to the "several rites used in their own countries."[4] Elated by these and other tokens of encouragement, the Presbyterians of Ulster assumed a tone and bearing which startled their old oppressors; they celebrated their ordinances with the utmost publicity; and met openly in presbyteries and synods. Numerous immigrants from Scotland, attracted by the cheapness of farms, now added greatly to the strength of the Presbyterian population in Ulster.[5] In September, 1691, a Synod of thirty-

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[1] See D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, pp. 302-3. See before, p. 163, *note* (1).

[2] As to the apprehensions entertained on this subject see Mant, ii. 4.

[3] Reid, ii. 421.

[4] Fourth of William and Mary, chap. ii. Irish Statutes. French Protestant congregations were about this time established in Dublin, Carlow, Cork, Waterford, Portarlington, Lisburn and elsewhere. See *Bishop Mant and his Dioceses*, pp. 50, 51.

[5] According to one account "*eighty thousand* small Scotch adventurers came

two ministers and twenty-one elders assembled at Antrim ;[1] and made arrangements, as well for the organization of new congregations, as for the better education of candidates for the sacred office. These proceedings indicated that the Presbyterian Church was determined, not only to maintain its position, but to extend its influence.

When King appeared in his diocese he found it in a wretched condition. The civil wars had left behind them most melancholy memorials; for most of the churches were in ruins. The state of the clergy was almost equally deplorable. Some of them were noted for their profligacy; and not a few were incompetent or non-resident. The new prelate addressed himself with much energy to the work of reformation. He diligently visited the various parishes under his ecclesiastical jurisdiction; administered discipline with vigour; endeavoured to provide more efficient pastors; and urged forward with zeal the repair of the dilapidated temples. But King could not confine himself to the prosecution of these laudable reforms. He had a taste for controversy: and he seems to have imagined that his great social influence, combined with his dialectic skill, would have enabled him to reduce the Presbyterian population in Derry and the neighbourhood to ecclesiastical conformity. He accordingly prepared a work designated *A Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, which he circulated privately, in the end of the year 1693, among the Presbyterian ministers and people of his diocese. Without his sanction—as he subsequently alleged—this work was immediately reprinted in London: and it soon attracted general notice. But it did not remain long unanswered. Early in 1694 the Rev. Joseph Boyse—a learned Presbyterian minister resident in Dublin—published so effective a reply that King felt it necessary to attempt to meet its arguments in *An Admonition* addressed "To the Dissenting inhabitants of the Diocese of Derry."

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between 1690 and 1698 into different parts of Ireland, but chiefly into Ulster." *Journal of Kilkenny and S.E. of Ireland Archæological Society*, vol. vi., new series, 1867, p. 50.

[1] Reid, ii. 416-18.

The Rev. Robert Craghead, the Presbyterian minister of Derry, and others, now took part in this literary warfare; and, for several years, the controversy continued to create much excitement among the Protestants of the district.

When attempting to win over the Presbyterians to prelacy, King did not pretend to say that he was prepared to throw much new light on the questions in dispute:[1] but, if his mode of reasoning was without originality, it certainly did not want boldness. He tried to induce the non-conformists to believe that their whole system of worship was destitute of divine authority. Nor was he content with abstract discussion. He charged the Presbyterians with neglecting ordinances which, as they themselves admitted, they were bound to respect: and he singled out their rare celebration of the Lord's Supper for special animadversion. The objection came with a bad grace from such a quarter; as an Act still in force, and introduced into the statute-book by episcopal influence, exposed every Presbyterian pastor who dared to administer the Eucharist to a fine of one hundred pounds.[2] Notwithstanding this penalty, the non-conformists had not been deterred from its dispensation: and it was soon shown that the bishop was quite misinformed as to the frequency of its observance: but the exposure of this and other misrepresentations, as to matters of fact, did not tend to diminish the irritation which his attack had created.

King preached frequently when he passed through his diocese in the ordinary course of visitation. He tells us that on one of these occasions he "prescribed *penance* to near an hundred people;"[3] so that even his vigour as a disciplinarian must have created a sensation at almost every stage of his progress. The sin of making sects was the great topic on

[1] The bishop himself makes this admission. "Mr. Thorndike," says he, "gave me the notions; and all that I can pretend to is the taking them out of his obscure style and method, and putting them into a more modern dress." See Mant, ii. 70. Thorndike was a well-known High Church writer who flourished about the middle of the seventeenth century.

[2] See before, p. 138. Bishop Mant, who evidently had not given himself the trouble to examine the replies of the Presbyterians, repeats all King's charges as if they had never been contradicted.

[3] Mant, ii. 105.

which he commonly expatiated.[1] The see lands of Derry were very extensive: and, as he required all his tenants to attend his sermons,[2] it was not strange that his authority as a landlord, added to his reputation as a preacher, generally secured for him a considerable audience. Nor was he satisfied to contend against the Presbyterians merely with forensic weapons. He exerted all his political power to diminish their resources, and curtail their privileges. King William was anxious to place them under the protection of a legal toleration; and a bill for their relief was submitted to the Privy Council: but, so strenuous was the episcopal opposition, that Government found it hopeless to attempt to carry the measure through the Irish Parliament.[3] The Regium Donum granted to the Presbyterian ministers was peculiarly odious to the lords spiritual. When King and his brother prelates found that they could not effect its withdrawal, they attempted to make it less valuable by suggesting a new and invidious mode of distribution.[4] The unfriendly counsel was not adopted: but the bishops, notwithstanding, persevered in their course of annoyance. Though they never ceased to rail against dissent, they proposed to muzzle those whom they assailed, by enacting that they should not be at liberty, without incurring heavy penalties, "to preach against the Church in their meetings;"[5] and, on no other terms, were they willing to legalize their worship. The non-conformists objected to the Burial Service of the Book of Common Prayer; and yet the episcopal clergy insisted on reading it when Protestants, to whom it had always been offensive, were interred in the parish churchyard.[6] In some cases Presbyterians were prevented from employing schoolmasters of their own communion; and efforts were made to deter their ministers from celebrating marriage, even when both parties belonged to their own congregations. In the reign of William a law was passed

[1] Mant, ii. 106. [2] *Ibid.*

[3] It is stated in Archbishop Marsh's Diary that "heads for a bill of toleration were brought into the House of Lords by the Earl of Drogheda: but *by the bishops voting* that they should not be read until three days after, *who had a majority of votes*, they were quite laid by." See Mant, ii. 63.

[4] Reid, ii. 436-7. [5] Mant, ii. 54. [6] Reid, ii. 469.

abolishing the burning of heretics:[1] but the ecclesiastical courts still retained extensive jurisdiction, and continued to harass by fine and imprisonment.

For considerably upwards of a year after the battle of the Boyne, the adherents of James kept up the war in Ireland: but, on the surrender of Limerick early in October, 1691, the authority of the English Government was established all over the country. The terms of capitulation were much more favourable to the conquered than many of the partizans of William desired; for they had been reckoning on a rich harvest of confiscations; and they were no little disappointed to find that so many of the Irish recusants were secured in the full enjoyment of their property. According to the Articles of Limerick[2] the Roman Catholics of the kingdom were to retain such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as had been accorded to them in the reign of Charles II.:[3] and not a few of the Protestants were exceedingly dissatisfied because they had obtained such large concessions. A disposition soon appeared to evade the obligations of the treaty: and, in a sermon preached on a public occasion before the Lords Justices, Dopping, the Protestant Bishop of Meath—a divine whose own career had been so very inconsistent—was so imprudent as to assert that "the peace ought not to be observed with a people so perfidious . . . and that those articles, which were intended for a security, would prove a snare."[4] It must be confessed that, in a short time, some of the most impor-

[1] Seventh of William III., chap. ii. Irish Statutes. The law for the burning of heretics had been revived in the late Irish Parliament of James II. See *Strictures on Plowden's Hist. Review*, p. 67, *note*. London, 1804. The reader may recollect that this law, revived in the reign of Mary, had been repealed in the time of Elizabeth. See vol. i., pp. 375-6.

[2] These articles may be found appended to Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, vol. iii. 619, 630. See also Plowden's *Historical Review*, i., appendix, 201-11.

[3] This was a very ambiguous provision. During part of the reign of Charles II. Irish Romanists were treated harshly; but, when Lord Berkeley was Lord Lieutenant, they had nearly full toleration. A generous interpretation would have given them any privileges accorded to them *at any time* in the reign of Charles II.

[4] Harris's *Life of William III.*, p. 372. The King was so displeased with the conduct of Dopping on this occasion that he ordered him to be dismissed from the Privy Council. *Ibid.*

tant provisions of the treaty were not respected. Immediately after the Restoration, a considerable number of the Irish peers who sat in the Upper House of legislation belonged to the Church of Rome:[1] and no law yet prevented persons connected with that communion from acting as members of the House of Commons. But, in open disregard of the Treaty of Limerick, an Act was placed on the English Statute Book towards the close of the year 1691[2] excluding Romanists from sitting in either the Upper or Lower House of Parliament in Ireland. About the same time the defeated party were often treated by magistrates and other officials with the grossest injustice.[3] When they were deprived of their goods, or ejected from their lands, they frequently failed to obtain redress:[4] and so great was the dissatisfaction created by these harsh and ungenerous proceedings, that many—who would otherwise have remained in the country—followed the fortunes of their co-religionists who enlisted in foreign armies; and who, under the provisions made at Limerick, were conveyed to the Continent in vessels furnished at the public expense.[5] According to the treaty, those who submitted to the government of William were to be required to take no other oath save the oath of allegiance;[6] and yet, in a very few years afterwards, other oaths—directly involving a renunciation of their

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[1] See before, p. 132, *note* (1). Romanists were permitted to sit in the Irish House of Commons till 1642, when they were excluded by being required to take the Oath of Supremacy. Leland, iii. 171. See also O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, ii. 432-3. The Act of Supremacy (2nd of Eliz., chap. i.) requires the oath to be taken by archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, judges, mayors, and "other lay or temporal officer or minister having fee or wages" under Government; but makes no mention of members of Parliament.

[2] Third of William and Mary, chap. ii. Hallam's *Constit. Hist. of England*, p. 869. ed. 1870. This Act was confirmed by the Irish Parliament in 1782.

[3] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* i. 196; Harris's *William III.*, p. 357. Dublin, 1749. Even in the city of Limerick the Romanists were not permitted to have any regular place of worship for upwards of fifty years afterwards. *History of Limerick*, by Fitzgerald and McGregor, vol. ii. 463. Dublin, 1827.

[4] See Plowden, i. 196.

[5] On this occasion 14,000 of the Irish bade adieu to their country for ever. Gordon's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 179. According to other accounts the exiles amounted to 30,000. See Haverty, p. 671.

[6] Art. 9 of the Civil Articles of the Treaty of Limerick.

faith—were made necessary as qualifications for political privileges; and they were thus subjected to grievous hardships and disabilities. The conquered, according to the Articles of Limerick, were to be secured in the enjoyment of "their goods and chattels," as well as of "their estates of freehold and inheritance," with all their rights, interests, and immunities: and yet, in 1695, the Irish Parliament ordained that anyone convicted of sending his child to the continent to be educated in the Roman Catholic religion, should be disabled from prosecuting any action in course of law; be incapable of any legacy or deed of gift; and should lose all his goods and chattels, as well as "forfeit all his hereditaments, rents, annuities, offices, and estate of freehold."[1] Romanists were disarmed, and disqualified by law from teaching public schools:[2] and a Protestant heiress, who married a papist, was doomed to lose her inheritance.[3] Other equally odious enactments obtained the sanction of the Irish Legislature. Under the pretext that the disaffected might collect a formidable force of cavalry, a law was made in 1695 declaring that no papist was to be at liberty to keep a horse worth five pounds;[4] and that, no

[1] The 7th of William III., chap. iv., s. 1.

[2] *Ibid.* chap. iv., s. 9.

[3] The 9th of William III., chap. iii. By the same Act (s. 2) any Protestant marrying a R. C. wife was himself to be deemed a papist, and to be disabled from sitting in either House of Parliament, "unless such person so marrying shall, within one year after such marriage, procure such wife to be converted to the Protestant religion." In 1727 a Committee of the Irish House of Commons decided that, under this Act, Protestants married to popish wives were disqualified to *vote* for members of Parliament. *Hist. Memoir of the O'Briens*, p. 386.

[4] A story is told of a R. C. gentleman, named Mageoghegan, who on one occasion, at the time of the assizes, drove into Mullingar in his carriage drawn by two beautiful horses. A scoundrel who was there, claimed the pair under this Act. The owner immediately drew out a brace of pistols and shot both the animals on the spot! Another story is told of a stalwart priest, named Barnwall, who had been presented with a handsome steed which was claimed in the same way. Most reluctantly the horse was surrendered; but, as the new proprietor was riding off, Barnwall reminded him that he had no right to the saddle and bridle. The stranger scoffed at this suggestion: whereupon the priest, with a blow of his whip, stretched him on the ground, and remounted. Barnwall was immediately taken before a justice of the peace, but the friendly magistrate acquitted him, on the ground that the other was taking forcible possession of the accoutrements. Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 419, 268.

matter what might be the real value of the animal, any Protestant making tender of five pounds five shillings to the owner, in the presence of a justice of the peace, was entitled to become the proprietor.[1] In 1697 an Act was passed professedly for the purpose of confirming the Articles of Limerick:[2] but those most deeply interested in their conservation believed that it curtailed and mutilated the benefits so solemnly guaranteed: and when some who felt specially aggrieved petitioned to be heard by counsel against the measure before it became law, their application was unanimously rejected.[3] In the same session of Parliament another far more sweeping piece of legislation was adopted. All popish archbishops, bishops, vicars general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were required to leave the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698, on pain of being kept in prison till sent out of the country: and, should any of them venture to return, they were to be adjudged guilty of high treason.[4]

Irish Protestants may well blush as they look back on these proceedings. They were certainly not in accordance with either the letter or the spirit of the Articles of Limerick.[5] Special pleaders may maintain that William was merely pledged by the treaty "*to endeavour to procure*" from Par-

[1] The 7th of William III., chap. v., s. 10.

[2] The 9th of William III., chap. ii.

[3] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i. 201-2, *note*.

[4] The 9th of William III., chap. i. The number of the regular (Monastic) clergy driven out of Ireland in 1698 is said to have been 454, viz., 153 from Dublin, 190 from Galway, seventy-five from Cork, and thirty-six from Waterford. Brenan's *Ecc. Hist.*, p. 490. It is said that at this time only twenty-five priests remained in the County and City of Cork. Bennett's *Bandon*, p. 289.

[5] The following is the very first article of the Treaty of Limerick:—"The Roman Catholics *of this kingdom* shall enjoy such privileges *in the exercise of their religion* as are consistent with the laws of Ireland; or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II.: and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a parliament in this kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics *such farther security* in that particular as may preserve them from *any disturbance* upon the account of their said religion." Every man of ordinary candour must admit that this article was atrociously violated. It was afterwards pleaded that certain privileges were guaranteed only to those who were then *actually in arms*; but surely those *who were not* were entitled to at least equal indulgence.

liament confirmation of the terms of capitulation; and that the great Council of the Nation was not bound to ratify his arrangements. It has been argued that the Irish senators knew better than the King the circumstances of the country, and saw the danger of his concessions. But William, in his native land, had known the advantages of toleration;[1] and few will now venture to affirm that he had not more political sagacity than all the legislators. Had he not been raised up for their help, they might have lost their all, and have departed ingloriously from the country. Gratitude should have constrained them to carry out his engagements with [illegible]. The Irish Romanists could not now [illegible] their last stronghold had been surrendered [illegible] s defenders had left the country. The representatives [illegible] ie Anglo-Irish colony acted most ingloriously when they compelled their deliverer to break faith with their fallen foes; and when they refused to supplement a treaty which he had accepted as proper and equitable. Nor was this all. Without any fresh provocation on the part of the Irish, they made their position more humiliating than, with the exception of the days of Cromwell, it had ever been before.

At this period Ireland presented, to the spiritual eye, a strange and melancholy spectacle. It did not, indeed, want tokens of material prosperity. Land was cheap; food abundant; and trade prosperous.[2] The island, reduced to a desert by the late war, rapidly recovered from its desolation. But its moral features might well have awakened the deepest anxiety. More than two-thirds of its inhabitants were Romanists; they were ardently attached to their native soil; and many of them had made great sacrifices for the sake of their religion. Among the thousands who retired to France after the surrender of Limerick, were not a few brave, high-spirited, and honest men. Deeply must they have been moved as they cast a last look on their native hills, and

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[1] Holland was the first country in Europe in which the doctrine of toleration was practised.

[2] Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, p. 96. Dublin, 1808.

turned away their faces for ever from the land of their fathers' sepulchres. In the armies of foreign princes they soon attained distinction; and, in after times, British soldiers, in the wars of the continent, were more than once obliged to quail before the valour of the Irish Brigade.[1] In the reigns of James I. and Charles I., as well as under the government of Cromwell, an immense quantity of landed property had been confiscated in Ireland; and the war of the Revolution involved the forfeiture of upwards of another million of acres.[2] Though the Protestants constituted a small minority of the population, they were now, beyond dispute, dominant; for we have seen that Romanists, immediately after the close of the revolutionary struggle, were excluded from seats in the Legislature. By an Act passed in 1698 all, except those expressly included[3] in the Articles of Limerick, were prevented even from practising as solicitors.[4] It is no less noteworthy that the dominant party consisted, not of all the adherents of the Reformed faith in Ireland, but of the Episcopalians—including little more than the one-half of the Protestant inhabitants. Their bishops were now by far the most influential section of the Irish House of Lords; and every measure which had not the full approval of these most reverend and right reverend prelates was almost sure to be rejected by Parliament. The three hundred members[5] of

[1] See Bennett's *Bandon*, p. 268. It is a singular fact that the expatriated Irish were afterwards employed in hunting to death the Protestant Camisards in France. See O'Conor's *Irish Brigades*, p. 297. When George II. heard that three Irish regiments, at the battle of Fontenoy, in 1745, had secured victory to the French, he is reported to have said:—"Cursed be the laws which deprive me of such subjects!"—PLOWDEN'S *Hist. Rev.* i. 291, *note*.

[2] The number of forfeited acres is said to have been 1,107,787, Plantation measure. See *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxiv. Antiq. part iii., p. 279. Dublin, 1865.

[3] It is well known that there was a dispute as to the wording of the Articles, and that many were disposed to interpret them in the most limited sense. See Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 203, 204.

[4] The 10th of William III., chap. xiiii.

[5] The Parliament of 1692 was the first which had 300 members. The following boroughs returned representatives to it for the first time—viz.: Granard, Randalstown, Midleton, Charleville, Dunlier, Castlemartyr, Doneraile, Rathcormick, Harristowne, Longford and Portarlington.

the Irish House of Commons, with about ten exceptions,[1] were all at least nominally attached to the Established Church; in the absence of the Lord Lieutenant, a bishop or archbishop, as a Lord Justice, was often entrusted with the government of the country: and thus the whole influence of the State was employed in the support of Protestant episcopacy. But it does not appear that it made any notable progress in these days of its political supremacy. Many churches, destroyed or injured during war, were, no doubt, rebuilt or repaired; and a few additional sacred edifices were erected in districts where the Protestant population had increased by removals or immigration; but the mass of the natives adhered with wonderful unanimity and earnestness to the religion of Rome; and little was done to promote their spiritual enlightenment. A few feeble efforts were made to provide instruction in the Irish language; and in this way individual Romanists here and there were won over to Protestantism.[2] Such attempts were, however, ill-sustained; as those who occupied high positions in the Church did not generally give them any hearty encouragement. It may seem strange that the ecclesiastical establishment, with so much wealth and power at its command, proved so inefficient; but no one acquainted with the circumstances can find any difficulty in pointing out the causes of its want of success. Some of these may be here briefly noticed.

In many cases the character of the clergy was ill-fitted to commend them to those among whom they ministered. Queen Mary, who had excellent means of obtaining information, must have received a most humiliating account of them; for, when writing to her victorious husband a few days after the battle of the Boyne, she felt it necessary to press the sub-

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[1] The following Presbyterian members sat in the Irish Parliament of 1692—viz.: Sir Robert Adair, of Ballymena, for the borough of Antrim; Arthur Upton, of Templepatrick, for the same borough; James Macartney, of Belfast, for the borough of Belfast; Randal Brice, of Castlechester, for the borough of Lisburn; William Stewart, of Killymoon, for the borough of Charlemont; Colonel Hugh Hamill, for the borough of Lifford; James Hamilton, of Tullymore, for the borough of Downpatrick; and David Cairnes, of Derry, for the city of Derry.

[2] It is said that, after the surrender of Limerick, a number of Romanists became Protestants.—Bennett's *Bandon*, p. 268.

ject on his special consideration. "Take care," said she, "of the Church in Ireland. Everybody agrees that it is the worst in Christendom."[1] During the two preceding reigns patronage had been administered with little scrupulosity; and the veriest worldlings had, to a large extent, gained possession of the benefices of the establishment. Pluralities abounded; so that many parishes had no resident incumbents. Thomas Hacket, who was Bishop of Down and Connor from 1672 to 1694, carried on a system of traffic in benefices with unblushing effrontery. The livings in his gift were sold to the highest bidder.[2] For twenty years he was never seen within the bounds of his dioceses; and as, during all that time, he resided at a place in the neighbourhood of London, he was commonly known by the designation of the Bishop of Hammersmith.[3] At length in 1694 he was deprived of his see; but it was impossible to find any adequate remedy for the mischief which he had meanwhile produced. Many of the livings throughout Down and Connor were occupied by ministers of the most worthless description. It was found necessary to set aside the Dean of Connor "for the crime of adultery and incontinence of life, amongst other things alleged and proved against him."[4] The Archdeacon of Down, who was the incumbent of no less than nine parishes, was deprived of his archdeaconry, and suspended from the pastoral office, for enormous neglect of his cures and other offences.[5] The Precentor of Connor was excommunicated for absenting himself from his charge, and for committing the care of the parish of Ballymoney to a blind man unable to discharge the duties of the ministry.[6] No wonder that the Church could not thrive under such supervision.

Among the bishops were some men of unexceptionable character and high attainments. King, Bishop of Derry, possessed considerable learning: he was active and sagacious, as well as sincerely desirous to promote the well-being of the Church; and he did not want either public spirit or perse-

[1] Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, iii., appendix ii., p. 154.
[2] Reid, ii. 437.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.* 439; Mant, ii. 43.
[5] Mant, ii. 42-3; Reid, ii. 439.
[6] Reid, ii. 441.

verance; but he was litigious and domineering;[1] and he was quite as much a politician as a divine. Narcissus Marsh—successively archbishop of Cashel, Dublin, and Armagh—was, in many respects, an exemplary prelate; and the library in Dublin, which still bears his name,[2] is an abiding memorial of his liberality as a patron of literature. Nathaniel Foy, who filled the see of Waterford from 1691 to 1708, also deserves notice as a zealous and conscientious bishop. But too many members of the Irish Protestant hierarchy in this reign were very unworthy of the position which they occupied. Some of them accumulated wealth without much regard either to propriety or decency. Edward Wetenhall, who was Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh from 1699 to 1713, sold timber on the see property which would soon have realized £20,000, and put the proceeds into his own pocket.[3] Charles Hickman, who was Bishop of Derry from 1703 to 1713, was guilty of the same peculation.[4] William Fitzgerald, who became Bishop of Clonfert in 1691 and who held the see upwards of thirty years, left behind him a most discreditable reputation.[5] John

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[1] Even Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, describes him as "obstinate and litigious." See Mant, ii. 451. In 1722 we find a brother bishop saying:—"I believe the Archbishop of Dublin has made his colleagues sick of him."—MANT, ii. 364. See also Mant, ii. 419, where the writer speaks of "his usual sneering countenance." It is quite possible that, when disputing with his colleagues, King was not altogether to blame. When speaking of his plans for the improvement of the Church he says:—"At first I had hardly anyone who durst own my schemes, and several who not only opposed them violently, but made it their business to expose and ridicule them."—MANT, ii. 350.

[2] Archbishop Marsh erected the building at an expense of £2,000; furnished it with books which cost several thousands more; and provided for the librarian a handsome endowment in perpetuity. The library of Dr. Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, cost £3,000, and formed the most valuable part of the collection. Mant, ii. 48, 113, 114, 116. An Act of Parliament was required for the establishment of the library, and it is a remarkable fact that four bishops were the most strenuous opponents of the bill. Willis's *Illustrious Irishmen*, iv. 272. But the founder of the library does not appear to have been an efficient prelate. His successor King declares that, when Marsh was transferred to Armagh, the diocese of Dublin "was *in worse circumstances*, both in respect to discipline and attendance on the cures, *than most others in the kingdom*." Mant, ii. 132.

[3] Mant, ii. 553. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] The following account of him is given by Archbishop King in 1722 immediately after his death:—"The poor man has had hardly any use of his reason for

Vesey, who was Archbishop of Tuam from 1679 to 1716, was a man much more respectable than Fitzgerald; but he seems to have been almost quite as negligent in the management of his spiritual charge.[1] Simon Digby, who was Bishop of Elphin from 1691 to 1720, was generally non-resident; and permitted his large diocese to remain in a miserable condition.[2] Others of his episcopal brethren were equally careless. They lived in Dublin; and were content to put in an appearance within the limits of their sees once in the year.[3] Michael Boyle, Archbishop of Armagh from 1678 to 1702, had long been noted for his covetousness;[4] and, as he was now deaf and nearly blind,[5] he could not be expected to attend to the supervision of his province. Even the best of the prelates were quite too much involved in secular engagements. In 1697, Archbishop Marsh states to one of his correspondents that "for four months past" he had "not been able to command almost a minute's time from public business." He adds, indeed, that meanwhile he had been preparing bills "for the good of the Church:"[6] but he might have been much better employed than in concocting the penal laws which, about that time, were placed on the Statute Book. At the same period King, of Derry, complains that "the business of Parliament sat hard" upon himself and other bishops who were Privy Councillors; and that sometimes they were obliged to attend to its concerns "for ten or eleven hours every day."[7] Men

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several years. I believe he was about the age of eighty-eight. About twelve years ago he married a young woman about twenty, who governed him and the diocese in a wretched manner—no discipline, no due care of spirituals or temporals, his manse (mansion) house gone to ruin, and everything out of order. His predecessor Dr. Woolley was as bad as he."—MANT, ii. 380. Woolley was bishop from 1664 to 1684. After his death the see remained long vacant.

[1] Mant, ii. 381. At one period he was absent three years from Ireland. Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 158.

[2] Mant, ii. 366.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See before, p. 130. He opposed the more zealous prelates who sought to diminish pluralities. Mant, ii. 130.

[5] Mant, ii. 72. He died at the age of ninety-three.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.* 108. It is a curious fact that twenty Irish bishops died in the reign of William, and only nine in that of Anne, though the two reigns were of nearly the

w thus engrossed had no leisure for their spiritual ities.

During the reign of William III. patronage was dispensed as to perpetuate, if not to increase, ecclesiastical corruption.[1] Promotion in the Church was understood to depend inly on the amount of Court influence which could be ed by a candidate: and a number of beneficed clergy- committing ir parishes to curates, spent of their time rish capital or in London; and sought, by nselves with the favourites of the Lord Lieutenan ng, to make sure of the next vacant bishoprics.[2] The ends of the episcopal establishment had too frequer on to lament the success of these clerical intriguers. happened, says the Bishop of Derry, that "ill men e ed the best places by their assiduity."[3] Sometimes, however, the character of the aspirant was so scandalous that the graver prelates, for very shame, were constrained to interfere, and to protest openly against the nomination. History records the case of one wretched man who was thus set aside after he had actually obtained the promise of advancement. He was already in possession of a deanery, and he had been selected as Bishop of Kilmore: but when Queen Mary, who took a deep interest in the welfare of the Irish Church, understood that the choice was exceedingly objectionable, six Irish prelates, including

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same length. Mant, ii. 174. King complains on one occasion that, in consequence of his secular engagements, he had not been able to visit his diocese for three years. D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 312.

[1] Mr. Froude mentions a most melancholy case in which several Protestant colonies settled at Kenmare, Templemore, and other places on the Kenmare river, were ruined by the mismanagement of the Government and the cupidity of a certain Dean Richards. This most worthless dignitary, who was already overburdened with Church preferments, had the impudence to apply for the parishes of Kenmare and Templemore when they became vacant; and, by a dexterous use of his political influence, contrived to obtain both. "The Dean of Tralee," says Mr. Froude, "had his promotion, and the last English service had been heard in the church of Kilmakilloge. . . . The smelting colony melted away, till the few families that were left were carried off by French privateers, and the harbour and the bay became the recruiting depôt for the Pretender, and a nest of pirates and smugglers."—*The English in Ireland*, vol. i. 245-9.

[2] Mant, ii. 67.

[3] *Ibid.*

some of the most trustworthy of the order, were commanded by Her Majesty honestly to state their views as to the qualifications of the candidate. These commissioners reported that the dean was "a man of an ill fame:" and, in consequence, the appointment was cancelled.[1]

When so many of the clergy of the Irish Establishment could not be respected as pious and industrious pastors, it was not extraordinary that Protestantism made little progress in the country. How could Romanists be attracted to a system which exhibited so much harshness, selfishness, and ungodliness? If true religion may be known by its fruits, the most discerning must have found it difficult to see the superiority of the episcopal incumbents, in spirituality and uprightness, to the representatives of the Pope. And the enactments of the penal code were ill calculated to break down the prejudices of those whom they oppressed. Many of the working Protestant clergy were miserably remunerated: but nothing was better fitted to make them odious than the pertinacity with which they exacted dues from the recusants within their parishes. In addition to the tithes, they insisted on payments for baptisms which they did not dispense and for weddings which they did not celebrate—on the ground that such fees belonged to them as the functionaries of the Church by law established. The poor people, who were obliged to meet the claims of the priests for their ministrations, fretted much under these double exactions.[2]

In this reign Protestant episcopacy betrayed the most intolerant spirit. Not satisfied with reducing Romanists to something like a condition of serfdom, it did its utmost to annoy and repress Protestant non-conformists. Though the adherents of Presbyterianism were nearly as numerous as its own, it obstinately refused to give them any legal sanction for their worship: it sought to take away the pittance of

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[1] *Ibid.* ii. 31-33; Burnet's *History of his own Time*, iii. 164. London, 1766.

[2] "Down to a late period the priests, in some places at least, used to collect, after baptizing a child, the minister's baptism money. I knew a man who claimed for himself the honour of having been the first in Kilkenny who refused to allow the priest to act as the minister's proctor. This was in the year 1780."—*Notes by Professor Kelly to O'Sullivan's Hist. Cath. Iber. Compendium*, p. 137.

donum which King William had bestowed on them; harassed them in its ecclesiastical courts; and vexed them by various appliances of petty tyranny. A sermon preached before a provincial synod held at Antrim in June, 1698, by the Rev. John McBride, Presbyterian minister of Belfast, and printed shortly afterwards, gave grievous offence to many of the High Churchmen of Ulster. The discourse was a very careless production; it was neither heretical nor inflammatory; it merely asserted that the Christian Church possesses the inherent right of self-government; but its publication was regarded as a most unwarrantable piece of presumption—more especially as the title-page stated that it had been delivered at the meeting of a Presbyterian judicatory. Walkington, the Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor,[1] complained of it to the Irish Lords Justices; Mr. McBride was summoned to the metropolis; and the Archbishop of Dublin and no less than five other prelates were present at his examination. But when the charge was shown to be frivolous, no apology was tendered to the injured pastor; and he was dismissed with an admonition to behave respectfully towards the established clergy.[2] Mr. McBride had not long returned to Belfast when one of his brethren in a distant part of the country was singled out for prosecution. Towards the close of the year 1698, the Rev. William Biggar, Presbyterian minister of Limerick, ventured to preach by invitation in the town of Galway. No non-conformist had officiated for many years in the place; and High Churchmen denounced his appearance as tending to disturb the Protestant peace, and to divide the Protestant interest. Mr. Biggar was accordingly apprehended, taken before the Mayor, and committed to prison. The case was eventually brought under the notice of the Lords Justices; the preacher was obliged to appear in Dublin; and it was there clearly proved that he had confined himself simply to the exposition of the Gospel; but, though he was set at liberty, directions were given to the effect that

[1] Walkington had been chaplain to the Irish House of Commons, and was indebted for the bishopric to their recommendation. He did not long survive this complaint. He was made bishop in 1695 and died in January, 1699. Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 209.

[2] Reid, ii. 475-8.

these pastoral visits to "the city of the tribes" must be discontinued.[1]

Such was the narrow spirit in which the Establishment—constituting a mere fraction of the population—acted towards a sister Church in Ireland. King William was most desirous to protect and encourage the Presbyterians; but he was often overruled by an unfriendly Legislature; and his death was a heavy blow to the cause of civil and religious liberty.

At this time England had a splendid opportunity of realizing the scheme of a union with Ireland conceived upwards of forty years before by Oliver Cromwell. The colonial Legislature would have now hailed the proposal with the utmost cordiality. In the very commencement of the following reign the Irish House of Commons actually presented a memorial to the Crown expressing a desire for its accomplishment.[2] Well had it been for both countries had the union been forthwith consummated. Had Ireland been admitted to free trade with England, and had the two islands been placed on the same footing in regard to commerce and navigation, both would have reaped the benefit in increased strength and prosperity. They would have been bound together by firmer ties; and identity of interests would have created identity of aims and sympathies. English capital, employed beneficially in Ireland, would have speedily elevated the western isle in the scale of civilization and of comfort. But the jealousy of England raised up difficulties in the way of the political incorporation. The merchants of Great Britain foolishly imagined that the encouragement of colonial interests would have been ruinous to their own. A navigation Act was passed by the English Parliament which completely crippled the trade of Ireland; and laws were made which well-nigh destroyed the Irish woollen manufacture. In 1698,

[1] Reid, ii. 478-9. This order seems to have been reversed by instructions from England, as two years afterwards a Presbyterian minister was ordained over a congregation in Galway. *Ibid.*

[2] See Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 302, 321. Mr. Mitchel is quite mistaken when he asserts that the Irish House of Commons "did not favour" the idea of a union. See his *History of Ireland*, chap. vi., p. 44. Both the Irish Houses of legislation were in its favour.

when William Molyneux—a patriotic member of the Irish House of Commons and one of the representatives of the University of Dublin—published an essay on "The case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament made in England,"[1] the British House of Commons resolved unanimously that the work was "of dangerous tendency,"[1] instead of proceeding to provide a remedy for the evils it described. Thus the seeds of dissension were sown between the two countries; the English Government managed Ireland with increasing difficulty; and, after a century of heartburnings, the union, which would now have been embraced with enthusiasm, was forced, by the dint of bribery and intimidation, on a most reluctant Irish Legislature.

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[1] See before vol. i., p. 437, *note* (3). The English Legislature had of late been making laws which were to extend to Ireland. See, as an example, an act mentioned in p. 177, *note* (2) of this volume. Mr. Molyneux and others held that the British Senate thus exceeded its powers. It certainly in this way practically ignored the Irish Parliament.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REIGN OF ANNE. A.D. 1702 TO A.D. 1714.

THE reign of Queen Anne stands out conspicuously in the annals of Ireland as the period when the system of enforcing conformity to Protestant episcopacy by pains and penalties was most artfully and completely developed. Romanists had already been excluded from seats in the legislature; the bishops now formed the working majority in the House of Lords;[1] and as non-conformists scarcely ever amounted to more than one in thirty of the House of Commons,[2] the High Church party had entire control over the legislation of the country. Anne was rather a weak-minded sovereign; and Irish Presbyterians, as well as Irish Romanists, immediately felt the change when she obtained possession of the sceptre. As she gave her cordial sanction to the policy of the dominant faction, the twelve years of her government form a gloomy chapter in the history of intolerance.

This princess had been little more than a fortnight on the throne, when Bishop King announced to an episcopal corre-

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[1] The laity complained, as one of the prelates confesses, that "the bishops are already too numerous in Parliament for the lay lords there, being twenty-two bishops that generally attend the session, and seldom so many temporal lords." See Mant, ii. 285.

[2] Mant, ii. 69. This is corroborated by Swift who, writing in 1708, says:—"The number of professed Dissenters in this Parliament was . . . . *something under a dozen.*" Letter concerning the sacramental test. *Works*, vol. iv., p. 430. London, 1801. King, writing in 1696, says:—"There were *hardly ten* Dissenters in the House." Letter to Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, dated December 15th, 1696. In 1716 there were only six Dissenters in Parliament; and, in the end of Queen Anne's reign, only four. See Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 387.

spondent in London a scheme for annoying and weakening the Presbyterians. The Regium Donum of £1,200 per annum—granted to their ministers by King William—had hitherto been vested in trustees nominated by themselves, and had been distributed among them by an agent of their own appointment. The bishop now proposed that the money should be handed over to the Irish Lord Lieutenant to be used according to his discretion, and to be dispensed to the recipients so as most effectually to promote their political subserviency. "If it be thought fit," said he, "to continue the fund to them, the Government ought to keep the disposal of it in their own hands, and *encourage those only by it that comply as they would have them.* By which means every particular minister *would be at their mercy*, and it might be so managed *as to be an instrument of division and jealousy amongst them.*" [1]

It is painful to find any man in the position of Bishop King suggesting such mean and malignant counsel. Some of the ministers whom he was thus seeking to humiliate were as faithful and even as learned as himself;[2] and at a time when Ireland required so urgently the services of sound Protestant divines he should have had the magnanimity to encourage them in their labours. His insidious advice, in relation to the Royal bounty, was only partially adopted;[3] and he did not cease to murmur at the continuance of the grant, and to persist in urging its withdrawal. Nor was this ungenerous interference with the Regium Donum the only way in which he attempted to vex and injure these brethren. The priests had always been permitted to unite the members of their own

[1] Letter from King to Bishop of Clogher, then in London, dated March 24th, 1702. See Mant, ii. 125.

[2] Boyse, of Dublin, who replied to his *Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, was quite his superior as a theologian, and fully equal to him as a writer and a reasoner.

[3] The grant henceforth was described in the public records as "to be distributed among such of the non-conforming ministers, by warrant from the Lord Lieutenant, or other chief governor or governors for the time being, in such manner as he or they shall find necessary for our (her Majesty's) service, or the good of the kingdom." But, in point of fact, no change was made in the mode of its distribution. Reid, ii. 494.

flocks in wedlock; and the Presbyterian pastors, since their first settlement in the country, had uniformly exercised the same liberty; but though King did not dare to attempt to wrest the privilege from the Romish clergy, he and other prelates used all their influence to deprive the non-conforming ministers of the right of celebrating marriage.[1] Nor were these ministers the only parties involved in trouble. Attempts were made in the bishops' courts to bastardize the children of those who had been thus married; and the laity were harassed by lawsuits at once cruelly insulting, protracted, and expensive.[2]

The reason why the tyrant minority which now ruled in Ireland did not think of taking away the right of celebrating marriage from the priesthood, is sufficiently obvious. According to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, marriage is a sacrament; and a popish clergyman is its legitimate administrator. A Romanist submitting to marriage by a Protestant celebrant virtually relinquishes his faith: and, as the adherents of the Pope were the overwhelming bulk of the inhabitants, Government recoiled from a policy which would have goaded the multitude to desperation, and might have driven them into open rebellion. But persecution was pressed, in other forms, almost to the utmost limits of endurance; and we can account for the continued quiescence of a whole people only on the ground that the bolder spirits had already been expatriated; and that the residue, after the failure of the struggle of the Revolution, were so terribly disheartened that they deemed further opposition hopeless.

The records of a Parliament which commenced its sittings in Dublin in September, 1703, present a dark array of penal enactments. One of them—entitled "An Act to prevent popish priests from coming into the kingdom"[3]—awards con-

[1] Immediately after the accession of Anne, we find King adverting to this subject in one of his letters. See Mant, ii. 127.

[2] In 1704 certain members of the Presbyterian congregation of Lisburn, as well as others, were excommunicated by the Ecclesiastical Courts for having been married by Presbyterian ministers. Reid, ii. 492, 517, 521, 522.

[3] The 2nd of Anne, chap. iii.

dign punishment to all who violate its provisions;[1] imposes heavy penalties on those who "harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain" any such offenders; and mulcts, in a fine of one hundred pounds, "any mayor, justice of the peace, or other officer," convicted of negligence in the execution of the law. Another Act—described as intended "to prevent the further growth of Popery," and consisting of no less than eight-and-twenty sections[2]—is a most elaborate specimen of oppressive legislation. It provides that anyone persuading a Protestant to embrace Popery, and every such pervert, shall incur the penalty of premunire;[3] that, if the eldest son of a popish landlord conforms to the Established Church, the father shall hold the estate only as tenant for life, whilst the son shall be proprietor in fee; that the orphan children of popish parents shall be entrusted to Protestant guardians, and brought up in the Protestant religion; that any papist undertaking such guardianship shall be liable to a penalty of five hundred pounds; that no papist shall be at liberty to purchase lands held for a longer term than thirty-one years, and let at less than two-thirds of the improved annual value; that a papist who has inherited from a Protestant any estate, tenement, or hereditament in fee, and who does not, within a specified time, conform to the Established Church, shall not be entitled to continue in the enjoyment of the property; that a papist, who is the owner of a freehold, shall not have power to bequeath it to his eldest son; that, at his death, it shall be split up, in equal portions, among all his male children; but that the law of primogeniture shall be maintained should the eldest son, within three months after his father's death, produce a certificate from the Protestant bishop of the diocese, stating that he belongs to the Church as by law established; that no papist shall be capable of voting at an election for a member of Parliament until he has taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration:[4] and that all persons assembling at St. Patrick's

[1] They were rendered liable to the penalties imposed by the 9th of William and Mary, chap. iii., s. 1—according to which any ecclesiastic returning into the country, after having been sent out of it, was declared to be guilty of high treason. See before, p. 179 of this volume.

[2] The 2nd of Anne, chap. vi.

[3] See vol. i., p. 376, *note* (2).

[4] The following formed part of the oath of abjuration:—"I do solemnly and

Purgatory, Lough Derg,[1] shall incur a fine of ten shillings each; and, in default of payment, shall receive a public whipping. Another Act passed in this Parliament[2] was intended to ascertain the exact number of popish priests in the kingdom, their respective places of abode, the names of the bishops[3] who ordained them, and other more minute details—so that the whole history of each might be in possession of the Government. It provides that every priest shall furnish the required information to the clerk of the peace at the next general quarter sessions;[4] that he shall then and there enter

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sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience that the person *pretended to be Prince of Wales* during the life of the late King James, and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James III., hath not any right or title whatever to the crown of this realm."

[1] See vol. i., p. 298. [2] The 2nd of Anne, chap. vii.

[3] A Roman Catholic bishop who now remained in Ireland incurred no little danger; and yet some still were to be found in the country. One is said to have hired himself as a shepherd in the uplands of Magilligan, and thus escaped detection. See Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*, i. 169.

[4] The following return of the number of popish clergy in Ireland, made to the Clerk of the Council in 1704, in accordance with this Act, is interesting at the present day:—

Co. Armagh	19	Co. Londonderry	14
Antrim	18	Longford	26
Cork	58	Limerick	47
City of Cork	4	City of Limerick	12
Co. Carlow	14	Co. Leitrim	25
Cavan	30	Monaghan	17
Clare	45	Mayo	51
Dublin	36	Meath	55
City of Dublin	34	Queen's Co.	15
Town of Drogheda	2	Co. Roscommon	49
Co. Down	30	Sligo	39
Donegal	21	Tipperary	45
Fermanagh	13	Tyrone	27
Galway	87	Wexford	34
Town of Galway	8	Waterford	21
Co. Kerry	36	City of Waterford	6
Kilkenny	26	Co. Wicklow	13
City of Kilkenny	4	Westmeath	35
Co. Kildare	30	Town of Youghall	1
King's Co.	20		
Co. Lowth	14	Total number of registered priests in 1704	1,081

Ware's *Works*, *Gesta Hibernorum*, p. 195, ed. Dublin, 1705. It appears that there were many other priests still in the country who were not registered. See Madden's *United Irishmen*, second series, Hist. Introd., vol. i., p. lvii-lix.

into recognizance with two sufficient securities, each in the penal sum of fifty pounds sterling, to be of peaceable behaviour, and not travel beyond the verge of the county in which he is resident; and that, should he fail to make the required return and give the necessary security, he shall be committed to the common jail, and remain there, without bail or mainprise, until sent out of the kingdom. According to another section of this Act every popish priest, on becoming a convert to Protestantism, was to receive a pension of twenty pounds yearly[1]—to be levied as part of the county cess; he was to be amenable to the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese "in like manner as the rest of the inferior clergy;"[2] and he was "to read the Common Prayer, or Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, in the English or Irish tongue, in such places and at such times" as the diocesan should appoint.[3]

The Jesuits have often been denounced for their tortuous and dishonest policy; and their casuistry has been deservedly held up to execration: but the penal laws, sanctioned by Irish Protestant bishops in the reign of Queen Anne, can scarcely be surpassed in baseness by the scheming of the disciples of Ignatius Loyola. It was a dark day for Protestantism when its guardians sought to promote its extension by a system of barefaced bribery. A Roman Catholic gentleman could not well afford to administer a very sharp rebuke to a prodigal son; for the rake might proclaim himself a Protestant, and then demand an independent maintenance. Romish mothers, in the hour of death, could not entrust their orphan children to the care of brothers or sisters; for, if their relatives belonged to their own communion, they incurred a crushing penalty by undertaking the guardianship. A Romanist could not vote at the election of a member of Parliament, without doing violence to his convictions by taking the oath of abjur-

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[1] At this time there were clergymen of the Established Church with incomes of from £10 to £16 a year. Mant, ii. 204.

[2] The 2nd of Anne, chap. vii., s. 2. The bishops received the priests as ordained clergymen: but they re-ordained Presbyterian ministers who conformed.

[3] The 2nd of Anne, chap. vii., s. 2.

ation.[1] These penal laws served, not to guide, but to debauch the conscience. It was not extraordinary that infidelity was rampant during the period of their continuance;[2] for they lowered the tone of public morals by setting up religion to sale, and by holding out countless temptations to practise hypocrisy. It was not remarkable that honest Romanists were confirmed in their prejudices when they saw the abominable artifices employed to seduce them from their religion. No Church could be strengthened by converts thus obtained. The bill to prevent the further growth of Popery involved a scandalous violation of the Treaty of Limerick. When it was still under the consideration of the Legislature, the Roman Catholics petitioned to be heard against it by counsel; and their advocate, Sir Theobald Butler,[3] proved, by the most cogent arguments, that it was unchristian and impolitic, as well as a breach of public faith; but his appeals were disregarded. The petitioners were told, in mockery, that it would be their own fault if they were deprived of the benefits of the Articles of Limerick, as they could readily secure all these advantages by conformity.[4] Some of the members of the Irish House of Commons felt themselves so compromised by this odious law that they resigned their seats in disgust.[5]

In this Act there was a clause which proved exceedingly galling to Protestant non-conformists. It provided that every person in any office, civil or military, or receiving any salary for any place of trust under the Crown, must qualify himself for the appointment by partaking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Established Church. The bishops had been long labouring to procure

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[1] It is now universally admitted that the young prince was not a supposititious child, as was then alleged. The Episcopalian Jacobites believed that the person known as the Pretender was the true heir to the crown.

[2] In 1736 we find Bishop Butler saying, in the advertisement prefixed to his *Analogy*:—"It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And accordingly they treat it as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment."

[3] The reader may find an outline of his speech on the occasion in Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i., appendix lii. 216-228.

[4] Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i. 213.

[5] *Ibid.* 211; Haverty, p. 681.

ent;[1] but they had hitherto been unsuccessful.
s. not originally form a portion of the bill fraught
many popish disabilities; and it has been alleged
was craftily appended to it by some of the scheming
ns of the period, in the hope that it would cause the
neasure to miscarry:[2] but the statement is improbable.
t majority of the Irish senators were quite prepared
posal;[3] and, now that the sovereign was ready to
ir policy, it co r little opposition. The
irch party saw their unity; and resolved, at
stroke, to secure to themsel ll the places of emolu-
and dignity in the kingdo by disqualifying both
nists and Presbyterians. They did not miscalculate
strength—as the bill encountered no formidable obstacles
passage through Parliament.[4]

Presbyterians, as a body, had hitherto supported the
ctment of the penal laws against Romanists. Popery had long been a horrid persecutor; in every country where it dominated it was the determined foe of civil and religious liberty; and Protestants could not see how it was entitled to toleration. But the imposition of the Sacramental Test on Irish Presbyterians was well fitted to lead them to reconsider their views on the subject of liberty of conscience. A papist may be a peaceable and useful citizen; he may, with wise inconsistency—like many of his co-religionists in the days of Elizabeth—refuse to betray his sovereign at the bidding of the Bishop of Rome; and, since the Treaty of Limerick, the members of the Italian Church in Ireland had not been guilty of insubordination or rebellion. No good reason could, therefore, be assigned for a breach of the Limerick Articles. Their non-observance was as discreditable to a Protestant Government as it was ungenerous and impolitic. The Pres-

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[1] Reid, ii. 422.

[2] This view of the matter is countenanced by Burnet. *History of his own Time*, vol. iv., p. 29.

[3] The House of Commons had already exhibited its hostility to the Presbyterians by voting that the Regium Donum of £1,200 a year was an unnecessary expenditure. But the grant had not yet been withdrawn. Reid, ii. 500-1.

[4] Mant states that "all possible expedients were used by the Dissenters to obstruct its passing into a law."—*Hist. of Church of Ireland*, ii. 521.

byterians could plead no positive engagement as a guarantee for the conservation of their ecclesiastical privileges; and yet they felt that they were treated most unjustly when they were obliged either to conform to the established worship, or to retire from all posts of profit and dignity. Their exclusion from these offices, by the high-handed introduction of the Sacramental Test, was a bad return for the services they had lately rendered to their country. Sir Theobald Butler, when pleading against the recent bill at the bar of the House of Commons, dwelt with great emphasis on the ingratitude with which they were threatened. "Surely," said this Roman Catholic advocate, "the Dissenters did not do anything . . . to deserve worse at the hands of the Government than other Protestants. . . . It is more than probable that if they had not put a stop to the career of the Irish army at Enniskillen and Londonderry, the settlement of the Government both in England and Scotland might not have proved so easy as it thereby did. . . . These Dissenters then were thought fit for command, both civil and military, and were no less instrumental in contributing to the reducing of the kingdom than any other Protestants; and to pass a bill now to deprive them of their birthrights, for those their good services, would surely be a most unkind return, and the worst reward ever granted to a people so deserving."[1]

The enactment relating to the Sacramental Test was not permitted to slumber on the Statute Book. A considerable number of Presbyterian gentlemen in Ulster, who had hitherto acted as justices of the peace, were now obliged to retire from the magisterial bench;[2] and several officers of the army forfeited their commissions.[3] The operation of the new law in the corporate towns of the north of Ireland revealed some of its worst features. Several mayors, who were Presbyterians, were incapacitated; and many town councillors were placed in the same position. In Belfast, the majority of the

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1 Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i., appendix, p. 227.

2 According to Mant (ii. 184) not more than twelve or thirteen Presbyterians were now excluded from the bench. Most of the Protestant gentry were Episcopalians; and the members of the Established Church had always been preferred in appointments to the magistracy.

3 Reid, ii. 512.

the corporation, being Presbyterians, were superby Episcopalians.[1] In Londonderry, ten out of twelve rmen, and fourteen out of twenty-four burgesses, were ned out of their offices.[2] Many of these very individuals l taken a prominent part in the defence of the city during e; and now, instead of being permitted to reap the of victory, they were consigned to social degradation. he spirits of "the base sort" succumbed, and conformed established worship. was then very little wealth Ireland; a number of n esbyterians held situations the army, the customs, e, and the post-office; and some of these men the alte ve of giving up their means livelihood or surrendering t r religious convictions prented a sore temptation. If a few of them abandoned the use of non-conformity, it might well be said that "their poverty, and not their will, consented." Romanists also now yielded, in some instances, to the pressure brought to bear upon them. As often happens in such cases, the higher classes were found to be not the least accessible to the influence of proselytism.[4] Some of the popish nobility and gentry—who cared little for any form of worship, and who were guided partly by fashion and partly by selfishness—glided into the Established Church.[5] Others of a better stamp may have been prompted to change their creed under a conviction of the intrinsic absurdity of Popery.[6] A few young members of Romish families of distinction—brought up, according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament, under the care of guardians professing the Reformed faith—were, about this time, added to the Protestant Communion. A greater number in indigent circumstances followed their

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[1] Reid, ii. 528-9; Mant, ii. 186-7.

[2] Reid, ii. 511. [3] *Ibid.* ii. 512.

[4] Brenan says that "certain branches of the aristocratic portion of the community yielded to the pressure of the storm."—*Ecc. Hist.*, pp. 555-6. Renehan affirms that "during the reigns of Anne and George I. many of the nobility and principal gentry, in order to preserve their property, abandoned the external profession of the Catholic faith."—*Collections*, p. 89.

[5] See Haverty, p. 684.

[6] About this time the Clanricarde family left the Church of Rome. See Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i. 273.

example. "We have abundance of converts every day from Popery," says one of the Protestant prelates in 1707. "There is one hardship happeneth from that—I mean, necessity of maintaining them; for their friends are so malicious that they put them out of their former way of living."[1] Even some of the priests were caught by the bait of a well-secured salary of £20 a year paid out of the county cess, with the addition of the status of ministers of the Establishment;[2] and one or two non-conforming preachers of little repute joined in the fashionable movement. But, after all, these clerical converts added little to the strength of Protestant episcopacy. "Seldom any priest or Presbyterian minister who comes over to us does us any service," was the candid confession of the Archbishop of Dublin.[3]

During the whole reign of Anne the members of the Irish House of Commons exhibited a most intolerant spirit. In March, 1704, they "resolved unanimously that all magistrates and other persons whatsoever who neglected or omitted" to put into execution the penal laws against papists were "betrayers of the liberties of the kingdom."[4] In June, 1705, they declared that "the saying or hearing of Mass by persons who had not taken the oath of abjuration tended to advance the interests of the Pretender;"[5] and, at the same time—to diminish, if possible, the odium with which spies, priest-catchers, and harsh public functionaries were regarded—they adopted, with great cordiality, a motion to the effect that "the prosecuting and informing against papists was an *honourable* service to the Government."[6] In 1707 a new law was placed on the Statute Book increasing the stringency of the Act previously made against papists being solicitors.[7]

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[1] Archbishop King's Letter to Mr. Southwell, dated November 8th, 1707. See Mant, ii. 210.

[2] They required simply to be "approved as converts," and "to take the oaths and make and subscribe the declarations in such manner as the conformable clergy to the Church of Ireland are obliged to do." The 2nd of Anne, chap. vii., s. 2. They were generally found to be very ignorant and unfit for the Protestant ministry. Mant, ii. 473.

[3] Mant, ii. 211.

[4] Commons *Journals*, vol. iii., s. 289.

[5] *Ibid.* s. 319.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] The 6th of Anne, chap. vi. See before, p. 326, *note* (2).

According to this enactment, no member of the Church of Rome could be allowed to practise in any court of law until, in addition to the oaths previously prescribed, he had taken the oath of abjuration. The same Act provides that no attorney shall take any papist as his apprentice or clerk; that no papist shall serve on any grand jury at the assizes or quarter sessions, unless a sufficient number of Protestants cannot be had for that service; and that, in all trials of issues connected with statutes for the security of what was called "the Protestant interest," the plaintiff or prosecutor shall be entitled to challenge a Romish juror. In 1709 a new Act "to prevent the further growth of Popery" was added to the black catalogue of penal statutes already in existence. The Romanists had still among them a number of able lawyers who had contrived various devices which enabled their nobility and gentry, at least partially, to evade the operation of the late Acts relating to the settlement of their property; and the object of the more recent legislation was so to increase and tighten the network of prohibitory regulations that the most subtle intellect would find it impossible to escape the entanglement. The Act[1] provides that no papist shall be capable of taking any annuity for life chargeable on any lands, tenements, or hereditaments; and that the children of papists may, if they conform to Protestantism, compel their parents, by application to the Court of Chancery, to discover the full amount of their property, and provide them with a suitable maintenance. It enacts, further, that no convert is to be deemed *a Protestant* who has not, within a specified time, taken the oath of abjuration, and received the sacrament as a member of the Established Church.[2] It increases the allowance to conforming priests from £20 to £30 a year; secures them payment by half-yearly instalments; and, in

[1] The 8th of Anne, chap. iii.

[2] According to this Act, a Roman Catholic could not escape the hardships of the penal laws by becoming a Presbyterian or Congregationalist. Archbishop King states that several converts took the oath and abjured Popery "but did not come to church" and "pretended to be Dissenters." See Mant, ii. 190. They did not get credit for this profession; and legislators, at all events, were determined not to recognize Dissenters.

consideration apparently of this advanced salary, requires them "to preach once a week in the English or Irish tongue in such places and at such times" as the bishop of the diocese shall prescribe. It forbids every popish parish priest, on pain of transportation, to keep a curate; and it ordains that every such curate shall be sent out of the kingdom. Some popish prelates,[1] friars, and schoolmasters, had remained in the country, and quietly pursued their avocations, notwithstanding the punishments with which they were threatened: and this Act guarantees rewards to those who secured their apprehension and conviction. For an archbishop, bishop, or vicar-general, the informer obtained £50; for a friar, £20; and for a schoolmaster, £10. The fine was to be levied off the popish inhabitants of the county in which the offender was convicted. Every priest in Ireland, on pain of banishment, was required to take the oath of abjuration; and he was to incur the same penalty should he celebrate marriage between a Protestant and a member of his own communion, or perform any clerical duty in any parish except that in which he was registered.

The clause of this Act requiring all the Romish clergy to take the oath of abjuration involved them in much trouble. On prudential grounds they submitted to the government of Queen Anne: but they were convinced that the young prince, known as *The Pretender*, was the true heir to the throne: and they were not willing solemnly to repudiate his pretensions. There were now one thousand and eighty-one registered

[1] By banishing the bishops, and preventing either bishops or priests from entering the kingdom, Government hoped gradually to extinguish the popish clergy. See Mant, ii. 212. Some of the bishops, however, remained in concealment, and so managed at ordinations that, except by certain of their own adherents, they could not be distinguished from the ordinary priests. The Act (8th of Anne, chap. iii., s. 25) states that "meeting in great numbers they have conferred popish holy orders on popish priests, who were not popish priests at the time of the registering of the popish clergy of this kingdom, which they perform *by laying on of the hands of many of the said popish priests together*, to the intent that the party himself so receiving the holy orders *may not know* in whom the power of conferring such popish holy orders was lodged." According to an existing Act, the person ordained was required to declare on oath the name of his ordainer; but he could thus plead his inability to do so. At one time the Episcopalians, in some places, expected the extinction of the R. C. priests in a few years. See Mant, ii. 221.

Ireland;[1] and all, with little more than thirty exceptions, refused the obnoxious oath. As their places of residence were known, the recusants were obliged to leave their homes, and to conceal themselves;[2] so that in many parts of the country the public celebration of the Roman Catholic worship was, for some time, discontinued.[3] Multitudes of children were unbaptized; some of the priests found an asylum in Portugal:[4] and a considerable number of the laity left the kingdom.[5] The inhabitants of no portion of the globe are more attached to their native soil than the population of Ireland. Its very scenery inspires them with enthusiastic admiration. They delight to contemplate its meandering streams, its green pastures, its gentle hills, its romantic valleys, and its heath-clad mountains. But the iron had now entered into their souls; and hence so many felt constrained to desert a land with which their fondest recollections were associated.

Romanists were not the only parties who experienced the hardship of the oath of abjuration. Some Presbyterian ministers, whose loyalty could not be suspected, scrupled to pledge themselves to its statements.[6] Those who felt this difficulty were in a very small minority: but, notwithstanding the remonstrances of their brethren, they could not be induced to give up their objections; as they could not say that the Pretender was *not* the legitimate son of James II.—and they conceived that the oath virtually contained such an averment.[7] Many of the Irish Episcopalians—the clergy included—were Jacobites at heart; but these Presbyterian non-jurors, though

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[1] See before, p. 195, *note* (4). Brenan states that only thirty-three priests now took the oath of abjuration. *Ecc. Hist.*, p. 550. D'Alton makes the number thirty-seven. *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 461.

[2] It would appear, however, that a number of the Romish laity took the oath, and thus qualified themselves for the exercise of the elective franchise. See Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i. 264-5, 269.

[3] Mant, ii. 219.

[4] Brenan, p. 551.

[5] Haverty, p. 684.

[6] An Act passed by the English Parliament in 1703 required the oath of abjuration to be taken by all persons in civil, military, or ecclesiastical offices. This Act extended to Ireland, and included "all teachers and preachers of separate congregations," though Irish Presbyterian ministers were not yet properly known to the law, as they did not enjoy the benefit of an Act of Toleration. Reid, ii. 497.

[7] Reid, ii. 498.

known to be earnest Protestants and utterly averse to the claims of the Pretender, were often hunted from place to place, and occasionally driven out of the country.[1] Some of the Tory justices of the peace exhibited the most malicious zeal in their prosecution.

A Convocation of the established clergy met in Dublin in 1703, when Parliament was sitting.[2] This ecclesiastical court had not been convened in Ireland since 1666; and as, during the reign of William III., there had been several sessions of the Lords and Commons, complaints had been made that, at the same time, the representatives of the Church had not been assembled. The clergy affirmed that they had the right of taxing their own property; and when, of late, this claim had been ignored, the bishops and archbishops had entered their protests in the journals of the Upper House of legislation.[3] It was with some reluctance that the advisers of the Crown now consented to the meeting of the Convocation; and they soon saw reason to repent the permission. The acrimony displayed in the debates created much scandal; and the most violent discussions often terminated in very lame and impotent results. As early as 1705, one of the best of the prelates, when writing to a correspondent, could not conceal the deep mortification with which he regarded these proceedings. "'Tis an uncomfortable thing," said he, "that all assemblies of men come to some conclusion and agreement, only clergymen: that all that have controversies can write with temper and humanity—only *they* treat one another with passion and bitterness."[4]

The attention of the Convocation was directed to one field of labour, which, if properly cultivated, might have contributed greatly to the strength and prosperity of the Established

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[1] Reid, iii. 13, 30.

[2] Mant, ii. 157. There were two Houses of Convocation. In the Upper House sat the archbishops and bishops; and in the Lower, the deans, archdeacons, and the proctors of the chapters and clergy.

[3] Mant, ii. 100, 162. The English clergy ceased to tax themselves in 1664. *Murdock's Mosheim*, by Soames, iv. 298. London, 1841.

[4] Archbishop of Dublin to Archbishop of Tuam in a letter dated 4th July, 1705. Mant, ii. 179. As to the disputes in the Irish Convocation in the reign of Queen Anne, see Reid, iii. 9, 10, *note*.

This was the religious instruction of the Irish ugh the medium of their own language.[1] The Rev. John ıardson, rector of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, took deep interest in this scheme; and long laboured assiduously secure for it influential patronage. In a work which he pub- d on the subject in 1712, he gives an account of some suc- l efforts made to promote the spread of Protestantism ıg the native population. It appears that very soon after Revolution, several clergymen of the Established Church re appointed to minister in the Irish language to Gaelic- eaking Highlanders who, about that time, had settled in ıe northern parts of the county of Antrim. Many of these nigrants had belonged to the Church of Rome: but at- ted by worship in their own tongue, and approached in a ndly spirit by pastors of intelligence and zeal,[2] they soon became conformists. Nor was this all. Many of the natives in the same district of country followed their example. In 1702 the Rev. Nicholas Brown, rector of the parishes of Donacary, Dromore, and Rosorry, in the diocese of Clogher, began to signalize himself in the same service. He was a ready speaker with a complete command of the vernacular tongue: he was also a man of exemplary piety: and, as he possessed a genial spirit, he soon contrived to make his way to the hearts of his Roman Catholic neighbours. He was in the habit of holding diets for worship in the immediate vicinity of the Mass-house as soon as the priest had closed his service; and, being a general favourite, crowds gathered round him, and listened with pleasure to his sermons and prayers in Irish. Their old priest, beginning to suspect their fidelity, took the alarm; and by way of discouraging them from attending on Mr. Brown's ministrations, told them that the clergy of the Establishment had stolen their prayers out of

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[1] The interest that Archbishop Price took in this matter has been already noticed. See before, p. 130, *note* (1) of this volume. At a Synod held in Cashel in 1676 Terence Tierny (or Tiernan) was appointed to read prayers and preach to the Irish in their native tongue. Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 15, *note*. Tiernan was a convert from Popery. *Ibid.*

[2] The first minister appointed to this service was Duncan MacArthur; and the second, Archibald MacCollum. Mant, ii. 22.

the Mass-book. "Very likely," was the grave reply of an aged member of his congregation, "and if so, they have stolen the best, as thieves generally do." In the end, not a few of the people deserted their Romish Shepherd, and became steady Protestants.[1] Brown did not long continue his labours, as he died in 1708.

About the same period the Rev. Walter Atkins, vicar of Middleton, in the diocese of Cloyne, pursued the course adopted by Mr. Brown, with results equally encouraging The services conducted in their own tongue, by a clergyman honoured by the mass of the community for his consistency, benevolence, and uprightness, appeared to them to contrast most favourably with their own unintelligible ritual; and they at length began, of their own accord, to request him to officiate at marriages and funerals, as well as on other occasions.[2] When the priests, in consequence of their refusal to take the oath of abjuration, were obliged to hide themselves; and when whole districts, for a time, were left without any Romish worship; the people, in several places, attended in large numbers on Protestant services celebrated in their own tongue; and the public reading of the Word of God in Irish gave them special satisfaction.[3] In this way Protestantism gained a number of zealous converts.

Encouraged by these hopeful circumstances, a memorial signed by several of the Protestant nobility and gentry, and by Wetenhall, Bishop of Kilmore,[4] was presented in 1710 to the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, suggesting the establishment of Charity Schools for the gratuitous instruction of children in English; proposing the publication of large quantities of New Testaments, Common Prayer Books, Church Catechisms, and other works, in the Irish language; and praying that Her Majesty would be advised

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[1] Mant, ii. 166. [2] *Ibid.* 168. [3] *Ibid.* 219.

[4] Wetenhall died in London in November, 1713, aged 78. Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 168. He was probably induced to sign this memorial by Richardson, who belonged to his diocese. See before, p. 184 of this volume. He was an absentee for six years towards the end of his episcopate, and frequently before. See Mant, ii. 285. He was a prolific writer. A catalogue of his works may be found in Brady's *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, vol. iii. 64-7. London, 1864.

charter to incorporate a society empowered to take
ns, receive benefactions, make purchases, and hold
rts ——— consultations, to carry out these objects.[1] The
n eived the memorial very graciously; but it was
udent not to move further in the matter without
— the Convocation and the Parliament.[2]
u ile the Primate of all Ireland and his clergy joined
scri[illegible] ie [illegible] of two missionaries to preach
the native tongue to [illegible]h inhabitants of the diocese
Armagh. The Bishop o[illegible]rry and his clergy made a
nilar effort. Mr. Richardson, [illegible]e most zealous advocate of
e project, was a corresponding member of the Society for
omoting Christian Knowledge; and, at his instigation, that
ociation caused an edition of three thousand copies of his
rt History of the attempts to convert the Popish natives of Ireland, to be printed for general circulation. A considerable sum was soon raised by subscription: and, in consequence, six thousand copies of the Book of Common Prayer, six thousand copies of the Church Catechism, and six thousand copies of an Exposition of the Catechism—all in Irish—issued from the press.[3] But, beyond this, the scheme seems to have made little progress. When the Convocation met, the Lower House appeared disposed to patronize it; and passed several resolutions of a favourable character;[4] but when it was brought under the consideration of the prelates, it received so little encouragement that it was eventually abandoned.[5]

Whilst the lords spiritual, by their apathy or opposition, contrived to extinguish this scheme for the religious instruction of the people, they were resolved to throw every discouragement in the way of Protestant non-conformists. In 1710 the

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[1] See this memorial in Mant, ii. 220-22.

[2] Mant, ii. 223.

[3] *Ibid.* 224. It appears that Mr. Richardson also published in Irish *Sermons on the Principal Points of Religion*, by Archbishop Tillotson, Bishop Beveridge, and others. Nicholson's *Irish Historical Library*, Preface, xxxviii. Dublin, 1724.

[4] Mant, ii. 226.

[5] Archbishop King was a zealous promoter of this scheme; but it appears from his letters that it failed in consequence of the "manifest disapprobation" of most of the other bishops. See Mant, ii. 230, 225, 227, 228.

Presbyterian ministers of the north, already known as *The Synod of Ulster*, planned a mission to the native Irish; and it was found, on enquiry, that they had among them ten preachers qualified to address their countrymen in their own tongue.[1] But the heartless treatment which they soon afterwards received from persons in authority, backed by the bishops and their clergy, raised up great difficulties in the way of the prosecution of the design.[2] Though, ever since the enactment of the Sacramental Test, they had been struggling for its repeal, they had hitherto been completely baffled by the combined influence of the episcopal opposition.[3] Among their most unscrupulous assailants was the celebrated Jonathan Swift—created, towards the close of this reign,[4] Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin. At an early stage of his ecclesiastical career, this divine had taken offence at some of the northern non-conformists who had ventured to express their disapproval of his conduct; and he never afterwards lost an opportunity of attacking them with all the venom of his malignant nature. At a time when religion was at the very lowest ebb, his writings were amazingly popular; for he possessed matchless powers of wit and sarcasm. As a politician, he could not claim the credit of consistency; he had little respect for principle; he could utter the most atrocious falsehoods with the greatest assurance; and he had no pretensions to refinement or elevation of sentiment: but he had a most acute perception of the ridiculous; he was remarkable for shrewd-

[1] Reid, iii. 11.

[2] In 1716 they resumed this project, and established in Dundalk a school for teaching the Irish tongue. Reid, iii. 86. They also published an Irish grammar, and an edition of the *Shorter Catechism* in Irish. *Ibid.* Shortly afterwards they appointed an Irish-speaking missionary. Reid, iii. 90.

[3] Mant, speaking of the Irish Parliament of 1710, says:—"In the Lords the bishops were understood to be *unanimously opposed* to the repeal, constituting as they did, by reason of the absence of many temporal peers, nearly a moiety of the House." ii. 191. On some occasions they were an actual majority. Mant adds:—"The *whole body of the clergy*, meanwhile, was utterly hostile to the repeal." *Ibid.*

[4] He was appointed to the deanery by letters patent, dated May 6th, 1713. He was born in Dublin in 1667, and educated at Trinity College. His first preferment was, in 1695, to the prebend of Kilroot, near Carrickfergus. He resigned this in 1698. Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 266. He died in October, 1745.

ness and vigour of mind; and wonderful flashes of genius glared through his invectives. His irony scorched like fire; and, when his wrath was kindled, he had no pity on his victim.[1] At one time he wielded immense influence as a political pamphleteer: and, though he never attained a bishopric himself—simply because he had ridiculed the Queen's favourite, the Duchess of Somerset, and the lady could never forgive his indiscreet allusion to her red hair[2]—it is well known that Government, in this reign, deferred to his wishes even in episcopal appointments.[3] Towards the close of the year 1708 he published anonymously a letter concerning the Sacramental Test; and, with his characteristic disregard to truth, he described it as written by "a member of the House of Commons in Ireland to a member of the House of Commons in England." In this production he holds up the non-conformists to contempt in his most flippant style of vituperation; and contends that, with safety to the country, they could not be admitted to civil or military offices. Other writers of less ability, but equally bitter and exclusive, protested, in various forms, against the repeal of the offensive enactment. These hostile demonstrations served to keep up a spirit of sectarian animosity; but they were scarcely required to stimulate the opposition of the Legislature; as, from the Irish Parliament, there was little prospect of any relief for the Presbyterians.[4]

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[1] A very just estimate of the character of Swift may be found in a work edited by the late Rev. Dr. James Hamilton, of London, entitled *Excelsior*, vol. iv., pp. 169-183. London, 1855.

[2] "He made a direct attempt to get her (the Queen) to discharge her favourite, the Duchess of Somerset, in a copy of verses addressed to the Queen, the most bitter with regard to the Duchess, perhaps, that ever was penned, called *The Windsor Prophecy*. Elsewhere he speaks thus of the lady in verses on himself:—

> 'From *her red locks* her mouth with venom fills,
> And thence into the royal ear distils,
> The Queen incensed, his (Swift's) services forgot,
> Leaves him a victim to the vengeful Scot.'"

—See *Life of Swift*, by Sheridan, p. 128. Dublin, 1785.

[3] See Mant, ii. 246-267.

[4] Mr. Doddington, Secretary to the Irish Viceroy, in a letter dated August 14th, 1707, says:—"This Parliament is made up of two-thirds *as High Churchmen* as any in England." See O'Flanagan's *Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, ii. 7. London, 1870.

Very shortly after Anne ascended the throne, the Irish senators—Commons as well as Lords—exhibited their antipathy to non-conformity; and, as this reign approached its close, their enmity assumed a more decided and dangerous character. Towards the end of the year 1711, a committee of the Upper House, consisting of thirteen bishops and eleven lay lords, was appointed to draw up a representation and address to the Queen relating to the Dissenting[1] ministers of the kingdom. The paper, with some slight alterations, was adopted, and ordered to be laid before Her Majesty.[2] The memorialists, in this extraordinary document, express themselves in the style of injured innocence; and complain most pathetically of the grievances inflicted on them by the Presbyterians! The latter had now no political power; they had been driven out of all the corporations, expelled from the magistracy, deprived of all offices in the customs and excise, and even refused any legal sanction for the celebration of their worship; and yet they are described as "exercising great severities towards their conforming neighbours by denying them common offices of humanity, and by threatening and actually ruining many who, in compliance with their consciences, had left their sect."[3] There had been in Drogheda a small Presbyterian congregation; but it had been long without a minister; and an attempt had recently been made to supply it once more with Presbyterian ordinances. The Rev. Dr. Cox, the vicar of the parish,[4] resented the preaching of the non-conforming ministers within his borders as an intrusion; and, at his instigation, the Rev. James Fleming—one of the members of the Synod of Ulster who had officiated in a private dwelling-house in the town—was arrested, and bound over to stand his trial at the next assizes, for what was most absurdly called "a riot and unlawful assembly."[5] The Lord

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[1] Irish Presbyterians often objected to the name *Dissenters* as applied to them. They never properly belonged to the Episcopal Church, and were quite equal to it in point of antiquity. On the same ground Romanists did not care to be called Dissenters.

[2] Reid, iii. 16.

[3] *Ibid.* 17.

[4] He was Dean of Ferns and Leighlin, and Vicar of St. Peter's, Drogheda. Cotton's *Fasti*, ii. 350.

[5] Reid, iii. 3, 4.

Lieutenant had, however, interfered and stopped the prosecution; and the petitioners refer to this case in their memorial, and complain of the chief governor for delivering Mr. Fleming out of his difficulties. But their monster grievance was the grant of the Regium Donum. They alleged that it was applied "to the propagation of schism, the undermining of the Church, and the disturbance of the peace and unanimity of the conformists." By means of it, they affirmed, the Presbyterians "supported lawsuits against the Church, formed seminaries to the poisoning of the principles of youth,[1] and set up synods and judicatories destructive of Her Majesty's prerogative."[2] Not content with forwarding this representation to the Queen, the Lords ordered it to be printed, that it might be widely circulated, and that the hardships of the unhappy Episcopalians might awaken the deeper commiseration. At the same time they very emphatically proclaimed their aversion to the literature of the non-conformists. The Rev. Joseph Boyse, one of the Presbyterian ministers of Dublin, had been long known as an accomplished polemic; and had more than once successfully encountered the very ablest champions of episcopacy in theological discussion. He had recently published a volume of sermons; and, among the rest, a learned discourse on the office of a scriptural bishop. We may well suppose that no one could have recognized, in his portrait of a bishop, the features of any Irish Church dignitary. But instead of requesting one or other of their Most Reverend or Right Reverend Fathers to confront the author, the Lords adopted a more summary mode of dealing with his performance. To show their detestation of it, they ordered the book to be burned before the Tholsel, or City Hall, in Dublin, by the common hangman, on the ground that it was "false and scandalous, and contained matters

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[1] These charges were without foundation. There was at this time what was called "a philosophy school" at Killileagh, conducted by the Rev. John McAlpine, a Presbyterian minister, where candidates for the sacred office, as well as others, could receive a portion of their education; but this seminary was otherwise supported. See Reid, ii. 477. There had been similar establishments in the reign of Charles II. at Antrim and Newtonards. Reid, ii. 336.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 18.

highly reflecting on the Legislature, and on the episcopal order."[1]

The Convocation followed up the attack of the House of Lords. In the form of another address to the Queen, they prepared a paper on the state of religion, in which they discussed the four subjects of infidelity, heresy, impiety, and Popery. Under the head of heresy, the Quakers and Presbyterians received special notice. The proceedings of the Society of Friends had, it seems, disturbed the equanimity of the petitioners; and they accordingly call for "some effectual methods of restraining them, and stopping their progress:"[2] but the members of the Synod of Ulster evidently inspired them with still greater uneasiness. They repeat, with additional acerbity, the complaints preferred against them by the Upper House of Parliament; and dwell particularly on the mischief occasioned by the grant of the Regium Donum. This bounty, they assert, has been "applied to the considerable increase of the number of fanatical and dissenting teachers, and to the support and promoting of faction and schism;" and they significantly remind the Queen that the House of Commons had long since voted it an unnecessary expenditure of the public money.[3] The bishops soon afterwards caused this paper to be printed for distribution under the title of *A Representation of the present State of Religion, with regard to Infidelity, Heresy, Impiety, and Popery, drawn up and agreed to by both Houses of Convocation in Ireland, pursuant to Her Majesty's command in her Royal license.*[4]

Though the Presbyterians throughout this reign encountered

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[1] Reid, iii. 18-19.

[2] Archbishop King, writing in 1725, says that, early in this century, "the County of Wicklow was full of Quakers and Dissenters; but, having got seven new churches in it, and filled them with good men, there is hardly a meeting left in that part."—MANT, ii. 349.

[3] See before, p. 198, *note* (3) of this volume.

[4] Second edition. London, 1712. 8vo, pp. 23. This meeting of the Convocation in 1711 was the last ever held in Ireland. The proceedings had been conducted in a most acrimonious spirit, and the Crown would not permit another to assemble. A proposal was made for the revival of the Convocation shortly before the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church in 1871; but the Royal consent was not obtained, and, in consequence, no meeting was held.

such persistent persecution from the Irish Parliament, as well as from the Convocation, their Church continued steadily to extend its borders. In 1709, the Synod of Ulster could reckon upwards of one hundred and thirty congregations, and nearly the same number of ministers.[1] There were, besides, a few Presbyterian ministers and congregations in Leinster and Munster. About the same time, six hundred ministers were deemed sufficient for all the livings of the Establishment.[2] Though the dignified Churchmen had generally an ample maintenance,[3] many of the parochial clergy were miserably supported. Not one in ten had either glebe or glebe-house;[4] and five, six, or even ten parishes were often joined to make up a revenue of £50 per annum for the incumbent.[5] Many of the beneficed clergy had not nearly so large a revenue.[6] In this reign their circumstances were somewhat improved by a remission of a percentage on their incomes hitherto payable to the Crown.[7] They were also assisted by the appropriation of the first fruits[8]—which the

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[1] Reid, iii. 2.

[2] Archbishop King, writing in December, 1714, says:—"In all Ireland there are not 600 *beneficed* clergymen." See Mant, ii. 289. The same prelate in 1706 says that "all the livings in Ireland will not employ 600" clergymen. Mant, ii. 201.

[3] Thus the Archdeacon of Raphoe had benefices worth £600 per annum; and the Dean of Derry was worth £900 per annum. Mant, ii. 286-7. One pound was then equal to three pounds of our money. In the diocese of Killaloe, ten parishes, held by one individual, yielded between £200 and £300 per annum. Mant, ii. 288.

[4] *Ibid.* ii. 238, 290, 351, 388.

[5] *Ibid.* 238, 289. Archbishop King, writing to a correspondent in October, 1713, says:—"You may guess what condition the Church is in from Wicklow to Arklow; the one has ten and the other eleven parishes to make a competency, and 'tis *generally so* through the diocese; each of these ministers has two churches to serve, and at a considerable distance."—MANT, ii. 205. He adds, in another letter:—"There are, in the diocese of Ferns, 131 parishes: of these seventy-one are impropriate in lay hands; twenty-eight are appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries and prebendaries of the Cathedral; and thirty-two are in the hands of the clergy that serve the cure, and *generally these are the worst.*"—MANT, ii. 206. He says again:—"To my knowledge *sixteen* parishes in the diocese of Ferns yield the incumbent hardly £60 per annum."—MANT, ii. 373.

[6] *Ibid.* ii. 204. See before, p. 196, *note* (1) of this volume.

[7] Called the *twentieths*, or a shilling in the pound. Mant, ii. 239.

[8] Paid to the Crown by incumbents on their promotion. Mant, ii. 239.

sovereign had before claimed—to the purchase of glebes,[1] the erection of glebe-houses, and the increase of ministerial stipends. King, now Archbishop of Dublin,[2] exerted himself much in promoting the building of churches in and around the Irish metropolis;[3] but very few of his brethren exhibited the same zeal. A large number of the bishops were still non-resident:[4] and, for the greater part of this reign, only one of these spiritual overseers could have been found at any time in all Ulster.[5] Though so many laws were framed against Papists and Dissenters, the Established Church made little progress. The apathy and inefficiency of its clergy created general murmuring; and one of themselves testifies that "the world began to look on them as a parcel of men that had invented a trade for their easy and convenient living."[6] We are told, on the highest authority, that during the last four years of the reign of Queen Anne, the Episcopal Church "lost more hearts and ground" in Ireland than it did "since King James came to the crown."[7]

Political feeling was now in a state of strong excitement; and its violence contributed to sharpen the edge of theological

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[1] King encountered many difficulties in carrying out these arrangements. Landlords, in some cases, afraid of the increase of tithes, were not prepared to encourage the residence of the clergy. Mant, ii. 352-3.

[2] King was removed from Derry to Dublin in 1703. He died in 1729.

[3] Mant, ii. 152, 204, 205, 348. King tells the following remarkable story:—"Mr. Joseph Dawson purchased a piece of ground, which cost but a small sum of money, by St. Stephen's Green: began with laying the foundation of a church, and erecting, by Act of Parliament, the parish of St. Anne's. The consequence was that he set his ground for above £500 per annum; and has now Dawson St.—one of the best in Dublin—built upon it."—MANT, ii. 350.

[4] See Mant, ii. 366. Many of the clergy were also non-resident. King says:—"The diocese (of Clonfert) is pretty large; yet has but ten beneficed clergymen, and *about half these non-resident.*"—MANT, ii. 380.

[5] *Ibid.* 156. Pooley, who was Bishop of Raphoe from 1702 to 1712, resided, during all that time, barely eighteen months. Mant, ii. 282, 284. Ashe, who was Bishop of Clogher from 1697 to 1716, seems to have been generally non-resident. *Ibid.* ii. 282-3. This gross neglect did not prevent his removal to Derry.

[6] Letter from Archbishop King, dated August 17th, 1704. Mant, ii. 155.

[7] Letter of King, dated November 20th, 1714. Mant, ii. 269. King ascribes this to the offence given to the gentry by the manner in which the Tory and Jacobite clergy intermeddled in politics. Mant, ii. 293. But the gentry still remained nominally connected with the establishment. *Ibid.* 294.

Towards the close of this reign the Tories
ming to bring in the Pretender; whilst the Whigs[1]
e most anxious to secure the Hanoverian succession.[2] As
Tories had completely established their ascendency at
urt, they used all their influence to promote the interests of
dethroned dynasty. Thomas Lindsay, who was made
ate of Armagh shortly before the death of the Queen,[3]
hav d for his promotion to his
olite princip ad for years been accus-
ned to drink " ous, and immortal memory
the great and g liam;" but the toast now
ecame specially offens high-flying Episcopalians;
and one of the Irish prelate hed rather a novel argu-
ment against the unseas entiment. In 1713 Peter
Brown, Bishop of Cork a s,[6] published an elaborate

[1] According to some, the motto of this party was "*We hope in God;*" and their designation was derived from the initial letters of the four words. The name originated before the Restoration. According to others, whig is a Scotch name for sour milk; and the title was given originally to certain Scotch Covenanters. See Masson's *Life of Milton*, iii. 623, *note*. London, 1873.

[2] The Irish Presbyterians, very shortly before Anne's death, employed a French Protestant minister as their agent to assure the Elector of Hanover that they were prepared to take up arms in support of his title to the crown. His Highness "received the proposal with many thanks, and was very fond to hear that there were so many staunch friends to him in Ireland."—Reid, iii. 54.

[3] He was a native of Blandford, in Dorsetshire. In 1695, he was advanced to the bishopric of Killaloe; in 1713, he was translated to Raphoe; and in January, 1714, he was promoted to the Primacy. Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 23.

[4] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i. 232, *note*. He succeeded Narcissus Marsh in Armagh. He died in 1724. He expended upwards of £4,000 for the maintenance of a choir at Armagh. Mant, ii. 408.

[5] The Convocation, in their address to the Queen, complain that "wicked and *blasphemous healths* are frequently used by persons *disaffected to our constitution*, insomuch that the words of our Litany, wherein we pray to be delivered from plague, pestilence and famine, battle, murder and sudden death, have been turned into a bitter curse upon all archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons, and all congregations committed to their charge *who refused to drink to the glorious and immortal memory of the dead*."—Campbell's *Examination*, &c., &c., in reply to Stock and the Bishop of Cloyne, p. 200.

[6] He was advanced to the bishopric of Cork and Ross in 1710. He died in 1735. He had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and Provost from 1699 to his appointment as Bishop of Cork and Ross. "He was an austere, retired and mortified man; but a prelate of the first rank for learning among his brethren.

discourse *Of Drinking in Remembrance of the Dead*—in which he endeavoured to prove that the custom is profane and heathenish.[1] The author of this strange performance—who had, at one time, been Provost of Trinity College, Dublin—appears to have been somewhat of an oddity; and his learned reasoning against the popular Whig toast seems to have contributed far more to the merriment than to the edification of his contemporaries.[2]

Another writer of this reign, who signalized himself on the side of the High Church party, was the Rev. Dr. Tisdall, vicar of Belfast. In the spring of 1709 he produced a pamphlet entitled ironically *A Sample of True Blue Presbyterian Loyalty in all changes and turns of Government, taken chiefly out of their most authentic records.* Tisdall resided in the midst of non-conformists; and he had doubtless often heard them say that they had been but poorly requited for their support of Charles II. at the Restoration, and for their attachment to the cause of King William. He therefore laboured to prove that they had little reason to complain; that they belonged to a race of rebels; and that their efforts to procure the repeal of the Sacramental Test should be strenuously resisted. Nor was he content with this performance; for, in a series of publications, issued in succeeding years and written in the same irritating style, he renewed his attacks. He was not eventually permitted to remain unanswered. Early in 1713 the Rev. John Mc Bride, one of the Presbyterian ministers of Belfast, produced *A Sample of Jet*

. . . . He studied and was master of the most exact and just pronunciation, heightened by the sweetest and most solemn tone of voice, and set off by a serious air and venerable person."—BRADY'S *Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, iii. 69.

[1] This discourse was originally delivered to his clergy. See Mant, ii. 195. He followed it up by four other publications on the same subject. See Brady's *Clerical and Parochial Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, iii. 74, 75. In the days of the Commonwealth, those who drank healths were excluded from sitting in the Cromwellian Parliament. Stoughton's *Eccl. Hist. of England*, vol. ii. 99. London 1867. This was levelled against the Cavaliers. But times were now changed.

[2] Brown's publication of the discourse on drinking healths led to a controversy. He was no favourite with Swift. Crawford (*Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 261) says of him that "of all the Tories of the time, none was more violent." He wrote against Toland, the deist. Toland was a native of County Donegal.

lack Prelatic Calumny—illustrating at great length the groundlessness of the charges of the reverend assailant. A few months afterwards in the same year, his colleague, the Rev. James Kirkpatrick, published a still more ample and satisfactory reply, designated "*An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland from e Reformation to the present year* 1713."[1]

A wise Administration would have hailed the appearance of such defensive works with satisfaction; for they supplied proof that Presbyterians valued their reputation as the friends of Constitutional Government. But the fact that both these publications appeared anonymously, and one of them without even the printer's name, attests the difficulties and discouragements under which non-conformists now laboured.[2] As the reign of Anne approached its close, their trials multiplied. The Regium Donum, against which the Convocation and the two Houses of Parliament had so strongly protested, was at length withdrawn: a clause introduced into the English Schism Bill extended it to Ireland; and rendered every Presbyterian teacher, except his school were of the humblest description, liable to three months' imprisonment:[3] and as non-conformists yet wanted the security of an Act of Toleration, they were even threatened with the loss of the last

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[1] It was printed at Belfast; but neither author nor printer ventured to put his name to the work. It extends to nearly 600 quarto pages.

[2] Reid, iii. 43. The printer of *Presbyterian Loyalty* was no doubt James Blow, of Belfast. The first edition of the English Bible, printed in Ireland, is said to have been published by him. I have seen a Bible, in crown 4to, with the following imprint:—"Belfast: printed by and for James Blow, and for George Grierson, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, at the King's Arms and Two Bibles in Essex Street, Dublin. MDCCII." But there is reason to believe that the true date is MDCCLI., and that the lower part of the L has been erased, and the letter thus changed into I. There is, however, evidence that Mr. Blow printed English Bibles as early as 1714. For prudential reasons he probably did not put his name on the title-page. He commenced business in Belfast in 1696, and died in 1759, aged eighty-three. It would appear that George Grierson did not become King's printer until about the beginning of the reign of George II., when Lord Carteret was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See Madden's *Irish Periodical Literature*, i. 173, 181, 182.

[3] Reid, iii. 55. The Queen died on the 1st of August, 1714—the very day on which the Schism Bill was to come into operation. Thus the career of the High Church party was stopped.

remnant of religious liberty—freedom to worship God! In various parts of the province of Ulster, copies of the *Shorter Catechism* of the Westminster Assembly, and other works of a similar description, were seized: and Presbyterians were told that they were no longer to be permitted to congregate for religious exercises. In the towns of Antrim, Downpatrick, and Rathfryland, the Tories actually nailed up the doors of their meeting-houses.[1] But, as the darkest hour precedes the dawn, this gloomy period terminated with the succession of a new dynasty, prepared to concede to them the civil and ecclesiastical privileges for which they had so strenuously contended.

[1] Reid, iii. 56.



BOOK V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I. TO THE PRESENT TIMES.

A.D. 1714 TO A.D. 1871.

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE I. A.D. 1714 TO A.D. 1727.

ON the accession of George I. to the throne, the Tories were ignominiously driven from office. It was high time that they should lose their power; for, of late, they had scarcely cared to conceal their attachment to the Pretender. In Dublin, recruiting for his service had been connived at by the Government;[1] and the Irish Parliament had been abruptly prorogued to stop the progress of a bill for his attainder. The house of Stuart had many friends among the Episcopal clergy; and these adherents of the fallen dynasty could not suppress their vexation when the Elector of Hanover became King. The violence with which such political parsons assailed the religion of the new sovereign in their sermons betrayed alike their ignorance and their folly. George I. had been educated a Lutheran; and the Irish episcopal laity were absurdly assured that the faith which he professed was no better than Popery.[2] King, Archbishop of Dublin—now far advanced in life—had all along cordially supported the claims of the family of the Prince Palatine:[3] but he found

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[1] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, p. 238, *note*; Gordon's *Hist. Ireland*, ii. 205. Ever since the Revolution Irish Romanists had continued to enlist in foreign service. It has been stated that more than 450,000 Irishmen died in the service of France, between 1691 and 1745. Haverty, p. 693, *note*; Mitchell's *History of Ireland*, p. 27. Mitchell remarks that "the statement may seem *almost incredible*, especially as Spain and Austria had also their share of our military exiles."

[2] Mant, ii. 276, 291.

[3] It is very remarkable that this family, which suffered so much on the continent for the cause of Protestantism, became, by its connection with Great Britain, so influential in Protestant Christendom.

le to restrain the extravagance of the incumbents even of his own diocese. Having heard of an inflammatory sermon, preached by a minister named Kearns, immediately after the Queen's death, he deemed it his duty to call his clergy together and give them his advice. "I am concerned," says he in his account of this conference, "to remember what a spirit appeared in some of them, as I understand several preached last Sunday against consubstantiation: this was construed to have ect towards the King, whom they suppose to [1] In another letter he laments that the Established Church evinced so little anxiety themselves from the disaffected."[2] "To preach nger of the Church on His Majesty's accession to the crown, to sing the 137th Psalm, to preach against Lutheranism, or to make it worse than Popery is," says he, "I am sure not the way" to avoid suspicion.[3] He adds in another letter: "Very few have declared against the succession, because few are fond of being hanged for treason; but if a party of men take all possible methods to obstruct a thing; if they oppress all that were zealous for it and the Revolution; and encourage the professed enemies thereof, and join with them; if they shew themselves uneasy and chagrined when it takes place—one may guess at what they mean without any formal declaration."[4]

As the Irish Parliament was dissolved by the death of the Queen, there was a general election soon afterwards. On this occasion many of the ministers of the Establishment created no little scandal by the intemperate zeal with which they supported the Jacobite candidates in opposition to the friends of the Hanoverian succession.[5] Not a few of the

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[1] See his letter quoted in Mant, ii. 275.

[2] *Ibid.* 291.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] This Jacobite spirit appeared among the clergy till the close of this reign. The Rev. Thomas Sheridan, a noted wit who was chaplain to Lord Carteret, preached once on the 1st of August—the anniversary of the King's accession—from the text "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." (Matt. vi. 24.) This discourse gave so much offence in high places that the preacher lost his situation as chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant. Mr. Sheridan was the grandfather of Richard Brinsley

Protestant gentry, who held estates by titles guaranteed at the Revolution, felt that their position would be very insecure should the Pretender attain the crown; and they accordingly contended, with all their might, against the Tories at the hustings. The Episcopal clergy often excited their intense disgust by the pertinacity with which they struggled for the Jacobite interest. They were not content to record silent votes; they appeared prominently in the political arena; they harangued the mob; and they attempted to drive the Whigs from the representation of the very boroughs of which they were themselves proprietors.[1] In several of the northern constituencies—where the Presbyterians preponderated—the contest was carried on with unusual bitterness. Here the repeal of the Sacramental Test was the battle-cry of the Whigs; and, as most of the higher classes were Episcopalians, there was frequently a trial of strength between the aristocracy and the people. In the County of Antrim the excitement was almost unprecedented. The Whig candidate was Mr. Upton, of Templepatrick,[2] an elder of the Presbyterian Church, and a gentleman greatly respected for integrity and piety. His antagonist was a high Tory, supported by the Protestant bishop of the diocese, the noblemen, and most of the gentlemen of the district.[3] But the yeomanry, greatly to the mortification of their landlords, nobly refused to act in opposition to their convictions; many who held their farms by most precarious tenures, voted for Mr. Upton; and the Presbyterian candidate was returned to Parliament by a triumphant majority.[4]

Sheridan, the famous statesman, dramatist, and orator. Brady's *Records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross*, i. 234-5.

[1] Mant, ii. 293.

[2] The Upton family has since been ennobled. Its present representative is Lord Templetown.

[3] Reid, iii. 71.

[4] The following Presbyterian gentlemen represented northern constituencies in the Irish Parliament of 1715:—Clotworthy Upton, Castleupton, Templepatrick, and Sir Arthur Langford, Bart., of Summerhill, represented the County of Antrim; Hugh Henry, of Dublin, was one of the representatives of the borough of Antrim; George Macartney, of Belfast, was one of the representatives of the borough of Belfast; Archibald Edmonston, of Redhall, was one of the representatives of Carrickfergus; and Hercules Rowley, of Summerhill, was one of the representatives of the County of Londonderry.

The accession of George I. marks the commencement of a new era in the history of Irish Presbyterians. The grant of Regium Donum to their ministers was now restored; and shortly afterwards it received an augmentation to the extent of £800 per annum.[1] From this date the Irish House of Commons—though still far from favourable—began to view them with a rather more friendly eye;[2] the progress of penal legislation was arrested [illegible]e was an increasing disposition to relax the stri[illegible] the intolerant laws under which they had so lo[illegible] Their loyalty to the House of Hanover at a m[illegible]eriod in the history of the country had revealed [illegible]ical importance; for, when George I. came to the t[illegible]ey were the only denomination in Ireland on whc[illegible] he could confidently calculate. In the year 17[illegible]dard of the Pretender was raised in Scotland;[3] and t[illegible]ovements of his party were watched with the deepest anxiety by the authorities in Dublin. The Duke of Ormonde—who had recently been Lord Lieutenant, and who was by far the most extensive landed proprietor in Ireland—joined in the revolt.[4] He was

[1] This addition, which was made in 1718, increased it to £2,000 per annum. There were now about 140 ministers connected with the Synod of Ulster, and only twelve or thirteen in Dublin and the South; but, as the addition of £800 was equally divided between the Northern Synod and their brethren elsewhere, the Southerns were chiefly benefited by this fresh grant. See Reid, iii. 89.

[2] The defeat of the Tories at the late County Antrim election seems to have had a salutary influence. The county was now represented by two very earnest Presbyterians.

[3] Roman Catholic writers commonly represent the Scotch Presbyterians as the great supporters of the Pretender. See Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, p. 243; Brenan, p. 551; Curry, p. 549; Haverty, p. 686; and Taafe, iv. 9. This is a most ridiculous mistake. The Scotch Presbyterians, as was to be expected, were stoutly opposed to him. See Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, ii. 371-2. Edinburgh, 1859. But, at the time of the Revolution, most of the Protestants in the north of Scotland were Episcopalians, and many of the Highlanders were still Romanists. It was by these Scotch Jacobites that the Pretender was supported. The Scotch Episcopal clergy, who now openly took part with the Pretender, were, in many cases, thrown into prison; and a heavy blow was thus given to Scottish prelacy. See Cunningham, ii. 372.

[4] He was the grandson of the great Duke of Ormonde, so distinguished in the reign of Charles II. He died an exile in the south of France in 1745; but it would appear that he always continued a Protestant. Haverty, p. 681, *note*.

in consequence attainted, and his estates confiscated. There was an abortive attempt at insurrection in one district of the North, where the Earl of Antrim possessed influence;[1] but, if the rest of the island remained quiet, it was not because the mass of the inhabitants did not sympathize with the insurgents, but because they were overawed, as well by the recollection of past disasters, as by the presence of a large military force.[2] As there had been reason to apprehend that the Pretender would try to effect a landing somewhere on the coast of Ulster, it had been deemed prudent to augment the Protestant militia of the province; and yet here the Government soon found itself confronted by a very grave difficulty. The Presbyterians constituted the bulk of the Protestant population; but the Sacramental Test prevented them from engaging in the service of the Crown; and, though they were most desirous to uphold the cause of the reigning family, they could not consistently give their aid without exposing themselves to formidable penalties. In this emergency a meeting of the most influential of their laity was held in Belfast; and they agreed, at all hazards, to offer their services to the State. At the same time they expressed a hope that the administration would interfere, and save them from the legal penalties which they thus encountered.[3] Their offer was gladly accepted by the Irish Lord Lieutenant; and they were assured that steps would be taken, as soon as Parliament assembled, to protect officers and soldiers from the penalties of the Test Act.[4]

The ministry faithfully endeavoured to make good this promise. At the very commencement of the session of 1715, a bill was introduced into the Irish House of Commons containing a clause of indemnity; exempting, in all time to come,

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[1] Reid, iii. 72. The Earl of Antrim was a Romanist. Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* p. 244. See also Hill's *Macdonnells of Antrim*, p. 363, *note*.

[2] At the breaking out of the Rebellion in Scotland there were in Ireland seven regiments of cavalry, of from six to nine troops each regiment; and twenty-three regiments of infantry, of ten companies each, all Protestants or Englishmen. *Strictures* (Musgrave's) *on Plowden*, p. 69. London, 1804. It is obvious, therefore, that recent R.C. writers have given undue credit to their co-religionists for not rising in rebellion at this juncture.

[3] Reid, iii. 67.

[4] *Ibid.* 68.

Dissenters employed in the militia from existing penalties; and extending the indulgence for ten years to those who served in the regular army. The bill passed without difficulty through its various stages in the Lower House of legislation; but when it reached the Lords, it met with the most determined opposition. The bishops, headed by Archbishop King, employed all their influence to prevent it from becoming law; and at length, [illegible] th much reluctance, Government was compelled to [illegible] altogether. The House of Commons sought, howe[illegible] very significant resolutions to protect the Pre[illegible]nst the consequences of its rejection. They decla[illegible] such of His Majesty's Protestant Dissenting s[illegible]is kingdom as have taken commissions in the n[illegible]cted in the commission of array, have thereby don[illegible]ible service to His Majesty's royal person and Governme[illegible]d the Protestant interest in this kingdom;" and "that any person who shall commence a prosecution against any Dissenter who has accepted or shall accept of a commission in the army or militia, is an enemy to King George and the Protestant interest, and a friend to the Pretender."[1] Shielded by the sanction of the House of Commons expressed in such decided terms, the Presbyterians consented to continue in military employment.[2]

A quarter of a century had now elapsed since the Revolution; and yet during all this period the Irish Protestant nonconformists had celebrated their worship without the security of a legal permission. They still sought in vain for the removal of the Sacramental Test; and it was not till 1719 that they obtained an Act of Toleration. Even this concession was not secured without a struggle; for, to the last, it was resisted by a majority of the bishops; and when the Toleration Bill was read a third time in the Upper House, no less than nine of the lords spiritual, with seven temporal peers, entered their protest on the journals.[3] By this measure

[1] *Journals of the Irish House of Commons*, vol. iv., p. 255.

[2] By an Act passed in 1755 (the 29th of George II., chap. xxiv.) Protestant non-conformists were at length entitled to hold military appointments.

[3] Reid, iii. 106. Of the six bishops who supported the Bill only one was an Irishman. *Ibid.* p. 107.

Protestant Dissenters, on taking certain oaths, were relieved from the penalties of the Act of Uniformity for absence from the established worship; and Presbyterian ministers, as well as others, were permitted to celebrate all religious ordinances —the Lord's Supper included—without incurring a fine of one hundred pounds.[1] Quakers also, on making certain declarations, were to enjoy the benefits of the enactment. In the same session of Parliament, non-conformists holding civil or military offices and receiving pay from the Crown, were relieved from annoyance by an Act of Indemnity.[2]

Throughout the discussions connected with the passing of the Toleration Act, the extreme dread of the Presbyterians exhibited by the Protestant bishops was fitted to awaken very grave reflections. The prelates appeared to believe that, if the non-conforming ministers were permitted fully to enjoy the blessing of religious liberty, their own Establishment would speedily tumble down.[3] "I fear," said Archbishop King immediately after the Toleration Bill became law, "that we shall all feel the effects of it; and, in truth, I can't see how our Church can stand here, if God do not, by a peculiar and unforeseen providence, support it."[4] An attempt was made to prove that, were the King to give his assent to the measure, he would violate his Coronation Oath;[5] and every argument which the most bigoted sectarianism could devise was urged against its adoption. The Protestant prelates had been so long accustomed to ride rough-shod over the feelings of individuals of all other denominations, that they were seemingly bewildered when a somewhat different policy was inaugurated; and even the attendance of some Scotch soldiers on Presbyterian worship in a provincial town in Ulster was sufficient to disturb their equanimity. "I should

[1] The Act in the Irish Statute Book is the 6th of George I., chap. v. Deniers of the doctrine of the Trinity are not admitted to its benefits.

[2] The 6th of George I., chap. ix.

[3] At this time the Irish Parliament openly sanctioned the non-residence of the beneficed clergy by an Act declaring that their "*absence ought to be supplied by curates.*" According to this Act (the 6th of George I., chap. xiii.) the salary of a curate should not be more than fifty, nor less than twenty pounds per annum.

[4] Letter to Archbishop Wake dated 10th November, 1719. Mant, ii. 337.

[5] Mant, ii. 339.

wonder," said a most reverend archbishop, "at the conduct of quartering a Presbyterian regiment at Londonderry, if it were not of a piece with all the methods which have been used of late for the safety of the Church."[1] How would these dignitaries have felt had they been assured that the time would come when a Queen of England—the wisest and the best who has swayed the sceptre since the Reformation—would be found attending the church of Crathie, and devoutly joining in worship conducted by a Presbyterian minister?

The toleration secured by Act of Parliament to non-conforming Protestants, was not joined with a corresponding concession to the Romanists. The alarm created by the Pretender, and the conviction that the adherents of the Pope all over the country were ready to support him—if they had any prospect of success—prompted the Legislature to load them with additional disabilities. By a law made in 1716 Romanists were disqualified from acting as high or even petty constables;[2] and in the same session of Parliament they were prohibited, under a penalty of one hundred pounds, from voting for members of Parliament, if they had not taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration at least six calendar months before the day of the election.[3] In 1723, when apprehensions were again awakened by the attempts of the Pretender, a bill fraught with fresh severities against them was brought into the Irish House of Commons; but as Parliament was soon afterwards prorogued, it never found its way into the Statute Book.[4]

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[1] Letter of the Archbishop of York to the Bishop of Derry, dated February 14th, 1719. Mant, ii. 318.

[2] The 2nd of George I., chap. x.

[3] *Ibid.* chap. xix. s. 7.

[4] Curry says:—"Leave was given to bring in heads of a bill for explaining and amending the two Acts before mentioned to prevent the growth of Popery. Upon this occasion one of the most zealous promoters of that bill, having gravely taken notice *in a long and laboured speech*, that of all the countries where the Reformed religion had prevailed Sweden was freest from those secret but irreconcilable enemies—of all Protestant governments—Popish ecclesiastics; which, he said, was visibly owing to the great wisdom of their laws, inflicting the penalty of [shameless mutilation] on all such dangerous intruders into that kingdom—he seriously *moved that the Gothic and inhuman penalty might be added as a clause to the bill before them*, to which *the house*, after a short debate, *agreed*." Curry adds

About this period the Irish Presbyterian Church was greatly disturbed by a controversy concerning subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith. That document had been recognized as the ecclesiastical symbol of the Ulster Nonconformists ever since the time of its adoption in Scotland; but the latitudinarian spirit which now prevailed in England and elsewhere—and which had been greatly promoted by the writings of Dr. Samuel Clarke, Hoadly, and others—at length appeared in the North of Ireland; and certain members of the Synod of Ulster began, on various grounds, to object to the usual mode of admitting candidates for the ministry to licence and ordination, by requiring them to append their signatures to a formulary expressing their unqualified approval of the doctrines of the Westminster standards. There is no clear evidence that the objectors were prepared, in the first instance, to reject the Calvinistic creed; but it was suspected that at least some among them were not its very cordial advocates.[1] They did not, however,

that "the bill was accordingly transmitted to England; but rejected *by means of the humane and earnest interposition of Cardinal Fleury with Mr. Walpole.*"—CURRY'S *State of the Catholics of Ireland*, appended to his Historical and Critical Review, pp. 550-551. Dublin, 1810. This statement has been repeated again and again by Roman Catholic writers to the present day (see Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, p. 253; Haverty, p. 687; Duffy's *Irish Catholic Magazine*, vol. ii., p. 178; Wyse's *Hist. Sketch of the Catholic Association*, i. 17); and yet it rests on no solid foundation. No such speech was ever made in the Irish House of Commons, and no such motion was ever agreed to. Cardinal Fleury had nothing to do with any such transaction. It appears that, about this time, a *Committee* of the Irish House of Commons proposed that every *unregistered* priest *or friar* found in the country after a certain date should be branded with a hot iron on the cheek; and that when this proposal was submitted to a meeting of the Irish Privy Council—consisting of the Lord Chancellor, two bishops, and some other members—it was proposed, as an amendment, that *unregistered* priests and friars *coming from abroad* should be liable to the inhuman mutilation above indicated. The Irish Secretary, when transmitting the clause for the consideration of the Cabinet in England, intimated that it was of *no consequence* to the bill; and Lord Stanhope there at once struck it out as "*ridiculous.*" This is the whole foundation for a story which has been a fertile theme for declamation during the last century. Mr. Froude has very recently brought the real facts to light. See his *English in Ireland*, i. 556, 558.

[1] Until long after this period, no Presbyterian minister in the North of Ireland professed Arianism. In 1702 the Rev. Thomas Emlyn, one of the ministers of Wood Street, Dublin, having avowed himself an Arian, was at once deposed. Reid, ii. 496. He was the only Presbyterian minister connected with Ireland in the eighteenth century who openly acknowledged the Arian creed.

avowedly base their opposition on anything which they alleged to be positively erroneous in the Confession: they rather challenged the authority by which subscription to it was enforced; and they contended that no Church was warranted to require such a recognition of a merely human composition as a test of ecclesiastical fellowship.[1] Like many other advocates of error, they laid great stress on mere sincerity in religion; and the tendency of their principles was obviously subversive of Presbyterian order: but the leaders of the party were men of great address, as well as of no little controversial ability; and they contrived to create much excitement in many congregations. In the end, in 1726, twelve ministers with their flocks, constituting what was called the Presbytery of Antrim, were excluded from the general body.[2] The distinctive principle of these separatists was non-subscription to all creeds or confessions.

The Presbyterian Church in Ireland thus sustained permanent injury. This controversy distracted its congregations; arrested its missionary movements; and converted its judicatories into arenas of bitter disputation. The non-subscribing ministers were comparatively few; but many of the Presbyterian gentry adhered to them; and the general influence of the denomination was much weakened by the division. A considerable number of the members of the Synod of Ulster sympathized with the non-subscribers; and, though now ecclesiastically dissociated, still continued with them an exchange

[1] The Irish Quakers, it appears, strongly sympathized with the non-subscribers: and one of their leaders, named Benjamin Holme, in 1727, addressed a letter "To the teachers among the Presbyterians that refused to subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith." In this letter he says:—"It would be great satisfaction to many well-inclined people if you would *mention the particular articles* in that Confession that you think not safe for you to sign, *with your reasons for not signing*."—WIGHT and RUTTY'S *Hist. of the Rise and Progress of the Quakers*, p. 292. The non-subscribers were not at all prepared to act on the suggestion of the honest Quaker. One of the most noted Quakers of this period was John Dobbs, of Youghall, eldest son of Richard Dobbs, of Castle-Dobbs, near Carrickfergus. In 1681 the Castle-Dobbs estate was worth three hundred and sixty pounds per annum; but, in consequence of his eldest son becoming a Quaker, his father disinherited him, and settled on him an annuity of £10 per annum, as he said, to keep him from starving. *Ibid.* pp. 305-307.

[2] Reid, iii. 196, 210.

of pulpit services. Thus the leaven of their principles was gradually diffused. The Irish Presbyterian Church had been hitherto distinguished for its earnest assertion of the theology of the Reformation; and, in point of zeal, intelligence, and piety, it still could bear a very favourable comparison with the Episcopal Establishment; but, for many years after the period before us, it appeared as if smitten by a spiritual paralysis. A heterodox Professor of Divinity in one of the Scottish Colleges,[1] to which its students were in the habit of repairing for professional instruction, had only too successfully infused his errors; and thus the Church was contaminated. Some of the non-subscribing ministers were possessed of high intellectual gifts, as well as of superior scholarship;[2] and not a few, who could not entirely adopt their views, admired their character and talents, and were bewildered by their argumentation. The controversy which they originated in the Northern province was the most disastrous visitation which the Irish Presbyterian Church had yet experienced. The "New Light," as it was called, destroyed the peace of the Presbyterian community; impaired its energy; and lowered its reputation as the conservator of "the faith once delivered to the saints."

Though all the penal laws against Romanists still remained on the Statute Book, and though some fresh disabilities were now imposed,[3] it is generally admitted that the reign of George I.

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[1] Professor Simpson, of Glasgow. He was set aside in 1729. *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 114, 293.

[2] The Rev. John Abernethy, the author of several well-known volumes of sermons, was their leader. He was the grandfather of the celebrated Surgeon Abernethy, of London. Dr. Watkinson, in his *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (Dublin, 1778: p. 419), states that the leader of the New Light party in the Synod of Ulster was "endowed with great powers of speech. His admirers say that he united the precision of Clarke, the abundance of Barrow, and the perspicuity of Tillotson. He was deputed by the Dissenters of Ulster to address the Duke of Ormonde (in the reign of Queen Anne) in a tour he made when Lord Lieutenant; and his Grace was afterwards heard to say, that of all the men who ever approached him on like occasions, he was most pleased with 'the young man of Antrim.'" Mr. Abernethy was minister of Antrim from 1703 to 1730. He was then removed to Dublin.

[3] The 12th of George I., chap. iii. enacted that a Popish priest celebrating a marriage between Protestants, or between a Protestant and a Papist, was to be

is the commencement of an era of increasing laxity in the enforcement of this odious legislation. Popish bishops and priests—from France and elsewhere—found their way into the country; and, notwithstanding the fines which could be levied for neglecting the provisions of the Acts of Parliament, magistrates in various places winked at the arrival of these strangers. The conduct of the justices of the peace was brought under the notice of the Legislature; and in consequence, in 1717, two new laws were placed on the Statute Book with a view to the more vigorous administration of the penal code in Galway and Kilkenny;[1] but these enactments did not greatly quicken magisterial vigilance. The Government itself is said to have connived at the presence of a Romish archbishop in Dublin.[2] About the beginning of this reign some Hibernian dignitary is reported to have ordained twelve priests for the Jansenists of Holland;[3] and the rumour—which was probably correct—seems to have awakened the anxiety of the court of Rome in regard to the fidelity of the Irish hierarchy. It is certain that in 1719 Pope Clement XI. addressed to them an admonitory letter,[4] in which he required them formally to express their approval of the Bull *Unigenitus*,[5] in which the peculiar views of the Jansenists are condemned.

Though such strict laws existed against the settlement of the regular clergy in Ireland, they were now to be found in considerable numbers in the country. In 1717 the Rev. Hugh O'Calanan collected a small community of Dominican

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deemed guilty of felony without benefit of clergy; but meanwhile the marriage thus celebrated was not declared null and void. See p. 253, *note* (6).

[1] The 4th of George I., chap. xv. and xvi.

[2] Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 379.

[3] Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 154.

[4] Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*. Supplement, p. 818.

[5] "The marrow of the Jansenist doctrines is very elegantly and ingeniously wrought into" the notes on the New Testament by Paschasius Quesnel. "The Jesuits induced Lewis XIV., King of France, to solicit a public condemnation of the book from the Roman Pontiff, Clement XI. The Pontiff complied with the wishes of the King, or rather of the Jesuits, and issued, in the year 1713, the celebrated Bull or decree, which from its first word is called *Unigenitus*, and in which one hundred and one propositions taken from that book are proscribed."—MURDOCK'S *Moshcim*, by Soames, iv. 389-90.

nuns in Fisher's Lane, Dublin.[1] In 1721 the Rev. Stephen MacEgan was chosen their Provincial; and this was the first election of the kind which took place since the order was expelled from Ireland in 1698.[2] In 1725 MacEgan was consecrated Bishop of Clonmacnois by Pope Benedict XIII.[3] From this date friars of various orders began to re-appear here and there throughout the island.

At a time when the Romanists were politically so depressed, it is somewhat strange to find the Popish Archbishop of Armagh engaged in a keen dispute with his brother Archbishop of Dublin relative to ecclesiastical precedence. The question had been discussed from time to time for upwards of five hundred years;[4] and, since the Reformation, had led to contentions between the two chiefs of the Irish Protestant hierarchy.[5] A disagreement respecting the division of parishes in the metropolis produced an appeal from Byrne, the Romish Primate of Dublin, to McMahon, the Romish Primate of all Ireland;[6] and the matter was finally referred to the decision of the Propaganda in Italy.[7] In 1728 McMahon published a most erudite treatise, entitled *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*, in defence of the claims of his archbishopric. At this period neither dignitary could, under the sanction of the law, walk at midday along the streets; and the work now completed —which may be said fairly to exhaust the subject—is a singular evidence of what ecclesiastical ambition can accomplish in the face of surrounding discouragements.[8]

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[1] Hardiman's *Galway*, p. 277.

[2] Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 160.

[3] *Ibid.* ii. 161. In the Bull appointing MacEgan to Clonmacnois there is a clause to the effect that, should the consecrating prelate be unable to obtain the co-operation of two or three bishops, he should employ as many Presbyters. In the Bull appointing Peter Killikelly to Kilmacduagh in 1744, there is a clause of the same kind. Burke's *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp. 502, 503, 509, 510. The Pope thus recognised the right of Presbyters to join in the consecration or ordination of bishops.

[4] See vol. i., Book ii., chap. ii., p. 235.

[5] See Elrington's *Life of Ussher*, p. 160, and appendix vi.

[6] Hugh McMahon was R.C. Primate of Armagh from 1708 or 1709 to 1737.

[7] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 464.

[8] The Rev. John Hennessy, a Jesuit of Clonmel, published anonymously, in English, a reply to this treatise: and, appended to later issues of McMahon's

Though the accession of George I. to the throne had completely established the ascendency of the Whigs, it did not extinguish political jealousies which threatened to disturb the peace of the country. A new party, known by the designation of "Patriots," now appeared. They professed to contend for the rights of Ireland. The Irish Parliament did not always act in harmony with the views of English statesmen; and the British Senate claimed the power of making laws for the regulation of the sister island. This claim was resented in Ireland as offensive to the national dignity; many were disposed to denounce it as unconstitutional; and a case which now occurred [1]—in which there was an appeal from the Irish to the British law authorities, and in which the House of Lords in England reversed a decision of the House of Lords in Ireland—led to a most awkward collision between the statesmen of the two countries. The "Patriots" maintained that Ireland should not be bound by Acts of Parliament made in Great Britain; that its own tribunals were the highest courts of judicature which it ought to recognize; and that all official proceedings which had not the sanction of its own legislature—consisting of king, lords, and commons—involved an infringement of the national independence. Among the leaders of the Patriots was Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's—a divine whose zeal in proclaiming public grievances was certainly not above suspicion. This restless politician had now lost all hope of a bishopric. Swift was as proud as he was vindictive; and he was determined that the Government should feel the weight of his vengeance. He had already signalized himself as a demagogue; and an incident of little consequence in itself gave him another opportunity of mortifying those by whom he deemed himself overlooked. There had long been complaints in Ireland of a want of copper currency; and an individual, named Wood, had secured a patent from the Crown for issuing a large amount of halfpence and farthings. These coins were tested at the English mint

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work, is his rejoinder entitled *Prosecutio ejusdem argumenti pro Primatu Armacano contra Anonymum*." See Renehan's *Collections*, p. 98.

[1] The case of Sherlock *v.* Annesley. See Gordon's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 207.

by the great Sir Isaac Newton: it is well known that they contained a sufficient quantity of standard metal; and it does not appear that the contractor had in any way abused his privilege.[1] But reports soon gained circulation to the effect that Wood had procured his licence by means of a corrupt bargain with a lady of the court; that he was an atrocious swindler; and that his halfpence and farthings were worthless. The patent had been passed without consulting the Parliament or the Privy Council of Ireland—though the proceeding could be abundantly justified by precedents; the evil rumours were readily believed; and there was a disposition, on all hands, to find fault with the transaction. The patent seems to have been procured by corruption, and the issue of copper coins was unquestionably quite too large: but the detriment was absurdly magnified. The patriots were indignant: complaints from both Houses of the Irish Parliament were addressed to the King; and similar remonstrances were forwarded from the Privy Council, and from various public bodies. The question touched all interests; for the banker, the farmer, the merchant, the small trader, the servant, and the very pauper, all recoiled from the idea of being obliged to receive base money. The wretched trash which James II. had circulated at the time of the Revolution was not yet forgotten:[2] and there was an impression that the country was about to experience a repetition of the misery which that currency had produced. Society throughout all its borders was alarmed: and Swift, by a series of anonymous publications—signed *A Drapier*, and hence known as *The Drapier's Letters*—added immensely to the excitement. He was quite incompetent to pronounce any opinion as to the value of the coinage: but he spoke with the utmost confidence of its gross adulteration: he recklessly indulged in the most extravagant exaggeration: and his misrepresentations were received as oracular. He affirmed that twenty-four of Wood's halfpence were scarcely worth a penny; that the price of commodities would be raised as the

[1] See Lord Mahon's *History of England*, vol. ii. 90-95. London, 1839: Smollett. Reign of George I., chap. iii.; *Pictorial History of England*, iv. 364.

[2] See before, p. 168.

value of the coin was depressed; that a lady could not go out shopping without taking a waggon-load of the vile half-pence along with her; that a gentleman of moderate property would require scores of horses to draw home his half-year's rent; and that even the beggars would be ruined,—as a half-penny would not do a poor man more service than three pins out of the sleeve. The Dean even degraded the pulpit by preaching against V[illegible]lfpence; and instigated all classes of the people to r[illegible] odious metal. In the end, it was found necessary to [illegible]w the coin from circulation: and Wood was indem[illegible]large annuity, for the loss of his patent.

This agitation had ne[illegible]ed a climax when Lindsay, the Jacobite Archbishop [illegible]agh, died.[1] Many expected that the Archbishop of [illegible]would have been appointed his successor, as he had mor[illegible] once rendered good service to the Government; but King was now labouring under the increasing infirmities of age;[2] and his vexatious opposition to the Act for the toleration of Dissenters had given great offence to the British ministry. As the Primate was often employed in affairs of State, and as the political firmament exhibited so many signs of perturbation, it was resolved to appoint a divine in the full vigour of life to the vacant dignity; and, as the national spirit was now revealing itself with such uncomfortable earnestness, it was deemed prudent to select an Englishman for the office. The choice fell on Dr. Hugh Boulter, Bishop of Bristol, a man of great talent, sagacity, and energy. He filled the see of Armagh for eighteen years;[3]

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[1] In 1715, when the Irish Lords and Commons signed a loyal engagement to George I., "the Primate, after a three days' struggle, when every one but himself had signed, at length attached his name with an ill grace on the margin of the page, *from which it could be cut off when the Pretender came to his own.*"—FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, i. 384. The bond, with Lindsay's name attached, as described, is in the Record Office. *Ibid. note.*

[2] When Boulter, on his arrival in Ireland, first visited him, King is reported to have received the stranger sitting. He was evidently mortified because he had been passed over in the appointment to the Primacy on account of his age; and he excused himself for keeping his seat by saying:—"My Lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because, you know, *I am too old to rise.*" Mant, ii. 419.

[3] From 1724 to 1742.

and meanwhile acted a conspicuous part in the government of the country. He was no less than thirteen times one of the Lords Justices; and, during the entire period of his primacy, he was the confidential adviser of the existing administration.[1] He was endowed with a far more liberal spirit than many of his episcopal contemporaries; and, in his treatment of the Presbyterians, he was generally kind and considerate.

Primate Boulter was distinguished by the munificence of his benefactions. He had an ample fortune; and, during his life, he gave away much money for public objects.[2] He left no issue: and, in his will, he bequeathed a large amount of property to the Established Church of Ireland.[3] He possessed not a few noble qualities; and he appears to have been not altogether inattentive to the affairs of his diocese: but, when Primate of all Ireland, he was known, rather as a politician, than as a divine. He was the head of what was called "the English interest;" he steadily resisted the movements of "the patriots;" and his great aim, as a statesman, was to secure the ascendency of English influence in the affairs of Ireland. In appointments to ecclesiastical offices, his advice had great weight: on grounds of public policy, he promoted the advancement of Englishmen; and, in his recommendations to benefices and bishoprics, he was quite too much guided by merely secular considerations. A zealous adherent of the House of Hanover was much more likely to

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[1] His letters, which have been published, supply much information respecting Irish affairs from 1724 to 1738.

[2] He gave pecuniary aid towards forming a canal from Newry to the river Bann, and thus opening a communication with Lough Neagh. He built four houses in Drogheda for the widows of clergymen, and endowed them with part of the proceeds of an estate purchased at his own expense. He sent the sons of many of his clergy to Trinity College, Dublin, where he maintained them at his own cost; and he contributed largely to the charitable institutions of Dublin. See Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 426-7.

[3] "The bulk of his property, after a suitable provision for his widow, during her life, and a few testamentary bequests, was appropriated, to an amount exceeding £30,000, to the purchase of glebes for the clergy and the augmentation and improvement of small benefices."—MANT, ii. 505. See also appendix to *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church* (Ireland) 1868, p. 129. In the 23rd of George II., chap. xviii. provision is made for the management of this bequest.

secure his patronage than a candidate known only as an efficient pastor or a sound theologian. Irishmen complained bitterly that the best places in their own Church establishment were bestowed on strangers. "It is a miserable thing," said Archbishop King, "to see men who have spent their strength and youth in serving the Church successfully, left destitute in their old age; and others, who never served a cure, have heaps of benefices thr[illegible]iem . . . 'Tis a grief to me to consider that I have [illegible]rty curates in my diocese, most of them wor[illegible]ome that have served near twenty years, a[illegible]o give or procure them a vicarage."[1]

In the selection of n[illegible]he sister kingdom to benefices in Ireland, no at[illegible]atever appears to have been paid to their religious s[illegible]s. In the reign of George I. Arianism was more or les[illegible]penly professed by various divines of the English Establishment: and there is too much reason to believe that heterodoxy of a dangerous type was imbibed by some of the Irish episcopal clergy.[2] Subscription to the Articles was often treated as little better than an unmeaning ceremony, to which it was necessary to submit as a qualification for office. The secular spirit displayed by not a few of the Irish dignitaries attracted general notice, and occasionally provoked severe animadversion. One of the best of the order has himself commented sharply on their neglect of duty. "If," said he, "bishops take the course that is too much in practice, to fix in Dublin, and only make an excursion once in the year into their diocese, I am afraid the gentry and people of the country will not easily find out of what use they are; and to have a set of men looked on as useless is, I am afraid, a great temptation to lay them aside."[3]

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[1] Mant, ii. 369, 386, 420, 426. "Since my Lord Lieutenant was nominated to the Government," says Archbishop King in December, 1725, "about £18,000 annual rent have been given in benefices, employments, and places to strangers, and not £500 to any in Ireland." *Ibid.* ii. 445.

[2] See letter of Archbishop King, dated April 24th, 1720. Mant, ii. 358. See also Mant, ii. 424.

[3] Letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake, dated April 12th, 1790. See Mant, ii. 366-7.

In this reign the strength of the Protestant population, especially in Ulster, began to be seriously impaired by emigration.[1] Immediately after the Revolution, there was much unoccupied land in the country; and natives of Scotland—hearing from their relatives already in Ireland of the fertility of the soil and the cheapness of the farms—were induced, in considerable numbers, to settle in the northern province.[2] They seldom obtained leases for a longer term than twenty-one or thirty-one years; and, when their time was expired, landlords often asked double, and not unfrequently treble, the former rents.[3] There was a claim for a corresponding advance in tithe; and the settlers, discouraged by these demands, were led to think of giving up their holdings, and of crossing the great Atlantic. In some instances ministers and their flocks emigrated in a body;[4] and the favourable reports, received from those who first ventured to pass over to the Western world, emboldened others to follow them. Most of the tenants were Presbyterians; and the political disabilities under which they laboured in Ireland, as well as the evident partiality shown, by the episcopal landowners, to conformists,[5] stimulated their desire for emigration. Towards the close of the reign of George I. a succession of bad harvests increased the hardships of the oppressed cultivators; and still further promoted the movement towards the shores of the Western hemisphere. Thus it is that, at the present day, so many of the citizens of the great American Republic trace their descent from ancestors who emigrated from the north of Ireland.

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[1] Froude says, "Twenty thousand left Ulster on the destruction of the woollen trade. Many more were driven away by the first passing of the Test Act. The stream had slackened in the hope that the law would be altered. When the prospect was finally closed, men of spirit and energy refused to remain in a country where they were held unfit to receive the right of citizens."—*English in Ireland*, i. 392.

[2] Story states that in 1693 at least ten thousand people came out of Scotland into Ireland. See p. 172, note (5) of this volume.

[3] See letter of Archbishop King, dated June 2nd, 1719, in Mant, ii. 331-2. See also *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 224-5.

[4] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 225.

[5] The bishops were in the habit of inserting clauses in the leases of their lands by which the grants were forfeited should the tenants permit meeting-houses to be erected on them. Episcopal landlords often refused sites for such buildings. Reid, iii. 22.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF GEORGE II. A.D. 1727 TO A.D. 1760.

WHEN George II. succeeded to the throne, the Protestant Episcopalians of Ireland were in the exclusive enjoyment of all offices of influence, emolument, and dignity. They alone acted as judges, sheriffs, and magistrates; they alone were eligible for promotion in the University; they alone were to be found in the Irish House of Lords; and, with very few exceptions, they alone were members of the Irish House of Commons. They were but a fraction of the whole population; they were little more than the one half even of the Protestant inhabitants;[1] and yet they alone made the laws, and governed the country. The Romanists, heartbroken by a long series of disasters, had almost entirely lost their spirit; and the Presbyterians, discountenanced by episcopalian landlords, and discouraged by the demand for increased rents, were passing away every year in thousands to the American plantations. But the Established Church, with all its advantages, was barely able to maintain its ground.[2] Instead of

[1] In the reign of Queen Anne the Protestant Non-conformists claimed to be at least equal numerically to the members of the Established Church. See Kirkpatrick's *Presbyterian Loyalty*, p. 564. But their continued emigration from the North of Ireland to America probably left them in a minority in the beginning of the reign of George II. Had it not been for their constant emigration in such large numbers, the Irish Presbyterians would, at this day, far exceed the Irish Episcopalians in numbers.

[2] In 1731 there were in Ireland, according to Burke in his *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 28, 2,010,221 of a population—made up of 1,309,768 Romanists, and 700,453 Protestants. This is apparently a grossly incorrect estimate. In 1733 it was computed that there were about *three* papists to *one* Protestant. See Frazer's

swallowing up all the sects around it, it was continually complaining of the encroachments of other denominations. When we narrowly examine its origin, its progress, and its policy, we may readily account for its inefficiency.

It must be obvious that, as a national institute, it had never yet fulfilled its vocation. It professed, as *the Church of Ireland*, to furnish religious instruction to the whole population: and yet there were many districts of the country which had never enjoyed its ordinances. Ever since it was organized, its clergy had been far outnumbered by the priests of the Church of Rome. Without a supply of ministers at least numerically sufficient for the task, it could not teach the entire community; but now—nearly two hundred years after the Reformation—it had not, on an average, more than one minister for every three parishes. There are in Ireland upwards of two thousand four hundred parishes;[1] but, in 1728, there were only about eight hundred ministers of the Establishment—reckoning both incumbents and curates—in the whole island.[2] At the same time there were probably from two to three thousand Romish priests in the country.[3] No wonder that Popery, left in absolute possession of so many parishes, and supported by such a formidable array of clergy, contrived to hold its position.

Life of Berkeley, p. 205. In a *Collection of Tracts and Treatises relating to Ireland*, (Dublin, 1861), it is stated (vol. ii., p. 534) that, according to evidence supplied by the hearth-money collectors, there were in the island, in 1732, 105,501 Protestant and 281,401 popish families. In an essay, published by Arthur Dobbin, Esq., in 1729, it is computed that there were then in the country 1,200,000 Romanists, and 469,644 Protestants of all denominations. See *Collection of Tracts and Treatises*, &c., vol. ii., p. 486.

[1] See appendix to the *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on the Revenues and Condition of the Established Church* (Ireland) 1868, p. 97. The exact number given is 2,428. Mant gives the number of parishes as 2,436. See Mant, ii. 775. Some of these parishes were, however, very small. Sometimes five or six lay together within a mile or two. See the 14th and 15th of Charles II., chap. x. Irish Statutes.

[2] Mant, ii. 476.

[3] They amounted to nearly 3,000 according to Archbishop Boulter. See Mant, ii. 476. Writing in September, 1727, King affirms that "the papists have more bishops in Ireland than the Protestants, and *twice at least* as many priests."—MANT, ii. 471. It appears that in 1729 the *Franciscan* order had sixty-seven convents in Ireland, that there were 664 mass houses, 229 of which had been built since the commence-

Had the people of Ireland been really desirous to throw off the yoke of Rome, most of them were left without any opportunity of availing themselves of the services of the Establishment. They were obliged to pay it tithes and to contribute otherwise to its maintenance; but many of them never saw the face, nor heard the voice of a Protestant minister. In several dioceses, in the middle of the eighteenth century, the majority of the churc in ruins;[1] and very few of the bishops, or other in ecclesiastics, seem to have cherished the slightest a promote their renovation. Under such guardians to account for the slow growth of Protestantism.

There was at this time guished prelate whose zeal, in the cause of church-a ation, appears to singular advantage, when contra the apathy of most of his clerical contemporaries. Arcl op King, who died in 1729 at the advanced age of seventy-nine,[2] laboured throughout the whole of his episcopal career to strengthen the interests of Protestantism, by supplying its adherents with suitable buildings for the worship of God. When advanced to the see of Derry in 1691—about the close of the Revolutionary War—he found the ecclesiastical edifices of the diocese either dilapidated or destroyed. He at once addressed himself with great energy to the work of restoration; and, partly by his own contributions, and partly by funds which the Government placed at his disposal, he repaired or rebuilt the churches.[3] When promoted to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1703, he

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ment of the reign of George I., that there were 1,445 *officiating* priests and 254 friars. Lenihan's *History and Antiquities of Limerick*, p. 327. Dublin, 1866. Those here described as officiating priests were perhaps those who were *registered*. Curates, as forbidden by Act of Parliament, could not be registered. See before, p. 203. Boulter had the best means of information, and he probably does not much exaggerate the number of the Romish clergy.

[1] About 1750, in the dioceses of Waterford, Lismore, Cork, Ross, Cloyne, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, there were 126 churches in repair and 214 churches in ruins. Mant, ii. 574.

[2] His work on the *Origin of Evil* attracted much the attention of those disposed to speculate on that mysterious subject. Dean Swift became alienated from the Archbishop; and, in a later edition of one of his works, withdrew a eulogy he had previously pronounced on him. Mant, ii. 499.

[3] Mant, ii. 13.

exhibited the same anxiety to provide for the comfortable celebration of divine worship. Partly at his own expense, and partly by the aid of benefactions procured from the wealthy and benevolent, he repaired or erected no less than forty churches in the course of the six-and-twenty years during which he was metropolitan. Of these, nineteen were built in places where no divine service had been performed since the Reformation.[1] Nor was he less desirous to secure something like a decent maintenance for the officiating clergy. He sought in various ways to augment the incomes of poor ministers; and, in many cases, greatly improved their position by securing for them dwelling-houses and glebe-lands.[2]

King acted most wisely in thus endeavouring to procure a better support for the working clergy. Some of them were so miserably remunerated that throughout life they might be said to be engaged in a hard struggle for subsistence. Steeped in poverty—which exposed them to contempt—they could exercise very little influence on the community around them. They could neither purchase books, nor practise hospitality, nor even make a decent appearance in society.[3] A parson without manse or glebe, and with an income of barely twenty pounds a year[4] to sustain himself and his family, was not in a position to minister effectively to a large parish. In times of confusion, the Church revenues had suffered sadly from mismanagement or spoliation, so that there were many livings worth only from £5 to £10 per annum each; and it had been customary to join a number of them together, so as to eke out a salary for the incumbent. "In many parts of this

[1] Mant, ii. 152.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] It was perhaps the remembrance of the poor garments of the officiating ministers which prompted Bishop Fitzgerald in 1722 to bequeath £50 to resident clergy of the diocese of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh to buy them "gowns." Mant, ii. 507.

[4] Archbishop King speaks of curates even in his own diocese, after he had been nearly twenty years there, as having salaries from £20 to £40 a year. Mant, ii. 388. In his time the *average* salary was £30 per annum. *Ibid.* ii. 553. Rundle, Bishop of Derry, writing in 1740 says:—"It is not uncommon to have curates, that are fathers of eight or ten children, without anything but an allowance of £40 a year to support them." *Ibid.* ii. 542. Goldsmith lived at this time; so that he states the literal truth when he describes an Irish officiating clergyman as "passing rich on forty pounds a year."

kingdom," says Archbishop Boulter, "by means of impropriations, there are vicarages or curacies worth but £5 or £10 per annum, or so. . . . In several places the bishops let the same person enjoy three or four, on to seven or eight of these, which possibly, all together, make but £60, £80, or £100 per annum, or little more; and there is, it may be, but one or two churches."[1] This practice involved the evils of pluralities, non-residence, and neglect of duty—as it was quite impossible for any single individual to attend to the spiritual wants of such an extensive population. If the incumbent—as often happened—lived at a distance, and employed a weakling curate, at a wretched pittance, to act as his representative, it was not strange if any remnants of Protestantism, which may have still lingered in the benighted territory, pined away and died.[2]

The Romanists of Ireland at this dreary period could have seen little to attract them within the pale of Episcopal Protestantism. Their own priests, at some peril, had ventured to remain among them; and continued to administer the offices to which they were accustomed. These men might be—as they often were—coarse and ill-educated; they might be foul-mouthed and drunken; and they might seldom exhibit anything of the true spirit of the Gospel; but they took an interest in the concerns of their adherents; counselled them individually when in difficulties; addressed them in their own tongue; heard their confessions; and dispensed the last rites at death. Their pastoral diligence often contrasted favourably with the lukewarmness of the Established clergy.

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[1] Mant, ii. 479. Dean Swift, writing in 1723, affirms that "the profit of ten or a dozen of these unions seldom amounts to above £80 or £100 a year." Argument against the Power of the Bishops. Works, vol. v., p. 287. London, 1801.

[2] It appears that in 1722 there were but ten beneficed clergymen in the whole diocese of Clonfert, and that the half of these were non-resident. Mant, ii. 380. This evil long continued. Warner, writing in 1763, says:—"The pluralities in Ireland, which are without stint and without measure, *except in the Primate's breast*, resemble those of popish times here too much to admit of any excuse. . . . If a man has interest enough to procure four or five livings, he will probably find interest enough to obtain the Primate's consent; and his consent, with a faculty for each, will enable him to hold them all together, though they are situated at the different extremities of the kingdom."—*History of Ireland*, vol. i. Introd. p. 87.

And, when controversy arose, they could dwell with terrible and telling severity on the frailties of the dominant Protestantism. They could take up the Prayer Book, and show that English prelatists had saints' days as well as themselves; that they recognized priestly absolution, and something like consubstantiation; and they could plead that the Pope was just as good and godly a Head of the Church as George I. or George II. And they could point to rectors, in possession of rich benefices, who lived out of the country, and left their duty to starveling curates; and they could tell of deans, who were strangers in the places from which they levied large revenues;[1] and they could speak of bishops and archbishops, who enjoyed the wealth of the Church, and who were known only as fine gentlemen or busy politicians.[2] It would have been rather difficult to convince any candid inquirer that such an ecclesiastical polity was an institution of Christ.

The staff of ministers belonging to the Irish Established Church was quite too small for the task assigned to them; and yet, had all these spiritual workmen been of the right stamp, their paucity of numbers might have been, to a large extent, supplemented by burning zeal and sanctified ability. But very few of them were animated by an evangelistic spirit. If they could manage to get through the routine of official duty, they were content. They were not at all prepared to undertake any bold aggressive movement on the ignorance and superstition around them. Now and then an effort was made to reach the Romanists; but it was commonly so feeble, or so ill-sustained, that it led to no improvement. About this time the successful operations of a society lately formed in Scotland, for the education of the Highlanders and

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[1] Archbishop King, writing in 1720, says:—"Our Lord Lieutenant has disposed of five deaneries since he came to the government; and each has some benefice or benefices annexed to it with cures, and *not one of them resides.*"—MANT, ii. 367. Even at that time the deanery of Derry was worth £1,100 a year. Mant, ii. 530.

[2] Englishmen, who came to Ireland in the capacity of chaplains to the Lord Lieutenant, were generally made bishops. As many of the best livings were in the hands of the Crown, the best paid of the Irish episcopal clergy were often those who did least duty, or who were non-resident.

ttracted the notice of some distinguished members Irish Establishment; and suggested to them the idea of anizing an agency for the teaching of their own native ou n. The originator of the scheme was Dr. Maule, n d Bishop of Cloyne in 1726.[2] In 1730 it was adopted mate Boulter; and a memorial to the King, praying for of incorporation, w[illegible]igned by a large number of nobility, and gentry.[3] In 1733 a charter was granted, ing the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Chancellor, the ified clergy, and many other persons of distinction, a poration "for promoting English Protestant schools in and."[4] The society soon obtained large funds; and the testant charter schools long occupied a prominent position ong the educational institutes of the country. They proosed to teach the poor children of Romanists and others, free of expense, the elements of English literature—including reading, writing, and arithmetic; to procure for them instruction in husbandry, or in trades or manufactures; and especially to train them up in a knowledge of the doctrines of the Established Church. They were essentially eleemosynary and proselytizing. From the first they were viewed with a degree of jealousy and aversion by all outside the pale of the Establishment; and gross abuses gradually crept into their management.[5]

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[1] The Scottish Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge originated in 1707. In 1712 it reported to the General Assembly that it had collected £4,400, and was ready to establish schools. In 1725 George I. signified his intention of giving £1,000 a year to maintain preachers and catechists in the destitute districts of the Highlands and Islands. Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, ii. 331-2.

[2] In 1731 he was translated to Dromore, and in 1744 to Meath, where he continued till his death in 1758. He has acquired an unhappy notoriety by his opposition to the Methodists. See *Life of Gideon Ousley*, pp. 30, 32, 34, 36, 42.

[3] This memorial may be found in Mant, ii. 511, 513.

[4] Mant, ii. 513.

[5] In 1745 the Society stated that they had twenty-two schools containing 511 children: and as almost all, if not all, were the children of papists, to preve their relapsing into Popery they were transplanted to schools far away fr their relations. Stevens's *Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools Ireland*, pp. 9, 10. London, 1818. In 1751 the Irish Parliament made a gra to them of £5,000; in 1753 another of £5,000; and in 1757 another £12,000. In 1759 Parliament was informed that there were forty-six schools a

When accounting for the slow progress of the Episcopal Church in Ireland, the circumstances connected with its original formation must never be overlooked. Instead of springing up out of a general demand for the reformation of religion, and instead of carrying along with it a considerable number of the clergy who had been connected with the repudiated system, it was introduced by the mere force of authority; and it had long to contend against the almost unanimous opposition of the bishops, the priesthood, and the people. It was associated from the beginning in public estimation with the hated domination of England; and the conduct of too many of its earliest representatives was ill fitted to remove the impression that it was a compound of imposture and tyranny. When Protestants in large numbers appeared in Ireland in the seventeenth century, they took possession of lands from which the natives were expelled; and it was not remarkable if the ejected owners and occupiers conceived bitter prejudices against both the settlers and their religion. The subsequent enactment of the penal laws—involving, as they did, a violation of the Articles of Limerick—was still further calculated to prevent high-minded Romanists from calmly considering the claims of the Reformed doctrine.[1]

Even in the beginning of the reign of George II. the Irish Government still continued to add to the code of penal legislation. Various impediments[2] had already been contrived to prevent members of the Church of Rome from giving their suffrages at parliamentary or municipal elections; and, as their influence on such occasions was still found to be detrimental to what was called "the Protestant interest,"[3] the Irish

1,800 children boarded, clothed and educated. *Ibid.* pp. 12, 13. In twenty-two years—that is, from 1745 to 1767, the Society received £112,000 from the Irish Parliament and the royal purse. *Ibid.* p. 19, *note.*

[1] An Act passed in the beginning of the reign of George II. (the 3rd or George II., chap. xi.), must have greatly irritated the R.C. occupiers of land. By this law they were required to contribute to keep the parish churches in repair.

[2] Such as requiring them to take the oath of abjuration six months before the time of the election. See before, p. 230. Hence the present Act is said to have been passed "for *the better preventing* papists from voting in elections." s. 7.

[3] It is said that at a late election for the County of Galway they had given much

Parliament now deprived them altogether of the franchise. It was enacted that "no papist . . . be entitled or admitted to vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament as knight, citizen, or burgess; or at the election of any magistrate for any city or other town corporate."[1] In the same session, another Act was passed to prevent suspected Romanists from practising as barristers or solicitors.[2] A certificate, stating that the individual named in it had received the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Established Church, had hitherto been recognized as sufficient evidence that its possessor was a Protestant. About the time of the Revolution the profession of the law had been largely occupied by Romanists; and they were still very unwilling to relinquish its advantages. It was observed that persons, who had always before been accustomed to go to mass, suddenly professed Protestantism when ready to be admitted to the Bar or to practise as attorneys; and that, at the fitting time, they were prepared to produce the needful certificates attesting their conformity. It is not necessary to explain by what species of casuistry they tried to vindicate their hypocrisy. They did not cease afterwards to be attached to the communion of Rome, and to exert all their influence for the maintenance of its interests. "The practice of the law from top to bottom," says Archbishop Boulter, writing about this period, "is at present mostly in the hands of new converts, who give no further security on this account than producing a certificate of their having received the Sacrament in the Church of England or Ireland—which several of them, who were papists at London, obtain on the road hither—and demand to be admitted barristers in virtue of it at their arrival; and several of them have popish wives, and mass said in their houses, and breed up their children papists. Things are at present so

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offence by voting against the candidate put forward by Lord Clanricarde, who had, some time before, turned Protestant. Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, vol. i. 270, *note.*

[1] The 1st of George II., chap. ix. s. 7.

[2] 1st of George II., chap. xx. It is a curious fact that it was not until 1737 an Act was passed in the Irish Parliament (the 11th of George II., chap. vi.), providing that all writs, processes and returns thereof, and all pleadings, indictments, and informations, must be in *the English* tongue, and not in *Latin* or *French*.

bad with us, that, if about six should be removed from the bar to the bench here, there will not be a barrister of note left that is not a convert."[1]

It has often been remarked that "lawyers rule the world;" and the number of these most unsatisfactory converts, practising as barristers and solicitors, awakened the anxiety of Government. An Act was therefore passed making it much more difficult for such doubtful Protestants to be recognized as members of the legal profession. According to this statute "every person converted from the Popish to the Protestant religion," and called to the bar, or admitted as six clerk or attorney, must, "before taking on him to act or practise, prove by sufficient evidence, on oath, that he has professed himself, and continued to be, a Protestant *for two years previously;*" and, should he fail to educate all his children under fourteen years of age at the time of his admission, or born afterwards, "in the Protestant religion, according to the Church of Ireland as by law established," he was to forfeit his position.[2]

Those members of the Legislature who belonged to the party known as Patriots appear, in general, to have been quite as favourable, as the other Irish senators, to the enactment of the penal laws. They did not enter any protest when the Act was passed excluding all Romanists from the elective franchise, and when the greater portion of their countrymen were thus stripped of one of the chief privileges of the constitution. They exhibited an equally narrow spirit when, in the beginning of this reign, an effort was made to set aside the sacramental test, and place all classes of Protestant non-conformists in a more comfortable position. The English ministry, in acknow-

[1] Mant, ii. 482. Wyse states that from an early date "the bar was crowded with these adventurers. They first entered taking the oaths as . . . . converted papists; then . . . . they continued under a mongrel character, a something between papist and Protestant."—*Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, vol. i., p. 145, *note*.

[2] In 1733 another Act (the 7th of George II., chap. v.) was passed increasing the stringency of this law. In the same session it was enacted (the 7th of George II., chap. vi.) that any convert to Protestantism, whose wife was a Romanist, and who permitted his children to be brought up in the Romish faith, was disqualified to act as a justice of the peace.

of the services of the Irish Presbyterians to the
use of Hanover, wished to repeal the clause in the Act
quiring all Protestants, as a qualification for any civil or
litary office, to partake of the Lord's Supper according to
forms of the Established Church. Instructions were sent
oss the Channel to the Government in Dublin to take steps
y; but, when the measure was mooted in the Irish
Commons, were among its most resolute
nts.[1] T wift, could not mingle in the
ates of the ate-nou at he laboured, through the
edium of the pr , to make the proposition odious; and
ne of his most scurrilous and unscrupulous pamphlets now
eared. Primate Boulter, though willing to afford relief,
obliged to give way in the face of too strong an opposi-
: and the Sacramental Test was not abolished until about
half a century afterwards.

Though all the penal laws still remained on the Statute Book, it must be admitted that, during the reign of George II., some of them were very rarely enforced. Roman Catholic archbishops, bishops, and other dignitaries were prohibited, by Act of Parliament, from entering the kingdom; and, if found there, magistrates were required to apprehend them; but, about this period, Dr. Luke Fagan,[2] Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, resided for years in the Irish metropolis without molestation.[3] In 1735 the Right Reverend James O'Gallagher, Roman Catholic Bishop of Raphoe, published at Dublin seventeen Irish sermons.[4] When translated, shortly afterwards, to the see of Kildare, he resided, for the rest of his life, in an humble tenement in a village on the Bog of Allen.[5] Some sixty or seventy years ago, the aged inhabitants of the district, as they looked around them, could tell stirring tales of his toils and his anxieties. "There," they would say, "he administered confirmation; here, he held an assembly of the clergy; on that hill, he ordained some young priests whom

[1] Plowden's *Historical Review*, vol. i., p. 282.

[2] He became Archbishop of Dublin in 1729, and died about 1733. D'Alton, 466.

[3] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 466.

[4] Fitzpatrick's *Life of Dr. Doyle*, i. 314.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 314, 231.

it to France, to Spain, or to Italy; and we remember, heard, how he lived in yonder old walls in common with oung priests whom he prepared for the mission. He imes left us with a staff in his hand, and being absent s, we feared he would never return; but he always back until he closed his days amongst us."[1] Dr. Bryan ahon, who was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh 738 to 1747, lived, during his primacy, in a plain farm- at Ballymascanlon in Meath;[2] and, though he passed the name of Mr. Ennis, many around him must have vell aware of his true ecclesiastical position. His suc-[3] Michael O'Reilly, dwelt in a farmhouse near Drogheda his death in 1758.[4] Early in 1744, when a French on was threatened, the alarm of Popery was revived; oclamations were issued offering large rewards for the tion of popish prelates, priests, and friars.[5] In various ts the chapels were closed; several of the Romish clergy eized and thrown into prison; and many were obliged ake themselves to places of concealment.[6] But this of severity soon passed away. A priest named Gerald,

patrick's *Life of Dr. Doyle*, i. 231. He died in 1739 or 1740, so that he long R.C. Bishop of Kildare.

rt's *Armagh*, p. 406. Bryan or Bernard Macmahon was the immediate r of Hugh McMahon, the author of *Jus Primatiale Armacanum*.

ording to Brenan (p. 574) Ross Macmahon intervened between Bryan on and Michael O'Reilly. See also Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 406.

rt's *Armagh*, p. 407. At this time the regular orders, though interdicted f Parliament from entering the kingdom, lived in it almost without moles- See Brenan, p. 579.

rt's *Armagh*, p. 435.

t, ii. 599; Brenan, p. 561; Plowden, i., p. 296. In 1745, when Lord ield was Viceroy, an Act was passed in the Irish Parliament according to marriage by a popish priest between two Protestants, or a Protestant and a as declared "absolutely *null and void* to all intents and purposes, without ess, judgment or sentence of law whatsoever." The Act is the 19th of I., chap. xiii. Heiresses had often been carried away by violence; and a s always found ready to celebrate a marriage between the female and the ho thus obtained possession of her person. This Act discouraged such ngs, as no one henceforth could thus secure the property of an heiress. In part of the Act of the 19th of George II. declaring a marriage null and elebrated by a priest between a Protestant and a Romanist, was repealed 3rd and 34th of Victoria, chap. 110, s. 39.

or Fitzgerald, ventured, in opposition to the law, to celebrate mass in the upper storey of an old building in Dublin; about the close of the service the floor gave way; many in the crowded congregation were greatly injured; and the reverend gentleman himself, with nine other individuals, was crushed to death.[1] This incident created a deep sensation, and illustrated very touchingly the odious character of the penal code. Government soon afterwards suffered the mass-houses to be opened; and thus the Romish worship was virtually permitted by public authority. In 1745, when a rebellion in the interest of the Pretender agitated Scotland,[2] the Earl of Chesterfield, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, conducted his administration with so much ability and address that the country remained quiet.[3] By affecting great confidence in the loyalty of the Roman Catholic population, he made them more averse to listen to those who would have seduced them from their allegiance.[4]

Though some of the very highest dignitaries of the Church of Rome remained in Ireland unmolested for years together in the reign of George II., it would seem that, during one part of it, many of the bishops were non-resident.[5] In a

[1] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i. 296; Brenan, p. 562.

[2] R.C. writers, as in the case of 1715, are in the habit of representing the Scotch Presbyterians as ringleaders in this rebellion. See before, p. 226, *note* (3). This is a most egregious blunder. On this occasion the Scottish Episcopal clergy acted as chaplains in the army of the young Pretender. See Stephens's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. 330. Many of the episcopal chapels in Scotland were, in consequence, destroyed immediately afterwards.

[3] It is well known that the quiescence of the Irish Roman Catholics at this time was due, rather to their fears, than to their loyalty. An Act passed in 1745 (the 19th of George II., chap. vii.) states that "*many* of His Majesty's subjects *have withdrawn and do daily withdraw themselves* into the dominions of Spain and France, now in open war with His Majesty, in hopes of being preferred to commands, &c., and *thereby encouraged and enabled to promote rebellion in Great Britain and Ireland.*"

[4] When in the midst of the excitement created by the Insurrection in Scotland, the Irish Vice-Treasurer one morning in a state of alarm came to inform the Earl that the people of Connaught were actually rising, his lordship coolly took out his watch, and looking at it observed:—"It is nine o'clock, and certainly time to rise." On another occasion, when assured that his coachman was a papist—"Never mind," replied the Lord Lieutenant, "I'll take care he won't drive *me* to mass."

[5] It is now well known that until an advanced period of the eighteenth century

letter addressed to them by Pope Benedict XIV. in 1746, their absence from their sees is severely criticized. "It has," says he, "been to us a source of no small affliction to find that, among the bishops of Ireland, some are so forgetful of the cure of souls entrusted to their charge that one, from the moment he undertakes the episcopal office, never after resides in his diocese; another, after having devoted scarcely a month to the concerns of his flock, retires into England, and from thence into France, Belgium, and Germany; while some are accustomed to visit their churches only once in the year, and that merely for a few days, as it were for the purpose of relaxation. . . . What can be expected from this shameful non-residence, but the certain calamity of the people, and the eternal ruin of their souls? . . . Some of you have been already reminded of these things."[1] The bishops may have excused themselves on the ground of the perils attending their residence in Ireland; but the Pontiff takes no notice of such apologies: and no doubt believed that they could now appear in their dioceses with impunity. From this period until the complete abolition of the penal laws, the presence of the Roman Catholic prelates in the country, exposed them to very little danger; but, notwithstanding the exhortations of Benedict, some of them still remained non-resident.[2]

It has been already mentioned that the English Government was much influenced by political considerations in choosing Protestant bishops for Irish sees; and some of the appointments of this reign were of an extraordinary character. Dr.

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the Irish Roman Catholic bishops were "constantly nominated to the Pope by the Stuart princes."—HALLAM'S *Const. Hist. of England*, chap. xviii., vol. iii., p. 403. This fact may have made them more unwilling to reside. It is said to have been proclaimed for the first time by Dr. Doyle in his examination before a Parliamentary Committee in 1825. See Fitzpatrick's *Life of Doyle*, i. 396.

[1] Brenan, pp. 557, 558.

[2] Dr. Anthony Blake, who was Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh from 1758 to 1786, never resided in his diocese. As soon as his visitations were finished he returned to his native county of Galway, where his relatives occupied a highly respectable position. When travelling to Ulster, and during his continuance there, he always used an elegant carriage. Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 407. Some of his clergy at length complained to the Pope of his non-residence. See Fitzpatrick's *Ireland before the Union*, pp. 235-6.

George Berkeley, who was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1734,[1] was an amiable and accomplished man; in an age of scepticism he was sincerely attached to the Christian faith; he cared nothing for wealth, and his selection for the episcopate was regarded, in many quarters, as a most honourable tribute to his piety and genius. But it may be questioned whether a bishopric was exactly suited to his eccentric character. He reasoned himself into [illegible] that there is no external world; and his practical [illegible]ents were often ill-advised and utopian. On the [illegible] pastoral diligence he had no claim whatever to p[illegible]for, though he held the rich deanery of Derry about [illegible],[2] he was all the time non-resident.[3] Dr. Robert [illegible] who was promoted to the see of Killala in 1[illegible] was subsequently advanced, first to Cork and [illegible]rwards to Clogher,[4] was a decided Arian. His id[illegible] duties of a bishop's wife differed greatly from those of the apostle Paul;[5] for, apparently, according to the views of Dr. Clayton, the lady[6] who presided over the hospitalities of the episcopal mansion, should also patronize the ball-room and the horse-race. For

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[1] He died in January, 1753. He was born at Killerin, near Thomastown, in County Kilkenny, in 1685. Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 300.

[2] He became Dean of Derry in 1724.

[3] See *Quarterly Review* for January, 1872, pp. 95, 102. See also Prior's *List of the Absentees of Ireland* (Dublin, 1729), where he is returned as non-resident.

[4] He was advanced to Cork and Ross in 1735, and to Clogher—which he held till his death—in 1745. Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 232; iii. 82.

[5] 1 Tim., iii. 11.

[6] A visitor at the Episcopal mansion in Killala, writing to a friend in England on the Lord's Day morning, August 13th, 1732, gives the following account of the entertainment:—"We had excellent sport at the fair. . . . About seven o'clock Mrs. Clayton (the bishop's wife), well attended in her coach, drawn by six flouncing Flanders mares, went on the strand. Three heats the first race. The second gave us much more sport: five horses put in—the last horse was to win, and every man rode his neighbour's horse without saddle, whip, or spur. Such hollowing, kicking of legs, sprawling of arms, could not be seen without laughing immoderately. In the afternoon chairs were placed before the house, where we all took our places in great state, all attired in our best apparel, it being Mrs. Clayton's birthday. Then dancing, singing, grinning, accompanied with an excellent bag-pipe—the whole concluded with a ball, bonfire and illuminations. Pray does *your bishop* promote such entertainments at Gloucester as ours does at Killala?" *The Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville*, vol. i., p. 373. London, 1861.

some time the bishop did not openly proclaim his heterodoxy in reference to the doctrine of the Trinity; but in 1751 he published a work entitled "An Essay on Spirit," in which his theology was announced. In 1756 he ventured on a still bolder movement. In that year he proposed, in the Irish House of Lords, that the Nicene and Athanasian creeds should be removed from the Liturgy; and, in his speech supporting the motion, he fully disclosed his sentiments. No notice was meanwhile taken of his repeated attacks on a doctrine which he was under the most solemn obligations to uphold; but, in 1757—when he issued another publication in which he again promulgated his heresy, and broached a variety of new errors—the authorities of the Church could no longer decently remain quiescent. Steps were accordingly taken to commence a prosecution; but the bishop—who seems to have anticipated no such procedure—was so alarmed by the intelligence, that he was thrown into a nervous fever of which he died.[1]

Dr. Thomas Rundle, who was promoted to the see of Derry in 1735,[2] was another bishop of very questionable orthodoxy. In 1734 he had been chosen for the see of Gloucester; but Gibson, Bishop of London—who had much influence, and who believed him to be an Arian—protested so earnestly against the appointment that his nomination was cancelled.[3] His advancement so soon afterwards to the rich see of Derry was not calculated to elevate the reputation of Irish Episcopacy. He had, unquestionably, at one time adopted the creed of Arius; and, though he disowned it, when it interfered with his preferment, little confidence was placed in the disavowal.[4] He had much wit, considerable learning, and an

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[1] Mant, ii. 617.

[2] His immediate predecessor in the see of Derry was Dr. Henry Downes, who seems to have been a very careless bishop, and generally non-resident. Mant, ii. 366. The predecessor of Downes, in Derry, was Dr. Nicholson, author of the *English, Scotch and Irish Historical Library*. Mant, ii. 458.

[3] See Mant, ii. 539.

[4] He himself supplies evidence that he was justly suspected. About the time of the death of Dr. Samuel Clarke, he speaks of that heterodox divine as his guide. "My heart," says he, "is big with concern and tenderness, and *longing for the dear instruction of even his most careless conversation*."—*Letters*, p. 83. He adds:

agreeable flow of conversation; so that his company was greatly sought after; and yet if we are to judge from his correspondence, he never had any true idea of the real nature of the Christian religion. "My chief pleasure," says he, "is in conversation with chosen friends who bring learning into chit-chat; and are not ashamed of being cheerful while they are talking on the most sublime subjects. We endeavour to make the muses, and all their polite arts, serve as handmaids to adorn real wisdom, and introduce into our hearts every truth that can make us love the Creator, *or make us worthy of His love.*"[1] During the seven or eight years of his episcopal career, he endeavoured to pass away the time, as pleasantly as possible, between Dublin and Derry. "My situation in Ireland," said he, "is as agreeable to me as any possibly could be, remote from the early friendships of my life. . . . At Dublin, I enjoy the most delightful habitation, the finest landscape, and the mildest climate that can be described or desired. I have a house there rather too elegant and magnificent; in the north an easy diocese and a large revenue.[2] I have thirty-five beneficed clergymen under my care, and they are all regular, decent, and neighbourly; each hath considerable and commendable general learning, but not one is eminent for any particular branch of knowledge."[3]

Dr. Theophilus Bolton, Protestant Archbishop of Cashel—who died shortly after Bishop Rundle—was an Irish prelate of a somewhat different type of character. In 1722 he was

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"The only thing that can make the loss of Dr. Clarke less sensible is *his writings*. . . . *His catechism* will be published in a few weeks."—*Letters*, pp. 86-7. This catechism was attacked by Dr. Waterland, the famous advocate of the doctrine of the Trinity. *Letters*, iii., *note*. Speaking of Clarke's views on the Trinity Rundle says:—"If what was then [in his writings] said, could not convince, repeating it again will not do so."—*Letters*, p. 112.

[1] Quoted in the Biographical Preface to his *Letters*, pp. 143-4. Dublin, 1789.

[2] The income of the see of Derry was at this time upwards of £2,200 per annum—perhaps equal to £5,000 of our present currency. See Mant, ii. 569. The see of Kildare was worth about £1,600 a year, and the sees of Clonfert and Ferns each of nearly the same value. *Ibid.* The see of Kilmore was worth upwards of £2,000 per annum.

[3] Biog. Preface to his *Letters*, pp. 106-1. Rundle erected the palace at Dublin, where he died in April, 1743. He is said to have injured his constitution by luxurious living. *Ibid.* pp. 27, 57.

advanced to the see of Clonfert; and, in less than two years afterwards, translated to Elphin. In 1730 he was promoted, in the face of considerable opposition, to the archiepiscopal chair of Cashel. He was well acquainted with Church history—especially in the department of canon law; he had much ambition, combined with wonderful volubility of speech; and, as he was an able debater, he soon made himself of importance in the Irish House of Lords. He was desirous to place himself at the head of a party in the Senate-house; but the want of principle which he exhibited weakened his influence; and his attempt at leadership ended in a rather inglorious failure. On one occasion he incurred much deserved opprobrium, by his factious opposition to a bill introduced into Parliament for the purpose of compelling dishonest senators to pay their creditors.[1] At length he sunk into indifference; withdrew very much from the arena of politics; and occupied himself chiefly in draining useless bogs, and turning them to pasture and tillage. His language should not, perhaps, be too severely interpreted; but the levity with which he speaks of his office, when advanced in life, is certainly fitted to convey no favourable idea of his zeal and piety. "Sir James Ware," says he, "has made a very useful collection of the memorable actions of all my predecessors. He tells us that they were born in such a town of Ireland or England, were consecrated in such a year, and, if not translated, were buried in their cathedral church, either on the north or south side: whence I conclude that a good bishop has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die; which laudable example I propose for the remainder of my life to follow."[2]

When the care of the Church sat so lightly on an archbishop, it is not strange that the Irish Commoners were not disposed to increase the ministerial income. There were then, no doubt, some most worthy men amongst the bishops, rectors, and curates of the Establishment; but the clergy,

[1] Mant, ii. 485.

[2] Mant, ii. 581. He died in 1744. It should be remembered to his credit that he built a library at Cashel for the use of his diocese, and bequeathed to it a collection of 8,000 volumes. Mant, ii. 581. See also Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 18, 19.

as a body, did not largely enjoy the respect and sympathy of the people. Ireland at that time was an exceedingly poor country; the style of living of the ordinary squires was not very pretentious; and a four-wheeled vehicle was seldom to be seen. The state assumed by not a few of the Church dignitaries—who lived in costly mansions, kept retinues of liveried servants, and travelled in splendid carriages—was offensive to the gentry who could not emulate such magnificence.[1] The unequal distribution of the Church revenues added to their discontent; for the Right Reverend and Most Reverend Lords Spiritual, who rolled about in such grandeur, had apparently little to do; whilst those who really ministered to the religious wants of the community, were doomed to penury. For upwards of a quarter of a century the demands for tithes had led to much litigation; and it was alleged that certain claims put forward by the clergy were quite unwarrantable. The tithe of agistment, that is, of the produce of grass land[2] consumed by barren or dry cattle, was the great subject of dispute. In some parts of the country this claim had never been enforced since the Reformation; in others, it had been conceded; and recent decisions in the courts of law had established its legality.[3] Had there been a better understanding between the laity of the Establishment and their spiritual overseers, the matter might have been in some way compromised; but many of the clergy who had grown rich on the tithes, were pluralists, as well as non-resident; and the tithe-payers could see no good reason for adding to their emoluments. The wealthy episcopalian graziers were the most resolute and influential opponents of the claim of the tithe of agistment. In the spring of 1735 the Irish House of Commons

[1] Archbishop Boulter says in one of his letters:—"Most of the needy gentry here envy to see the bishops, by a proper frugality, though not without a decent hospitality, easy in their circumstances." See Mant, ii. 557. Swift, some time before, said in his own sarcastic style:—"I resolved to have no more commerce with *persons of such prodigious grandeur*. . . . I know the persons of very few bishops, and it is my constant rule *never to look into a coach*, by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with."—Mant, ii. 548.

[2] See before, vol. i. 236, 297. It had evidently been enforced when Popery was dominant.

[3] Mant, ii. 555.

t up the controversy, and passed resolutions maintaining
: the existing ecclesiastical emoluments were a "plentiful
ision for the clergy;" that the demand of tithe of agist-
it was "new, grievous, and burthensome;" and that law-
s commenced for its enforcement must impair the Pro-
int interest "by driving many useful hands" out of the
itry.[1] These resolutions were followed up by the forma-
of associations all over the kingdom to resist the claim;
thus the clergy were eventually compelled to abandon

he emigration hinted at in the resolutions of the House
ommons, as likely to impair the Protestant interest, was
inly not stopped by the withdrawal of the demand for
tithe of agistment.[3] The Presbyterians of Ulster were
st the only Protestant emigrants; and this exaction
lied but one among many reasons which prompted
1 to seek to better their condition in another hemi-
re. Exorbitant rents, political disabilities, and the vexa-
s proceedings of the ecclesiastical courts, stimulated their
e for removal. About this time, one of the griev-
s of which they had long complained was partially
essed; for an Act, which was passed in 1737, freed them
1 all prosecutions in the bishops' courts for marriages
brated by their own ministers.[4] But a dearth, which
irred in 1740, gave a fresh impetus to the spirit of emi-
ion. A great frost, commencing towards the close of
) and continuing with unabated severity for many weeks,

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ee the Resolutions in appendix to *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners on v. and Cond. of the Established Church* (Ireland) 1868, p. 123. According ne, the Church thus lost *one-third* or more of the tithes. See *Essays on the Church*, pp. 232, 237.

[2] Mant, ii. 558.

he landowners now discouraged tillage, and kept large tracts in pasture. e the population is said to have declined. Wesley reports that, in 1760, ught was supposed to have contained scarcely half the inhabitants it had years before. See Wesley's *Journal*, p. 459. London, 1851. Many nists during the intervening period had enlisted as soldiers in foreign service. efore, p. 223, *note* (1) of this volume.

he Act is the 11th of George II., chap. x. s. 3. This Act did not directly e Presbyterian marriages; and hence doubts still existed, which were not ed till 1782.

destroyed the potatoes[1]—already the food of a large portion of the people; pestilence followed in the wake of famine; and hundreds of thousands[2] of the people perished. For several years afterwards, twelve thousand emigrants annually left Ulster for the American plantations.

The Scotch Seceders now made their first appearance in Ireland. The more earnest Presbyterians of North Britain had always dis[illegible]ppointment of ministers by patrons. At t[illegible] method of nomination was abolished, and [illegible]ion restored to the people. But, some time [illegible] with England, the Tory Government, then [illegible]ned an Act of Parliament which re-establi[illegible]ous system. This measure in a few years [illegible]urbances in congregations; and, in the end, led [illegible]orthy ministers to withdraw from the national Esta[illegible] The seceders immediately formed themselves into a separate body, and were soon joined by a considerable number of adherents. Patronage had never existed among the Presbyterians of Ireland; but what were called "new light" principles had lately been proclaimed here; and as the Scotch Seceders were known to maintain a rigid orthodoxy, they were invited to visit Ulster. The services of their preachers attracted large audiences; several congregations were formed; and in 1746 the Rev. Isaac Patton, the first seceding minister settled in Ireland, was ordained at Lylehill, near Templepatrick, in County Antrim. Other ordinations soon followed; and in 1750 an Irish seceding Presbytery was organized.[3] A dispute relative to the propriety of taking a certain oath, as a qualification for official distinction in Scottish corporations, had meanwhile split up the body into two denominations of Burghers and Anti-Burghers;[4] but this schism—which extended across

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[1] At this time the potatoes were permitted to remain in the ground much longer than at present.

[2] According to some 400,000. See Brenan, p. 561; and Gordon's *History of Ireland*, ii. 218; Haverty, p. 692.

[3] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 306.

[4] The oath pledged every one who took it "to profess the true religion presently professed within the realm;" and some conceived that it bound all to adhere to

the channel—does not appear to have seriously interfered with the prosperity of the Secession in Ireland.

In 1751 the congregations of the General Synod of Ulster amounted to one hundred and fifty-seven. The non-subscribing Presbytery of Antrim had made little progress in a quarter of a century—as it could yet number only thirteen ministerial charges.[1] The Seceders gained ground much more rapidly. Before the close of the reign of George II. they could reckon a much larger array of congregations than the Irish non-subscribers. They had preaching stations and adherents in almost every county of Ulster. The labours of their ministers created much agitation and discussion; awakened the zeal of many; and, on the whole, exerted a most salutary influence. Their followers consisted principally of the poorer class of Presbyterians; but others were impressed by their services; and some even of the Romanists joined their communion.[2]

About the time that the Scotch Seceders were beginning to organize congregations in the northern province, a mission from another quarter proved a signal blessing to the cause of religion in the country. In 1747 John Wesley paid his first visit to Ireland. This extraordinary man was born in 1703; and his career occupies an important place in the ecclesiastical history of the eighteenth century. Wesley was the son of a pious minister of the Church of England. When very young he was the subject of deep religious impressions; he appeared at the Lord's table at eight years of age; he was early destined for the sacred office; and when he entered the University of Oxford, he soon became known as a devout, diligent, and successful student. When only twenty-one, he was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College, and shortly afterwards appointed Greek Lecturer and Moderator of the classes. As Moderator, it was his duty to preside at the disputations on literary subjects which were held almost daily; and he thus acquired a facility in the detection of sophisms, as well

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the Established Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Hence the division. The oath was tendered only to those connected with Scotch corporate towns, and in no way concerned Irish Presbyterians. *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 267.

[1] *Ibid.* iii. 285. [2] *Ibid.* 314.

as in the general management of controversy, which he subsequently turned to good account. Though Oxford was one of the two educational institutes of the Church of England it was, at this period, a most unpromising training-school for the preparation of a holy and earnest ministry. Its teachers were eminent for scholarship; they were profoundly acquainted with the Greek and Latin classics; and some of them were noted for their skill in Oriental literature; but very few of them had applied diligently to the study of the Book of Books, or had any very clear idea of the true meaning of the mystery of godliness. Among the youths in attendance there was much scepticism, as well as much frivolity and licentiousness; and spiritual death apparently reigned throughout the great seminary. This melancholy state of matters did not escape the observation of some of the more serious students and graduates; and for years a society—which embraced John Wesley and his brother Charles, George Whitfield, and a few others—met for prayer and mutual improvement. The members of this association soon attracted notice by the strictness of their mode of living; for they communicated weekly, fasted much, and lived according to fixed rules. Thus they acquired the nickname of *Methodists*. When these young men entered on the public duties of the ministry, their amazing zeal soon electrified their contemporaries, and rebuked the formalism of the mass of the clergy. Whitfield, as a preacher, was immensely popular; his figure, his voice, his gesture, his intense enthusiasm, all revealed the orator; and no church was sufficient to accommodate his auditories. In 1738, when returning from America to England, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbour on the west coast of Ireland; but he remained only a few days in the country. On that occasion he is said to have preached in Dublin "to crowded and astonished congregations."[1] John Wesley, though less

[1] *Life of Ouseley*, p. 28. During this visit Whitfield also preached, at the request of Bishop Burscough, in the Cathedral of Limerick. Dr. Burscough, who filled the see of Limerick from 1725 to 1755, is described as "a man of great learning and piety, a good preacher, and much beloved by his citizens."—COTTON'S *Fasti*, i. 388. In 1751 Mr. Whitfield again visited Ireland and preached in Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Cork, Bandon, Kinsale, Athlone, Belfast, and other places.

gifted as an elocutionist than Whitfield, also produced a wonderful sensation; for he was a pleasing and persuasive speaker, whilst there was an air of seriousness about him which commanded attention and respect. He was sincerely attached to the Church of England; and he hoped to increase its strength by infusing new life into its members. He went everywhere preaching the Word; and he sought the co-operation of the bishops and parochial clergy. His proceedings, however, soon gave much offence, as they were not always in harmony with canon law; and he was eventually excluded from many of the Established churches. The eloquence of the pulpit, which had long slumbered, at length awoke—not to proclaim the gospel of peace, but to denounce the itinerant evangelist. "I was not surprised at all," said Wesley when he once received an account of certain riots in Staffordshire, "neither should I have wondered if, after the advices they had so often heard from the pulpit, as well as from the Episcopal chair, the zealous High Churchmen had risen, and cut all that were called Methodists in pieces."[1]

John Wesley was evidently raised up to awaken a dead Church; and he gave himself, with all his heart, to the accomplishment of his high mission. His zeal was mingled with discretion; and, though most anxious to maintain his reputation as a dutiful son of the Church of England, he soon found it necessary to adopt arrangements which brought him into collision with ecclesiastical authority. He not only officiated himself wherever he felt he could be useful; but, though only a presbyter, he commissioned others to preach who had neither been ordained by bishops nor trained at colleges. One of these heralds, named Williams, preceded him in Ireland: and his labours were attended with no little success. Mr. Wesley arrived in Dublin on the morning of the Lord's Day; and, as he himself informs us, preached in the afternoon in one of the churches "to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever he saw."[2] The curate professed great

In 1757 he visited Ireland for the last time. Some time afterwards the first congregation of the Moravians, or United Brethren, was established in the country. *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 149, 152, 154.

[1] Wesley's *Journal*, 1743, pp. 179, 180. [2] *Ibid.* p. 257.

personal respect for the far-famed stranger, but told him, at the same time, that he had the most rooted prejudice against lay preachers, as well as preaching "out of a church;" and assured him that the archbishop[1] "was resolved to suffer no such irregularities in his diocese."[2] Wesley, however, paid very little attention to this intimation; for he believed that "gifts, grace, and fruit" are the best evidences of a call to the ministry; a to preach in the streets, on the highway, o could but obtain an attentive audience.

Wesley app fterwards in Ireland; and, though his first ef, it was sufficient to convince him that ns had been employed to sustain the caus ; and that it was but little indebted to the Established clergy. "At least ninety-nine in a n the native Irish," said he, "remain in the religion of their forefathers. The Protestants, whether in Dublin or elsewhere, are almost all transplanted lately from England.[3] Nor is it any wonder that those who are born papists generally live and die such, when the Protestants can find no better ways to convert them than penal laws and Acts of Parliament."[4] The founder of Methodism employed a more effectual method. He preached in season and out of season; illustrated his doctrine by a holy life; organized religious societies; and sent all over the country missionaries of burning zeal. Many who did not join his class meetings were benefited by the labours of himself and his agents;[5] and the Irish Episcopal Church is unspeakably indebted to the labours of the Wesleyans.

Wesley frequently itinerated all over Ulster, as well as in

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[1] Dr. Charles Cobbe—who was Archbishop of Dublin from 1743 to 1765. He was a native of England; and had been Bishop successively of Killala, Dromore, and Kildare. Cotton's *Fasti*, ii. 24.

[2] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 257.

[3] By "lately," he must here understand, since the early part of the preceding century.

[4] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 258.

[5] Wesley states that, in 1760, the Societies in Connaught contained little more than 200 members; those in Ulster, about 250; and those in Leinster, 1,000. *Journal*, p. 464. The influence of Methodism in Ireland, at the time, is very imperfectly represented by these numbers.

other parts of Ireland; and gathered into his societies not a few Romanists, as well as many members of the Established Church. Among the Presbyterians he was less successful. As an Episcopalian clergyman, they could not be expected to regard him with much favour; and the narrow spirit he manifested in relation to their Church did not tend to abate their prejudices. To the last he retained somewhat of the leaven of his Oxford education; he held, for many years, the doctrine of apostolical succession;[1] and he seemed to think that, as a minister of the Church of England, he was bound to give no countenance whatever to Dissenters. Though lay preaching was an essential part of his own ecclesiastical machinery, he deemed it his duty to attend the public service of the Established Church—no matter how worthless the officiating clergyman; but he could not see his way to join in the worship of the non-conformists,[2] even when conducted by a most worthy and able pastor. The Presbyterians marked these inconsistencies; and he sometimes blamed them for the coldness with which he was received by them, when he might have discovered an apology in his own exclusiveness. Though the non-conformists of Ulster, as a body, had now much declined in piety and zeal, many of them were still noted for vital godliness; and recent controversies with Non-Subscribers and Seceders had kept up a spirit of inquiry; so that, in point of religious knowledge, they stood

[1] "We believe," said Wesley, "it would not be right for us to administer either baptism or the Lord's Supper, unless we had a commission so to do from those bishops whom we apprehend to be in a succession from the apostles. And yet we allow these bishops are the successors of those who were dependent on the Bishop of Rome." These were his views December 30th, 1745. See his *Journal*, p. 228. As he advanced in life he changed his sentiments; and ordained, not only Presbyters, but bishops himself. See Southey's *Life*, vol. ii. 436, 430, 440.

[2] At Carrickfergus, on the morning of the Lord's Day, "I went," says Wesley, "to the (Episcopal) Church, to the surprise of many, and heard a lively, useful sermon. After dinner one of our brethren asked 'If I was ready to go to the (Presbyterian) meeting?' I told him '*I never go to a meeting.*'" WESLEY'S *Journal*, p. 392. Wesley maintains that every one of the preachers he appointed was much better qualified for his office than nine in ten of the Episcopal clergy in England and Ireland. Southey's *Life*, vol. ii., pp. 307-8. London, 1820. He was not very consistent, as in Scotland he frequently attended the Presbyterian churches.

on a higher level than the rest of the Protestant population. Wesley, though an eminent saint, was not a great theologian. His mind was better fitted to explain elementary truths, and to arrange practical details, than to solve difficulties and grasp comprehensive principles. Hence his creed was an incongruous medley of Evangelism and Pelagianism. Those of the Presbyterians who were well grounded in the doctrines of Calvinism saw his [illegible] any of them assembled to hear him preach; h[illegible] attacks which he sometimes made on their [illegible] owered him much in their estimation.[1]

Though the [illegible] h great success in Ireland, they encountered [illegible]. In not a few places they were assaulted by m[illegible] nists and Protestants combined. The city of Cork, [illegible] as kept in a state of disturbance for weeks together, by [illegible] ltuous assemblages headed by a popish ballad-singer, who attacked the houses of those who were known to be friendly to the Methodist preachers.[2] In the same year the grand jury of Cork presented Charles Wesley and several others of his brethren as "persons of ill fame, vagabonds, and common disturbers of the peace;" and urged their transportation![3] But the good fruits of their ministry commended them to the more candid and intelligent. The Rev. Moore Booker, an aged and respectable Protestant clergyman of the diocese of Meath, who had been censured by his bishop[4] for giving them encouragement, published in 1751, a pamphlet in vindication of his conduct, in which he states some weighty facts attesting the value of their services. "I must declare," said he, "that my church—at least its communion table—owes almost nine in ten of its company to their labours; and I can affirm the same of one or two

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[1] His attachment to the Episcopal church completely blinded his better judgment. Thus, we find him, on one occasion, mentioning it, as a matter of thankfulness, that "even J. D. has not now the least thought of leaving it (the Episcopal church), but attends there, *be the minister good or bad.*"—*Journal*, p. 464. The Apostle Paul sharply rebukes such folly. See Gal., i. 7, 8; Acts, xx. 29, 31.

[2] Wesley's *Journal*, pp. 290, 292.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 294.

[4] Bishop Maule. See before, p. 248, *note* (2) of this volume.

neighbouring parishes. Were it not for them, we should meet as few of the meaner sort there, as of gentlemen of rank and fortune;[1] and I take upon me to say that if we, with equal skill and care, water, dress, and prune the plants which those poor people have raised to our hands, God will give the increase."[2]

Among the apostles of Irish Methodism, Thomas Walsh is entitled to honourable notice. He was by birth a Romanist, and he was endowed with mental powers of no common order. As he grew up he became deeply serious; he was most anxious to obtain an assurance of his salvation; but the rites and prescriptions of his Church did not afford him the comfort he desiderated. Convinced of the errors of Popery, he withdrew from its pale; and yet, for a time, Protestantism failed to give him peace. As he passed one day, when about nineteen years of age, along the streets of Limerick, he observed a large crowd in the Parade gathered round a man who was addressing them. As he approached, he discovered that the speaker was a Methodist preacher, named Swindells,[3] who was discoursing from the words, "Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest."[4] He was then told of a way of peace which he had never known before; and soon afterwards he joined the Methodist Society. He eventually became a preacher; and, as he was thoroughly acquainted with the Irish language, he proved a most successful missionary to his Roman Catholic countrymen. In his discourses he avoided controversy;[5] he never attempted to expose the errors of the Church he had left; but he endeavoured to present the truth in all its purity and power. "I contend," said he, "with no man about opinions, but preach against sin and wickedness in all. Suppose three

[1] This remark confirms what has been already said as to the irreligious character of the Irish Protestant gentry about this time.

[2] Reilly's *Memorial of Ouseley*, p. 32. London, 1847.

[3] The first meeting of the Irish Methodist Conference was held in 1752. On this occasion Mr. Wesley met with nine preachers, of whom Robert Swindells was one. *Chronological History of the Methodists*, by William Myles, p. 73. London, 1813.

[4] Mat., xi. 28.

[5] Reilly's *Memorial of Ouseley*, p. 75.

persons of different denominations—it may be a Churchman, a Quaker, and a Papist—sitting down and drinking to excess, begin to dispute, each affirming that his is the best religion—where is the religion of all these men? Surely they are without any, unless it be that of Belial. They are of their father the devil, while his works they do."[1] In the fervour of his pious soul he was wont to cry out with tears, as he addressed the native Irish: "Hear me, and if the doctrine I preach be not according to the Word of God, stone me on the spot—make a sacrifice of me—only hear for yourselves." Those who gathered round him did not listen in vain to such appeals. Thousands of the Romanists were deeply moved, and many of them connected themselves with the Methodists.[2] But an early death quenched the light of this true evangelist. After labouring only a few years, Walsh died of consumption in April, 1759.[3]

Though the Methodists experienced in Ireland much uncivil treatment from nominal Protestants of all classes, and though not a few of the dignitaries of the Establishment bitterly opposed their progress, the Romish mobs were by far their most violent and dangerous adversaries. The zeal of the Methodist preachers was a stinging rebuke to the careless clergy; and on some rare occasions, a vicious Presbyterian minister might conspire with the parish priest to deprive them of an auditory;[4] or a drunken episcopal curate might attempt to disturb the congregation;[5] but they seldom incurred much peril from Irish Protestants. In many Romish districts they were heard with profound attention; and when Thomas Walsh spoke to them in their own tongue, and besought them, in strains of pathetic eloquence, to flee from the wrath to come, they were often intensely moved. There were cases

[1] Reilly's *Memorial of Ouseley*, p. 75. [2] *Ibid.* p. 76.

[3] Thomas Walsh had a remarkable facility in acquiring a knowledge of languages; and his memory was prodigious. Wesley said of him:—"If he was questioned concerning any Hebrew word in the Old, or any Greek word in the New Testament, he could tell after a little pause, not only how often the one or the other occurred in the Bible, but also what it meant in every place."—*Life of Ouseley*, p. 74; Southey's *Life of Wesley*, ii. 284.

[4] See a case of this kind mentioned in Wesley's *Journal*, p. 459.

[5] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 309.

in which the priest himself listened devoutly to the sermon, and betrayed much emotion. But, with few exceptions, the spiritual guides of the Romanists employed all the machinery of terror to prevent their flocks from coming into contact with the Methodists. They cursed from the altar all who ventured to attend preaching; they imposed heavy penances on those who transgressed the prohibition; they stirred up the multitude to uproar and intimidation; and they not unfrequently appeared in the crowd, and literally whipped away the audience.[1] The people were so sunk in superstition that they submitted tamely to this ignoble discipline. Wesley witnessed with indignation the treatment they experienced, and expressed his conviction that the State should interfere and check the tyranny of the priesthood. "Would to God," said he, "the Government would ensure to all the papists in the land so much liberty of conscience, that none might hinder them from hearing the true word of God! Then, as they hear, so let them judge."[2] As the Romanists now complained so much of the pressure of the penal laws, these attempts of their own clergy to rule them by the arm of flesh were all the more unpardonable.

Shortly before the arrival of John Wesley in Ireland the see of Armagh became vacant by the death of Dr. John Hoadly, the Protestant Primate.[3] This prelate was a pretty fair specimen of the Irish bishops of his generation. The concerns of the Church do not seem to have given him much anxiety; he was rather addicted to waggery;[4] and he is best known to posterity as a successful agriculturist. Too assiduous attendance on his workmen brought on a fever, which terminated

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[1] See Wesley's *Journal*, p. 268. Whipping was a part of the Romish discipline. Pope Alexander VII. ordered the Irish Roman Catholic nobility, gentry and clergy, who signed the Remonstrance after the Restoration, to be whipped on their bare backs before they were absolved. See O'Conor's *Hist. Address*, part i. 108.

[2] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 420.

[3] Hoadly was Archbishop of Armagh from 1742 to 1746. He was a native of Kent. He was Archbishop of Dublin from 1730 to 1742.

[4] One of his works is entitled *A View of Bishop Beveridge's Writings in a Humorous Way*. Mant, ii. 597. He was the younger brother of the famous Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, Bishop of Winchester, and is said to have possessed much talent.

fatal.[1] He was succeeded in the Primatial chair by Dr. George Stone, who had previously filled successively the sees of Ferns and Leighlin, of Kildare, and of Derry. Dr. Stone was only about forty years of age when placed at the head of the Irish Protestant Establishment; he had a very handsome person,[2] as well as a most insinuating address; but, though he obtained such rapid preferment, he was wretchedly qualified to watch over any [illegible] He was a mere worldling, with very little [illegible]rinciple. He was appointed to the primac[illegible]e had wealth and influence, because he was [illegible]pport of the English interest in Ireland, and [illegible]own as an able debater and an astute politic[illegible]ed, on all hands, that he was a man of unbou[illegible]nd he was prepared to sacrifice almost eve[illegible]e of power. A respectable minister of his own [illegible] appears to have had good opportunities of information, has imputed to him the grossest immorality;[3] but it is to be hoped that at least some of the crimes laid to his charge had no other foundation than the malice of his enemies. He held the primacy from 1747 to 1765, and meanwhile was almost always involved in the turmoil of politics. It is highly probable that his faults were exaggerated by his political assailants; but had not his proceedings afforded very grave cause for scandal, it is difficult to understand how it was that, during his lifetime, these accusations were so openly advanced, and so persistently repeated. Stone himself scarcely professed to be anything more than a mere man of the world. It is reported that when, on a particular occasion, he went over to London to consult eminent physicians in relation to his health, he very candidly said to them, "Look not upon me as an ordinary Churchman, or incident to their diseases; but as a man who has injured his constitution by sitting up late and rising early to do the business of Govern-

[1] Mant, ii. 597.

[2] Hence he was profanely called "the beauty of holiness."

[3] See Gordon's *History of Ireland*, ii. 220. Another minister of the Irish Episcopal Church virtually endorses these charges. See Burdy's *History of Ireland*, p. 390. Edinburgh, 1817. See also Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* i. 305, *note*, 310, 314, and Hallam's *Const. History*, chap. xviii.

ment in Ireland."[1] Some time before his death, according to the testimony of a well-informed writer, "he thought proper occasionally to assume the lowliness of an ecclesiastic—when the artful statesman still glared so over every part of his behaviour, as to render it in some measure revolting. He quickly perceived this effect of his newly-adopted manner, and reassumed his old one, in which not the least trace of a churchman was visible."[2]

When the highest dignitaries of the Church displayed so little of the spirit of the Gospel, it was not extraordinary that infidelity abounded. Those who attended divine service in the more fashionable of the Dublin churches, often did not appear to think it necessary to exhibit even outward reverence in the house of God. The Eucharist was shamefully prostituted when the reception of it was made a test of admission to social privileges; and some who partook of it acted with most unbecoming levity at the communion table. "I was much concerned," said Wesley, when speaking of one of his early visits to the Irish metropolis, "to see two gentlemen, who were close to me in St. Patrick's church, fall a-talking together, in the most trifling manner, immediately after they had received the Lord's Supper."[3] The whole tone of society betokened great indifference in reference to the high concerns of eternity. Deism was propagated under various disguises; and the extensive circulation obtained by publications, designed to overthrow the authority of Scripture, revealed a spirit of prevailing scepticism. But the reign of George II. produced some Irish writers who ably supported the claims of Christianity. Among these Dr. John Leland,[4] a Presbyterian minister of Dublin, is entitled to special notice. His treatises on the Deistical controversy may still be studied

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[1] Mant, ii. 604. Cumberland states that in Ireland at this time the profusion of the tables of the higher classes struck him with surprise, adding:—"Nothing that I had seen in England *could rival the Polish magnificence of Primate Stone.*" See *Pictorial History of England*, v. 566.

[2] Hardy's *Life of Charlemont*, p. 105.

[3] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 417.

[4] This learned and excellent man was minister of Eustace Street congregation, Dublin. He died in 1766, in the seventy-fifth year of his age.

with [illegible]ıtage.[1] The Rev. Philip Skelton, a worthy minister of the [illegible]ablished Church, also rendered good service by a work entitled "Deism Revealed."[2]

Towards the end of the reign of George II. the Romanists began to be treated by Government with greater consideration. Long before this period, they had been deserted by a large proportion of their nobility and gentry, who—yielding to the pressure of the [illegible]d to the influence of the secular advant[illegible]y the profession of another faith—had pass[illegible]stablished Church.[3] But the lower classes [illegible]h, with few exceptions, remained still de[illegible]o Popery. Their poverty—aggravated by [illegible]heir priests and friars, and by the multitu[illegible]vhich they were required to spend in idlene[illegible]d a striking contrast to the comparative comfort [illegible]otestant neighbours. After the disastrous result of the rebellion in support of the Pretender in 1745, they despaired of his success; and they began to think more and more favourably of the reigning

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[1] He published *The Divine Authority of the Old and New Testament Asserted*, in two vols. 8vo.; *A View of the Deistical Writers*, in two vols. 8vo.; *The Advantage and Necessity of the Christian Revelation shown from the State of Religion in the Ancient Heathen World*, in two vols. 4to., and several other works.

[2] Philip Skelton was born in Derriaghy, near Lisburn, in 1707. He was upwards of twenty years a curate; and was then rector successively of Pettigo, in County Donegal, of Devenish, near Enniskillen, and of Fintona, in County Tyrone. He died at an advanced age in 1787. He was a most effective preacher, as well as a man of singular benevolence and of superior genius. On one occasion he sold a library of considerable value to enable him to supply the wants of the poor in his neighbourhood. His works fill seven volumes. His *Life*, written by the Rev. Samuel Burdy, presents a melancholy view of the state of religion in his time. Dr. Watkinson, who had made his acquaintance, says of him :—"His learning is almost universal, and his language uncommonly fluent and vigorous. . . . His powers of description are beyond what I could have conceived; he has a stock of imagination sufficient to set up ten modern tragic poets."—*Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, pp. 423, 424.

[3] Froude states that "before 1738, *a thousand* Catholic families of rank and consequence had been received into the Establishment."—*The English in Ireland*, i. 368-9. Warner, writing in 1763, says : "The *greatest part* of their (the Roman Catholic) gentry, who are distinguished by their *fortune or understanding*, have *within these last threescore years* renounced the errors of the Church of Rome."—*Hist. of Ireland.* Introd., i. 68.

dynasty. In 1757 they were admitted, for the first time since the Revolution, to enlist as soldiers.[1] The Duke of Bedford—who in the autumn of that year was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—gave them to understand that they might reckon on his friendly offices; and immediately afterwards "an exhortation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin" was read from their altars. In this document the rulers of the kingdom are highly eulogized for their "large charities" during a recent scarcity; and are described as "the fathers and saviours of the nation." "We have not," said the Dublin priests, "a more effectual method of showing our acknowledgment to our temporal governors than by an humble, peaceable, and obedient behaviour; as hitherto, we earnestly exhort you to continue in the same happy and Christian disposition; and thus, by degrees, you will entirely efface in their minds those evil impressions which have been conceived so much to your prejudice, and industriously propagated by your enemies. A series of more than sixty years spent, with a pious resignation, under the hardships of very severe penal laws, and with the greatest thankfulness for the lenity and moderation with which they were executed ever since the accession of the present royal family, is certainly a fact which must outweigh, in the minds of all unbiassed persons, any misconceived opinions of the doctrines and tenets of our holy church."[2]

The spirit of this address is certainly highly creditable to those from whom it emanated. It admonishes the Roman Catholic population to look with the greatest horror on "thefts, frauds, murders, and the like abominable crimes;" to "abstain from cursing, swearing, and blasphemy;" to be "just in their dealings, sober in their conduct, religious in their practice; to avoid riots, quarrels, and tumults; and thus to approve themselves good citizens, peaceable subjects, and pious Christians." It repudiates, as "an infamous calumny," the allegation that, according to their doctrine, they could

[1] Fitzgerald and McGregor's *History of Limerick*, vol. ii. 463.

[2] This exhortation, which was read from the Roman Catholic altars on the 2nd of October, 1757, may be found in Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, pp. 75-77, Dublin, 1808; and in Plowden's *Historical Review*, i., appendix lx., pp. 260-2.

obtain a dispensation "to take false oaths." The Roman Catholics, say they, have "given the strongest proofs of their abhorrence of those tenets, by refusing to take oaths which, however conducive to their temporal interest, appeared to them entirely repugnant to the principles of their religion."[1] They entreat their co-religionists to offer up most fervent prayers to God that He may direct the counsels of their rulers, and inspire them with sentiments of moderation and compassion towards themselves. "We ought," they add, "to be more earnest at this juncture in our supplications to Heaven, as some very honourable personages have encouraged us to hope for a mitigation of the penal laws."

There is something very touching in this appeal. It was evidently drawn up by a skilful hand; it reveals a spirit chastened by adversity; and, as it was soon widely published, it was well fitted to awaken sympathy on behalf of those to whom it was addressed. It appears to singular advantage when placed beside some of those manifestoes which have issued more recently from the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. It is certainly not calculated to give us a very high idea of the general character of the Romish population about the middle of the eighteenth century; as, had they been noted for exemplary morals, their spiritual guides, at such a crisis, would have scarcely felt it necessary to warn them against theft, riot, blasphemy, and murder: but, withal, it administers faithful counsel; and instead of maliciously exaggerating the hardships of the penal laws, it candidly and thankfully acknowledges that, for many years, they had not been rigorously carried into execution. The very severity of these enactments had prevented their enforcement; and about this time, a bill, providing new machinery to secure their execution, was introduced into Parliament;[2] but it was strenu-

[1] Notwithstanding what is here stated, there were circumstances in which the native Irish had still little respect for the sanctity of an oath. See Warner's *History of Ireland*, vol. i. 69. But they refused to take oaths forbidden by the Pope.

[2] This bill proposed to vest the nomination of the parish priests in the grand juries—the names of those selected to be submitted to the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council for approval. See Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 438.

ously resisted by Primate Stone; and the greater number of his episcopal brethren joined him in the opposition. Though, by a small majority, it passed a third reading in the House of Lords, it did not receive the royal assent; and thus never found its way into the Statute Book.[1]

At this time a few Irish Roman Catholics formed themselves into a Committee to watch over the political interests of their denomination. The most active members of this association were Mr. Wyse, of Waterford;[2] Mr. Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare, the well-known Irish scholar and antiquary;[3] and Dr. Curry, the author of the review of the Civil Wars in Ireland.[4] At first the Roman Catholic nobility and clergy regarded the movements of this society with no little uneasiness,—fearing that it might only aggravate the evils of which they had long complained.[5] With a view, however, to obtain a more favourable consideration of their claims, it was at length agreed that they should draw up a

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[1] The third reading was carried by the proxies of absent peers: and it is alleged that the bill was set aside on the ground that none of the Lords who voted by proxy had been present at any preceding period of the session. Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 439, 440.

[2] Mr. Wyse was a merchant in Waterford.

[3] Dr. McDermott, his grandson, gives the following account of this gentleman:—"Mr. Charles O'Conor devoted sixty years of his life to the study of Irish history and antiquities. He had the best collection of books, and understood the language better than any man in Ireland. Left a widower in the twenty-eighth year of his age, possessed of an easy independent property, he had full leisure to indulge his favourite pursuits. . . . He made religion a matter of conscience, and abhorred falsehood so much that he would not hear an untruth, even in jest."—PLOWDEN'S *Historical Letter in answer to Columbanus*, p. 34. Dublin, 1812. Mr. O'Conor's manuscripts were handed over by his grandson, the Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor—the editor of the *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*, and the author of various important historical works—to the Marquis of Buckingham, and deposited in the Stowe Library. Mr. O'Conor, of Belanagare, died in 1793. *Ibid.* p. 230.

[4] In 1759 Dr. Curry published anonymously *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Rebellion in the year* 1641 for the purpose of showing that the extent of the massacre had been greatly exaggerated. The work passed through several editions. Dr. Curry was a Dublin physician of considerable eminence. He was the descendant of an ancient Irish family (O'Corra) possessed at one time of considerable property in County Cavan. See Plowden's *Hist. Review*, i. 322, *note*. See also Haverty, p. 695, *note*.

[5] Haverty, p. 695. Wyse says that "from *the clergy and aristocracy* they received nothing but coolness, and sneers, and disappointments."—*Historical Sketch of the Catholic Association*, i., p. 49. Dublin, 1829.

Declaration of their principles. This Declaration—prepared by Dr. O'Keefe, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare[1]—was unanimously adopted, and transmitted to Rome as the act and deed of the Irish Catholics.[2] It is a very important historical document—for the sentiments propounded in it were formally brought under the notice of the head of their Church, and it does not appear that any decided indications of disapproval then emanated from the Sovereign Pontiff.[3] It was republished in 1792 as an authentic exposition of the views of the Irish Roman Catholic body;[4] and as recent events attach to it very peculiar significance, a few of its more remarkable passages may here be quoted.

"Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is at this time peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle whatsoever incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious.

"Now we, the Catholics of Ireland . . . in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn Declaration:—

"We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion that princes excommunicated by the Pope and Council, or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever, may therefore be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. . . .

"We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any way injure any person whatsoever, for or under the pretence of being heretics; and we declare solemnly before God that

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[1] According to the inscription on his monument (Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*, i. 169) he was forty-six years R.C. Bishop of Kildare, that is from 1741 to 1787. At his death he was upwards of eighty years of age.

[2] Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, pp. 78-9. It was signed by many R.C. clergymen, as well as by many laymen of rank and property. Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i. 321.

[3] This is the utmost that can be said respecting it; for it never received from the Pope any positive or public sanction.

[4] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i., appendix, 263; *Hist. Rev.*, i. 321, *note*.

we believe that no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or colour, that it was done either for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatever.

"We further declare that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle that no faith is to be kept with heretics. . . .

"We have been charged with holding as an article of our belief that the Pope, with or without the authority of a General Council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers, can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man. Now we utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all, repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion. . . .

"We declare that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess, that *the Pope is infallible*, or that we are bound to obey any order in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, on the contrary, we hold that it would be sinful in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

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"We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce, all interest in, and title to, all forfeited lands, resulting from any rights, or supposed rights, of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand. We desire, farther, that whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in Parliament, until he shall previously take an oath to defend, to the utmost of his power, the arrangements of property in this country, as established by the different acts of Attainder and Settlement.

"It has been objected to us that we wish to subvert the

pres Church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead. Now we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and, farther, if we shall be admitted into any share of the constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the esta Protestant religion, or Protestant governm y."[1]

It can be cl e Pope has again and again asserted the pi d by the subscribers to this Declaration. I onstrated that the Jesuits—who wield so the Church of Rome—have repeatedly tious principles here condemned;[2] and cil of 1869-70 has affirmed the doctrine of the r libility. Those who signed this Declaration may have had very little hope that Romanism would ever recover its ascendency in Ireland; they here employ language very different from what was current among their co-religionists in the days of the Catholic Confederation; and yet, if they were true to their Church, it was not to be expected that they would continue to be satisfied with the domination of the Protestant establishment. But it would be alike unjust and ungenerous to denounce the subscribers to this memorial as guilty of hypocrisy or falsehood. The views in reference to oaths and engagements, here repudiated, are either so absurd in themselves, or so abhorrent to our moral instincts, that they must always be offensive to honest and unsophisticated Romanists. The Jesuits had now lost much of their power all over Europe;[3] and it is obvious that

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[1] This Declaration may be found at length in Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, pp. 79-82; in Plowden's *Hist. Review*, appendix lxxxviii., and elsewhere.

See vol. i., pp. 343, 400, 420, 421, 423, 459, 463, 467, 498, 499, of this work. In the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam* Boniface VIII. asserted that Jesus Christ granted a *temporal* as well as a *spiritual* sword to the Church—that the whole human race is subject to the Roman Pontiff, and that all dissenting from this doctrine are heretics, and cannot expect salvation.

[3] In 1759 the Jesuits were expelled from all the Portuguese territories. They had already greatly lost ground in France. See Murdock's *Mosheim*, by Soames, vol. iv. 403, 404 405.

those who dictated this Declaration were not imbued with the spirit of Ultramontanism.

In 1759 Ireland was threatened with an invasion from France. The members of the Roman Catholic Committee availed themselves of the opportunity of drawing up an address to the Lord Lieutenant, in which they declared that "when a foreign enemy was meditating" to interrupt "the happiness and disturb the repose so long enjoyed under a monarch who placed his chief glory in proving himself the common father of all his people," they were "ready and willing, to the utmost of their abilities, to assist in supporting His Majesty's Government against all hostile attempts whatsoever."[1] So depressed was now the condition of the Roman Catholic body, that it was deemed presumptuous for them to forward the loyal document directly to the head of the Irish Government. It was therefore handed to Mr. Ponsonby, the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, to be by him presented to his Grace the Duke of Bedford.[2] For a few days it remained unanswered; and some, who had discouraged the movement, began to say that the address would be treated with contemptuous silence. But the Lord Lieutenant acted more wisely. In due time a most gracious reply was received; those who had charge of the address were invited to appear in the House of Commons; Mr. Anthony McDermott, one of their number, was requested to read it; and the Speaker then expressed the satisfaction with which he contemplated the whole proceeding. Thus, seventy years after the Revolution, Irish Romanists for the first time received a kindly recognition in the Irish Senate House. Others, emboldened by the intelligence of this reception, followed the example of the committee; and crowds of addresses, breathing a spirit of exuberant loyalty, quickly reached the Castle of Dublin from Roman Catholics in all parts of the kingdom.[3]

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[1] The address is said to have been written by Charles O'Conor, of Belanagare. Mitchel's *History of Ireland*, p. 80.

[2] Haverty, p. 696. [3] *Ibid.*



CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE III. TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE. A.D. 1760 TO A.D. 1782.

THE accession of George III. to the crown called forth the congratulations of all classes of the Irish people. The members of the Established Church reckoned confidently on his favour; and the tolerant spirit hitherto evinced by the princes of the House of Hanover emboldened non-conformists to expect that the new King would pursue the mild policy of his predecessors. His promising character recommended him to his subjects; and expressions of their regard poured in on him from all quarters. Even the Irish Quakers signalized themselves by a dutiful address.[1] The Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Antrim joined together in approaching the throne with the assurances of their ardent loyalty; and, as these two bodies had lately been drawing more closely to each other, they agreed on this occasion to style themselves "The Presbyterian ministers of the Northern Association in Ireland."[2] The Irish Roman Catholics also presented to His Majesty a complimentary address, in which they state that they "are unfortunately distinguished from the rest of their fellow-subjects;" and venture to indulge a hope that they "may not be left incapable of promoting the general welfare and prosperity."[3]

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[1] This address may be found in Plowden's *Hist. Rev.*, i., appendix, p. 275. Arthur Young, writing in the early part of the reign of George III., describes "the whole worsted trade" as "in the hands of the Quakers of Clonmel, Carrick, and Bandon." See Parnell's *Hist. of the Penal Laws*, pp. 101-2.

[2] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 322.

[3] This address may be found in Plowden, i., appendix, 276.

But though, in the commencement of this reign, the inhabitants of the kingdom of all denominations united, with apparent cordiality, in acknowledgments of allegiance to the new monarch, there were elements in the condition of the country well fitted to awaken the anxiety of statesmen. The agrarian disturbances, which soon afterwards occurred, revealed the pressure of a multitude of social grievances. Many of the Irish landowners—like too many of the Irish beneficed clergy[1]—were non-resident; and whilst the factors appointed to manage the estates of the absentees sought to recommend themselves to their employers by the augmentation of the rentals, both landlords and agents often entirely ignored the principle that property has its duties as well as its rights. Most of the nobility and gentry were Episcopalians; and few of them, who lived in Ireland, acted in a way calculated to gain the esteem, and promote the improvement of the surrounding population. An Irish squire of the eighteenth century was often a strange mixture of pride, thoughtlessness, and prodigality. He kept a pack of hounds; spent much of his time in field sports; wound up the hunting day with a feast; and closed the feast with deep potations. According to his views, a gentleman lost caste by engaging in trade—so that, if his sons did not care to take orders in the Church,

[1] On the 23rd of January, 1764, on the motion of Sir Wm. Osborne, for a return of the names of non-resident incumbents, Lucius O'Brien, Esq., M.P. for Ennis, made the following statement in the Irish House of Commons:—"I live in the County of Clare, which is one of the largest in Ireland and extremely well peopled. In that county there are no less than seventy-six parishes, and no more than fourteen churches, so that sixty-two parishes of the seventy-six are sinecures. But could it be believed that when the number of churches is so small, in proportion to the number of parishes, *the rectors of most of them are non-resident, nor is there so much as a curate of forty pounds a year to supply their place.* . . . The inhabitants of many parishes must either live in the total neglect of all religious duties, or they must have recourse to popish priests. The priest must marry those who would enter into the nuptial contract, the priest must baptize the children, and the priest must bury their dead; or they must cohabit like savages in the unenlightened recesses of Africa, the child must be considered a mere denizen of nature, under no covenant with God, and the dead must be deposited in the earth without memorial of a resurrection."—*Historical Memoir of the O'Briens*, by John O'Donoghue, A.M., pp. 538-9. Dublin, 1860. It is remarkable that this large county—thus so shamefully neglected by the clergy of the Protestant establishment—was afterwards the first to return a Roman Catholic representative to the Imperial Parliament.

or to enter the legal profession, they were very frequently brought up in idleness and profligacy. The squire professed great zeal for the Protestant interest, and yet seldom appeared in the house of God, and more rarely still at the communion table. Extravagance generated embarrassment; and the necessities of the landlord led to the oppression of the tenantry. Exorbitant rents were exacted; the working classes, as well as the [illegible]re improvident; and, in an island remarkable for [illegible]y, one unpropitious season reduced the peas[illegible] There were open grounds, called "common [illegible]s of the country; and, to enable the occupiers o[illegible]lings to pay their rents, they had been allowed th[illegible] of feeding their cattle on these pastures. But [illegible]time there was increasing demand in foreign mark[illegible]f and butter; the price of such commodities rose ra[illegible] and the gentry discovered that grazing was more profitable than tillage. They accordingly proceeded, in several districts of Munster, to enclose the commons, and appropriate these lands to their own use; whilst they made no corresponding reduction in the rents of the peasantry. Their conduct, as might have been expected, created much irritation. The poor people banded themselves together under the designation of "*Levellers*," and broke down the newly-made fences. Nor did they stop here. The decay of tillage interfered with their means of subsistence—for they could find no employment; and many of them had been ejected from their holdings to make room for sheep and oxen. Driven almost to distraction by sheer destitution, they assembled at night in great multitudes; and wearing shirts over the rest of their clothing—that they might be known to each other in the darkness—they acquired the name of *Whiteboys*. United by an oath of association, and traversing the country in all directions, they spread terror wherever they appeared. They dug up pasture grounds, houghed cattle, mounted obnoxious individuals on horseback, and compelled them to ride naked through the parish on saddles covered with the skins of hedgehogs; or, making excavations in the fields, thrust them, to the chin, in a state of nudity, into these pits; and then trampling in thorns around them, subjected them to lingering

agony.[1] As the tithe of agistment was no longer payable, and as so much land was devoted to pasturage, the gentry, who were Protestants, gave comparatively little to their Church; whilst the poor cottiers and small farmers, who were Romanists, and who could not live without husbandry, were the principal contributors to its maintenance. The tithe proctor had thus a task of no common difficulty. He had to collect an odious impost from a community ground down by exactions; and if he was obliged to use citations, and processes, and other appliances in the enforcement of his claim, he at once added to its amount, and exposed himself to much obloquy.[2] He was, therefore, peculiarly unpopular; and he had good reason to tremble when the Whiteboys went their rounds.

The lawless multitude did not rest satisfied with destroying rich pastures, injuring cattle, and terrifying tithe proctors. Informers, and others who incurred their displeasure, and who came in their way, paid the penalty of death. Government was obliged to interfere energetically for the suppression of these outrages. A bill providing for the summary punishment of the offenders obtained the sanction of Parliament; and a number of the Whiteboys fell victims to public justice. But there was a widespread impression—at least among his own co-religionists—that one individual who was now handed over to the executioner, was innocent of the crime for which he suffered. Father Nicholas Sheehy—assistant parish priest of Clogheen in the County of Tipperary—lived in the midst of the Whiteboys; and several hundreds of them belonged to his own congregation.[3] He felt for their wrongs; and did not scruple to give free expression to his sentiments. As might have been expected,

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[1] Gordon's *History of Ireland*, ii. 239; Wesley's *Journal*, pp. 502-3; Burdy's *Ireland*, pp. 401-3.

[2] Some of the tithe proctors were quite unscrupulous, and enriched themselves by the spoliation of the peasantry. One of these wretches, in 1762, claimed five shillings for every marriage celebrated by a Roman Catholic priest! Madden's *United Irishmen*, second series, Hist. Introd., vol. i., p. xviii.

[3] Sheehy was of respectable Roman Catholic parentage. He was connected by relationship with some of the R. C. gentry of the district. Madden, second series, vol. i., Hist. Introd., p. xiii.

he largely enjoyed their confidence; but he imprudently permitted himself to be regarded as their apologist or advocate—whilst he had neither wisdom to guide them, nor perhaps any great desire to restrain their excesses.[1] He was, accordingly, soon denounced as their ringleader. He was accused of high treason; and in 1765 a large reward was offered for his apprehension. Like a man fully conscious of the rectitude of his proceedings, he wrote to the Irish Chief Secretary, offering to give himself up voluntarily, on condition that he would be tried for any crime imputed to him, not in Clonmel, but in the Irish metropolis. This was a very reasonable proposal; as, in his case, all Romanists would be excluded from the jury.[2] The members of the Established Church in his own county were deeply prejudiced against him, so that it was not remarkable he was unwilling to submit his case to their decision. His offer was accepted; he was taken to Dublin; and the adverse witnesses were deemed so unworthy of credit that he obtained a verdict of acquittal. But, immediately afterwards, while he was still in Dublin, a new charge was preferred; and he was indicted for the murder of a man named Bridge, who had been known as an informer. He was now arraigned at Clonmel; and on the testimony of the very same witnesses—who had not been believed on the first trial—he was brought in guilty. In a few days afterwards he was hanged and quartered. He persisted in protesting in the most solemn manner that he was not concerned in the dark deed charged upon him, that he was not cognisant of a design to murder Bridge, and that he knew nothing of the affair until he heard of it by public rumour.[3] Sheehy had probably com-

[1] Dr. Curry—who was his contemporary and who appears to have been well acquainted with his character—says of him:—"This man was giddy and officious, but not ill-meaning, with somewhat of a Quixotic cast of mind towards relieving all those within his district whom he fancied to be injured or oppressed; and, setting aside his unavoidable connection with these rioters, several hundreds of whom were his parishioners, he was a clergyman of an unimpeached character in all other respects."—CURRY'S *State of the Catholics of Ireland*, pp. 568-9. Sheehy seems to have been concerned in the rescue of some Whiteboy prisoners.

[2] See before, p. 202 of this volume.

[3] There is every reason to believe that this statement was true. It appears that

itted many acts of indiscretion, and, it may be, had even stigated to deeds of violence; but he was condemned for rime of which he was guiltless[1] by a hostile jury on the idence of false witnesses. Such an award was far more ely to aggravate than allay the dangerous excitement ich so extensively prevailed.

The outrages in the south continued for years; and even Irish House of Commons on one occasion described them a "popish insurrection."[2] It was alleged by some that they ginated in French intrigue, and that their object was to pro-te the interests of the Pretender; but these statements re sustained by very insufficient proof;[3] and they have not en the appearance of probability.[4] Though the Whiteboys re almost all connected with the Church of Rome, they re driven into rebellion simply by the hardships of poverty bittered by a sense of oppression. Irish legislators were o often guided by a very selfish policy; and the just claims the humbler classes—except when pressed on their consi-

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idge was murdered by two men—one of whom was a Protestant and the other Romanist. The latter revealed his guilt to Sheehy in confession. Madden, in *United Irishmen*, has minutely discussed the whole case. See his second ies, vol. i., Hist. Introd. xiii.-lv.

[1] It is with great reluctance that I differ from Mr. Froude; and yet I feel bound express my conviction that he has been unjust to Father Sheehy. See his *glish in Ireland*, ii. 31. He places much reliance on depositions made by ther O'Brien and others, published in the appendix to Musgrave's *History of the sh Rebellion*. These depositions appear to me to contain internal marks of ehood. They prove quite too much. According to them the R. C. Archbishop Cashel was the great organizer of the Whiteboys. There is reason to believe t he was strongly opposed to them. See Renehan's *Collections*, p. 321. The positions do not even refer to the murder of Bridge. Father O'Brien was a graded priest who turned Protestant. See Madden, Hist. Introd. i. p. lxxxvi. this trial at Clonmel, Father Sheehy was treated with the grossest injustice.

[2] Plowden, i., p. 344.

[3] One of the most cogent proofs was the appearance of French coins among the asantry; but as there was then much smuggling carried on between that part the country and France, the possession of the French money could be easily plained.

At this time the idea of restoring the dethroned dynasty was generally aban-ed even by the Tories. See *Pictorial History of England*, iv. 807. It appears n a paper written by the celebrated Edmund Burke that some of the outrages he Whiteboys were promoted by a deranged Protestant solicitor. See *Correspondence of Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, vol. i., p. 44. London, 1844.

deration in a form which they could not afford to overlook—were shamefully ignored. About the time that the Whiteboys were creating such alarm in Munster, agrarian disturbances in Ulster—where poor Protestants were the actors—attested that the rapacity of landlords and the mischiefs of unequal laws were felt throughout the island. The exactions, which provoked the people of the north to associate in threatening combinations, were of a very odious character. The small farmers—oppressed by rack-renting—had to sustain almost the whole of the expense of the making and repair of the public roads. Every householder was required to give six days' work annually to road-making; and, if he possessed a horse, he was obliged to supply six days' labour of a horse and man.[1] The burden pressed most unequally on the rich and poor; and was all the more intolerable as the grand jurors—who were the landlords—had the entire management of the business. It was well known that these gentlemen often made roads, more for their own accommodation, than with any view to the public service. The Ulster malcontents—like those in the south—were united by an oath; and, wearing oak branches in their hats as badges of distinction, were designated *Oak Boys* or *Hearts of Oak*.[2] They appeared first in County Armagh; but the confederation soon extended to Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. They assembled in open day, and disavowed all disloyal intentions—as they forced all they met to take an oath pledging them "to be true to the King and the Hearts of Oak." They did not, however, confine themselves long to the redress of the grievance of which they originally complained; for they soon began to administer oaths to the episcopal clergy—binding them to be content with a certain rate of tithe; and they then proceeded to prescribe a scale of rents, and to regulate the charges for turf-bogs. After all, this insurrection did not prove very formidable. It was soon suppressed with the loss of only three or four lives, and without any destruction of property.[3] In the following session of Parliament the offensive law relating to road-

[1] Plowden, i. 346; Gordon, ii. 241.
[2] Gordon's *History of Ireland*, ii. 241.
[3] Gordon, ii. 242.

making was repealed; and the expense of maintaining the highways was henceforth paid out of the county cess.

In 1769, or a few years after the suppression of the Hearts of Oak, a new combination, known as the *Hearts of Steel*, appeared in County Antrim among the tenantry of Lord Donegall. That nobleman, like so many others of his class, was non-resident; the farmers on his extensive property were, with few exceptions, Presbyterians; and they felt severely the effects of his folly and extravagance. To meet his incessant demands for money, a new system of extortion was introduced; for the tenant was required to pay a large fine on obtaining a renewal of his lease. Should he fail to meet the demand made on him, another who had more ready cash—sometimes a Roman Catholic—obtained possession of his holding. There were cases in which Belfast merchants,[1] with abundant capital, obtained grants of many farms; and, in the position of middlemen, pursued a system of rack-renting with the peasantry thus handed over to their mercy.[2] The occupiers of the soil were generally not in a position to pay the fines sought from them—as a famine of great intensity, during which the distilleries had been stopped, had prevailed only a few years before;[3] and the country had not yet recovered from the visitation. The rapacity of the agent of Lord Donegall added to the discontent; for this official insisted on high fees, as perquisites, when he delivered the leases to the tenantry.[4] Many of the poor people, provoked beyond

[1] Madden, in his *United Irishmen*, gives the names of a number of these merchants, viz. :—Waddell Cunningham, William Wallace, the Greggs, and Stewart Banks. Second series, Hist. Introd., i. xcv. It appears that one person, whose name is not given, took a townland in the parish of Carnmoney over the heads of the tenantry. *Ibid.* xciii.

[2] Mant, ii. 705; Gordon, ii. 248; Burdy, p. 408. In 1758 Wesley thus notices the Donegall family:—"The old Earl of Donegall, one of the richest peers in Ireland, took much pleasure here [at Carrickfergus] in his stately house, surrounded by large and elegant gardens. But his only son proved an idiot, and the present heir regards them not. So the roof of the house is fallen in; and the horses and sheep, which feed in the gardens, make wild work with the parterres and curious trees which the old lord so carefully planted."—*Journal*, p. 419.

[3] In 1765. Plowden, i. 379. An Act of Parliament was passed to authorize the stopping of the distilleries. It is the 5th of George III., chap iii.

[4] In Froude's *English in Ireland* (ii. p. 121) there is a copy of a most touching

endurance by oppression, and rendered desperate by the loss of their farms, rose in a mass; pledged themselves to be "true as steel" to each other; maimed the cattle of the new occupiers; wrecked their houses; and committed sundry other acts of lawlessness. The association of Steel Boys soon extended into the neighbouring counties—as the wrongs which they professed to avenge were unhappily not confined to Antrim. Government found it exceedingly difficult to deal with these combinators; and ere they passed away before their depredations entirely ceased.

The disorders of the Whiteboys, the Oak Boys, and the Hearts of Steel, conveyed a severe reflection on the character of the landocracy who provoked them. Assuredly the poor cottiers and farmers would have created no disturbance, had they been treated with ordinary kindness, and had their complaints been weighed with candour. The heartless conduct of the northern proprietors inflicted a heavy injury on the country; for multitudes of the intelligent and industrious Presbyterians, who had no share in these commotions, left Ulster in disgust, and sought a home on the other side of the Atlantic.[1] They carried the remembrance of their wrongs along with them; and a few years afterwards—when the Revolutionary war commenced—not a few of them were among the most zealous and resolute assertors of American independence.

Though the penal laws still remained on the Statute Book, many of them were already practically obsolete. The Roman Catholic clergy celebrated their worship unmolested; popish chapels—or, as they were called, "mass-houses—"[2]

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petition forwarded, in 1772, by the Hearts of Steel to the Irish Viceroy. The petitioners state that they are "*all* Protestants and Protestant dissenters," and that it is not "wanton folly," but "the weight of oppression," which prompts them to become Hearts of Steel.

[1] "It was computed that, in 1773 and the five preceding years, the north of Ireland, by emigration to the American settlements, was drained of *one-fourth* of its trading cash, and of the like proportion of the manufacturing people."—*Historical Collections Relative to the Town of Belfast*, p. 114. See also Plowden, i. 458; and Gordon, ii. 249.

[2] Many of the mass-houses were built of mud and thatched. The chalices were often of pewter. Cogan's *Meath*, iii. 26. About the middle of the last century the

were to be seen everywhere throughout the country; and the Roman Catholic prelates visited their dioceses to ordain candidates for the sacred office, and to administer confirmation. The priests received their official training at Roman Catholic colleges on the continent; but a large number of them had a very limited education. When a young man devoted himself to the service of the Church, and when he had been taught by some priest in his neighbourhood to say mass, and to go through the routine of some other official duties, he was forthwith ordained; and he was then expected to go abroad —to enter, properly speaking, on his ecclesiastical studies.[1] But, when some of these youths had obtained the imposition of the bishop's hands, they were not particularly anxious to prosecute their inquiries farther into the regions of Catholic theology. As they were now in orders, and authorized to say mass, they preferred to stay at home, and to assist the parish priests who were willing to accept their aid. Some attempts were made, in the beginning of the reign of George III. to correct such irregularities. It was proposed that a young priest, who did not leave the kingdom within a certain period after the date of ordination, should be subject to suspension; and that everyone who returned to the country, without completing a certain course of study, should receive no ecclesiastical appointment.[2] In some places, the laity were still disposed to claim a share in the choice of the clergy, and to resist the settlement of priests with whom they were dissatisfied; but such pretensions were repressed with a firm hand;

Roman Catholic chapel of Mullingar was the only one between Galway and Dublin which was slated. *Ibid.* ii. 476. About the same time, some of the Presbyterian meeting-houses were mud buildings, and many of them were thatched. See *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 308.

[1] Renehan's *Collections*, p. 108, *note*. Warner, writing in 1765, says:—"Their [Irish R. C.] priests . . . . are in general very deficient in learning, except in Latin, in which they read a great deal of the lives of their saints, and the fabulous stories of their country. Those among them who are promoted to titular bishoprics are chiefly men of good Irish families; but the inferior clergy are from the lowest of the people. For it is no uncommon thing, as I am informed, to meet with boys on the road, under the title of poor scholars, begging for money to buy books; who, after getting very little learning, are ordained, and *then sent* to study their course of philosophy abroad."—*Hist. of Ireland*, Introd., vol. i., p. 67.

[2] Renehan, p. 108.

and any young ecclesiastic by whom they were encouraged was, for three years, to forfeit his prospect of promotion.[1] Another resolution, now adopted at the meeting of a diocesan chapter, was levelled against clerical inebriety. No priest in any one place, and at one time, was to drink more than a naggin of whisky undiluted; "or double that quantity in punch."[2] The canon is rather incomplete, as it does not specify how often, in the twenty-four hours, his reverence may partake of this refreshment. Hitherto, among the perquisites of the bishop, were the horse, bridle, and saddle of every priest who died in the diocese. This claim brought the ordinary into collision with the relatives of the deceased, who often refused to part with what they deemed his most valuable chattels. The affair was now settled by a compromise. On the payment of five guineas within a certain time after a priest obtained a parish, the bishop agreed to surrender to his heirs all claim on his personal property.[3]

From the beginning of the reign of George III. the political prospects of the Romanists were increasingly hopeful. In 1762 a bill to enable them to lend money, on the security of property in fee simple, obtained the sanction of the Irish House of Commons; but, when sent over to England, it was suppressed.[4] The allegation that it was brought forward at the very close of the session, when most of those from whom opposition was to be anticipated had left Dublin, is not without probability; as, when re-introduced in the following year, it was rejected by a large majority. But the Romanists continued, notwithstanding, to testify their loyalty. In December, 1767, prayers were offered up in all their chapels through-

[1] Renehan, pp. 104, 105.

[2] Any priest is to be "dispossessed of his parish" who will "stay to drink whisky, or any other spirituous distilled strong liquors, at one place, time, or meeting, exceeding the measure of what is commonly called a noggin; or double that quantity in punch."—*Regulations for the Diocese of Armagh*, approved of by the Roman Catholic Primate in 1761. Renehan's *Collections*, p. 105. The word *noggin* here is, I take it, a mistake for naggin. A naggin is two glasses. A noggin is, I understand, a much larger measure.

[3] Renehan's *Collections*, pp. 106, 109. There is at present quite a new order of things; as the priest is now expected to bequeath all his property to the Church. See chap. viii. of this Book.

[4] Plowden, i. 367.

out Ireland for George III. and the royal family. This was the first occasion, since the Revolution, on which the reigning sovereign was so recognized.[1] The Legislature soon afterwards exhibited a somewhat more conciliatory spirit. In 1771,[2] in an Act for the improvement of turf bogs, Roman Catholics were cheered by the first concession granted to them since the Revolution; and yet the favour is of a rather paltry character. The Act states that Ireland contains many large unprofitable swamps injurious to the public health; and provides that any Romanists, undertaking the reclamation, may obtain a lease, for any term not exceeding sixty-one years, of fifty plantation acres, with half an acre of arable land adjoining for the erection of a dwelling-house. Even this miserable privilege is hampered by several vexations conditions—among the rest, that the bog must not be within a mile of a town or city.[3] What strange revolutions have occurred since the Irish Parliament produced this most ignoble specimen of niggard legislation! Who could have expected that, a hundred years after the passing of this Act, there would be no Established Church in the country; that an Irish Romanist would be the Lord Chancellor; that poor papists would be travelling, in handsome carriages, at the rate of from twenty to thirty miles an hour, over the bog of Allen; that the Pope, stripped of his temporal possessions, would be bemoaning himself as a prisoner in the Vatican; and that Protestantism, all over the world, would be far more influential than it had ever been before!

The year in which this wretched boon was granted to the Romanists witnessed the last attempt, made by Act of Parlia-

[1] Ryland's *History of Waterford*, p. 94. London, 1824.

[2] In this year died the celebrated Dr. Lucas. According to Plowden (i. 301, *note*) he was a Presbyterian, and one of the very few men known as Patriots who, to the last, maintained a character for incorruptible integrity. *Ibid.* i. 415, *note.* He was for some time one of the representatives of the city of Dublin. His colleague—the Recorder of Dublin—was the father of the illustrious Grattan. Lucas was not favourable to the Roman Catholic claims. For some time he conducted the *Freeman's Journal.* His remains were honoured with a public funeral. Haverty, i. 697; Plowden, i. 391; Gordon's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 245.

ment, to corrupt a venal priesthood. It was found that the thirty pounds a year—promised on conformity—had not brought about the expected number of recantations; and it was suggested that a larger offer might be more successful. The Chief Governor, Lord Viscount Townshend, accordingly proposed an augmentation; and an Act, in consequence, was passed, in which it was provided that, as the allowance heretofore made was "in *sufficient encouragement* for popish priests to l ts,"[1] each conformist was henceforth to h nty rates, an annual salary of forty pounds. ser spirits appear to have been won over b n; but the bribery was so transparent that tl exposed them to contempt and scorn. The ten onal were popularly known as "Townshend's golden and in countless songs and epigrams, the effects of the l rescription were humorously described.[2] Converts thus gained amidst derisive cheers, were not likely to add to the moral strength of the Establishment.

About this time, statesmen seem to have been convinced that the idea of reclaiming the Romanist by political appliances was perfectly Utopian. It was calculated that, according to the recent rate of conversions, they could not be gathered into the Episcopal Church in less than four thousand years.[3] The penal laws were so severe that they could not be enforced; and no attempt had ever yet been made to carry them strictly into execution. It might be said that they

[1] These are the very words of the Act. It is the 11th and 12th of George III. chap. xxvii. At this time the salary of many popish priests did not much exceed twenty pounds a year, so that the temptation was considerable. See Archbishop Butler's *Justification of the Tenets of the R. C. Religion*, p. 33. Dublin, 1787.

[2] Plowden, i. 416, *note*.

[3] Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, p. 103. It appears that in seventy-one years, that is, from 1702 to 1773, there were only 4,045 recorded recantations. They stand thus:—From 1702 to 1708—37; 1708 to 1713—112; 1713 to 1723—108; 1723 to 1733—403; 1733 to 1743—639; 1743 to 1752—569; 1752 to 1762—876; 1762 to 1773—1,301. In Lenihan's *Limerick* there is a list of converts from 1703 to 1772 in Limerick, Clare, and Tipperary, pp. 373-379. Among the names are Lord Castlehaven, the daughter of Lord Riverston, Lady Riverston, Lord Riverston, Sir John Byrne, Bart., Hon. Edmond Butler, Earl of Westmeath, the Countess of Louth, Lady Dunboyne, and several priests. It would seem from this that the converts had been gradually increasing.

served to intimidate the papal party, and to weaken their social influence; but it could be urged, in reply, that the Romanists set them at defiance with impunity, and that their existence in the Statute Book tended to create discomfort and irritation. The members of the Church of Rome had a large portion of the trade of the country in their hands;[1] they had of late been rapidly accumulating wealth;[2] and the danger of continuing to treat the greater part of the nation, as beings of an inferior grade, could not escape the notice of any thoughtful observer. As a preparation for further concessions, a bill for enabling His Majesty's subjects of whatever persuasion to testify their allegiance to him,[3] passed through the Irish Parliament in 1774 without opposition. According to this Act[4] "any person professing the popish religion" was at liberty to go before the judges of the Court of King's Bench, or any justice of the peace for the county in which he resided, and take and subscribe an oath declaring that he would be faithful to the reigning sovereign, that he would maintain the succession of the crown in the House of Hanover, that he deemed it impious to murder any persons under the

[1] Mant, ii. 487.

[2] When the bill to enable Romanists to lend money on the security of real property was under discussion, some members of the Irish Parliament urged as an objection that it would "eventually make papists proprietors of great part of the landed interest of the kingdom."—PLOWDEN, i. 369. This was doubtless an exaggeration; and yet it indicated that they must have had a great amount of capital.

[3] The preamble states that "by the laws now in being" they are "prevented from giving public assurances of such allegiance."

[4] The 13th and 14th of George III. chap. xxxv. Burke, in the supplement to his *Hibernia Dominicana* (pp. 925-6, *note*), has given a form of oath of precisely the same purport, which was proposed to be used by the Irish Romanists at an earlier period in the reign of George III. Ghilini, the Apostolic Nuncio at Brussels, who was specially charged with the care of the Irish Roman Catholic Church, wrote in 1768 to the four Irish R. C. archbishops protesting against the adoption of the formula. "The oath," said he, "is in its whole extent unlawful, so is it in its nature invalid, null, and of no effect, *inasmuch that it can by no means bind and oblige consciences.*"—Supplement to the *Hibernia Dominicana*, pp. 925-928. As the Romanists now took an oath of exactly the same kind, this formula, according to Ghilini, did not bind the conscience. The propriety of taking the oath is still a matter of controversy among Romanists. See O'Sullivan's *Evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges*, first report, pp. 64-77. See also chap. iv. of this Book, p. 329, *note* (3).

pretence that they were heretics, and that he did not believe the Pope of Rome "had, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within the realm."[1] In 1775, Dr. Butler, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, and his suffragans, took this oath, having previously agreed to a declaration that it "contained nothing contrary to the principles of the Roman Catholic religion."[2] [illegible] tated, for a considerable time, to pursue this cou[illegible] ngth in 1778 Dr. Carpenter, Roman Catholic A[illegible] ublin, at the head of seventy of his clergy and seve[illegible] ds of the Roman Catholic laity, attended at the [illegible] ing's Bench in Dublin, and took the oath accord[illegible] provisions of the Act of Parliament.[3]

About this time a ren[illegible] hange appears in the tone of the official documents [illegible] efer to the majority of the Irish people. Even so late as the commencement of the reign of George I., the Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom did not hesitate to speak of the members of the Church of Rome as "the common enemy;"[4] and in the Irish Statute Book for the preceding portion of the century they are curtly designated "Papists." In an Act passed in 1778 they are described, more courteously, as "Roman Catholics," and as "His Majesty's

[1] For further information relating to the reception of this Act by Roman Catholics, see Archbishop Butler's published letter to Lord Kenmare, dated Thurles, December 27th, 1786. See appendix to Parnell's *History of the Penal Laws*, p. xxviii.

[2] Renehan's *Collections*, pp. 328, 330. Dr. Butler had great influence in the Irish Roman Catholic Church. He was made Archbishop of Cashel when little more than thirty years of age. He was a man of fortune; and succeeded in 1778 to the family estates—out of which he reserved about £1,000 a year for his own use, and gave the remainder to his younger brother. He wrote a catechism long in use among the R. C. youth of Ireland. He is the author of other publications. His *Justification of the Tenets of the Roman Catholic Religion* is well known. He died of dropsy on the 29th of July, 1791, in the 50th year of his age. See Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, iii. 179-84. His immediate predecessor, as R. C. Archbishop of Cashel, was also Dr. James Butler.

[3] D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 471. The Pretender died in 1765; and his son, who was now a hopeless drunkard, cared nothing for any form of religion. Dr. Carpenter declined for a long time to take the oath himself, and meanwhile exhorted others not to take it. Burke's *Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 240.

[4] See Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* i. 240.

subjects professing the popish religion."[1] This Act greatly improves their position, and repeals some of the most odious provisions of the penal code; for it enables them to take land on leases not exceeding 999 years,[2] or for any number of lives not exceeding five; it makes their lands subject to the same conditions, with respect to inheritance and sale, as the lands of Protestants; it declares them capable of holding and enjoying all estates that may be devised or transferred to them; it relieves a Roman Catholic parent from the responsibility of supporting a child conforming to the Established Church; and it provides that the eldest son, on his renunciation of Popery, is no longer entitled to claim the reversion of his father's property.

This Act did not reach the Statute Book until after a severe struggle. It was keenly resisted at every stage of its progress through the Irish House of Commons, and was carried there only by a small majority.[3] In the House of Lords it met with less formidable opposition. In the Commons a few of the party known as Patriots, signalized themselves by their opposition; but most of them gave it their cordial support. Among its advocates was Henry Grattan—a name still dear to the Irish people. Grattan did not profess to be guided by any very deep religious convictions; and he cannot be regarded as an eminently sagacious statesman: but he was a true son of genius; he cherished sincere love for his country; he was an honest[4] and consistent politician; and he shed over the last twenty-five years of the Irish Parliament the splendours of a luminous and commanding eloquence.[5]

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[1] This Act is the 17th and 18th of George III. chap. xlix. On this subject see Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket, vol. i, p. 274, *note*.

[2] The bill, in its original form, gave them a right to hold property in fee simple; but an amendment limiting the term to 999 years was carried by a majority of three. Burke's *Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 234. [3] Plowden, i. 465.

[4] When his income was but limited, he might have increased it by an addition of £1,000 a year, had he chosen to take advantage of the neglect of one of his tenants in failing to keep up his interest, at the proper time, in a lease of lives renewable for ever. He nobly resisted the temptation, and without hesitation offered a renewal. See his Life, by his Son, ii. 83.

[5] Grattan entered the Irish Parliament in 1775—the year in which Daniel O'Connell was born.

The current of public events was now running decidedly in favour of increased indulgence to the Romanists. For some years Ireland had been in a very depressed condition; trade had failed; the farmers continued to complain of excessive rents; and the state of the labouring poor was most deplorable. In 1778, Lord Nugent, in the British Senate-house, described the inhabitants of his native country as suffering almost misery that human nature could endure—ni em, as he alleged, working for fourpence a in summer being potatoes and butter-milk, potatoes and water.[1] A dispute had lately en Great Britain and her American planta ects on the other side of the Atlantic at le her authority; and it was known early in 1778 was pledged to sustain the revolted colonists. For ps of war appeared in St. George's Channel, and threatened a descent on the coasts of Ulster. There were no troops in the province adequate to resist an invasion; in this emergency the people of Belfast enrolled themselves as volunteers;[2] and, with the concurrence of Government, trained themselves to the use of arms. The system of volunteering became soon amazingly popular; and, in little more than eighteen months after the formation of the first company in the capital of Ulster, upwards of forty thousand men had joined the association. The volunteers purchased their own arms and accoutrements; elected their own officers; and were regularly drilled and organized.

The Irish Government was no longer in a position in which it could venture to turn a deaf ear to the voice of the people. Public distress was clamant: and the volunteers of the north—most of whom were Presbyterians—could not safely be either ignored or provoked. The High Church oligarchy, who had so long ruled supreme, were now stricken with political paralysis; and yet they most reluctantly surrendered their monopoly of power and privileges. Towards the close of the year 1779, a bill for the removal of the Sacrament

[1] Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* i. 471.

[2] Gordon, ii. 264; Haverty, p. 706.

Test—an obstruction which had so long excluded non-conformists from all civil and military appointments under the Crown—was introduced into the Irish House of Commons; and, though the measure had often before been rejected in the same court by overwhelming majorities, it now met with unanimous approval. To mark more emphatically the importance attached to it, the bill, borne by the Speaker accompanied by the members of the House, was carried to the castle, for presentation to the Lord Lieutenant. But it had now to encounter the opposition of the bishops and their adherents in the Privy Council;[1] and upwards of two months elapsed before it was forwarded to London. When sent across the Channel to obtain the sanction of the English Government another long delay occurred—indicating that it had still to surmount very formidable difficulties; but ultimately it was returned unaltered; and soon afterwards placed on the Statute Book.[2]

Another measure—brought forward about two years afterwards—for the removal of another great grievance of the Irish Presbyterians, experienced a still more bitter and vigorous resistance. An Irish Statute passed in 1737,[3] relieved Protestant non-conformists from prosecutions in the ecclesiastical courts on the ground of marriages celebrated by their own ministers among themselves; and they were thus delivered from much annoyance, litigation, and expense; but the Act did not explicitly assert the binding obligation of these contracts; High Churchmen continued to pronounce them null and void; and though the ablest lawyers asserted their validity,[4] it was not desirable that doubts should any longer

[1] "The bishops in the Council, consistent to the last, desired to strain a power which it was doubtful if the Council constitutionally possessed, and *suppress the bill on their own responsibility*. The Chancellor, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Foster, warned them against so dangerous an experiment."—FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, ii. 249.

[2] It is the 19th and 20th of George III. chap. vi.

[3] See before, p. 261 of this volume.

[4] When the measure, now introduced, was under discussion in the House of Lords, the Irish Lord Chancellor declared that marriages celebrated by Presbyterian ministers were already valid in point of law. Some professed to doubt the accuracy of this opinion; and it was the interest of the High Church party to keep the question of law in its present unsatisfactory position.

exist respecting them—more especially as the title to a large amount of landed property depended on their recognition. A bill declaring their validity was accordingly brought into the Irish Parliament; but, when it reached the House of Lords, the prelates resisted it most pertinaciously.[1] When it was carried against them by a majority of the lay peers, they did not withdraw their opposition. A long and carefully prepared Protest—[illegible]ee archbishops, ten bishops, and nine lay lord[illegible] on the Journals. The Dissentients, in t[illegible]ade the real state of the question, and c[illegible]f evils which, they contended, were to flow fro[illegible]on. They speak as if nonconformists wer[illegible]oline, ignore the fact that Romish priests w[illegible]itted to enjoy the privileges they are so un[illegible]le to Presbyterian ministers, and assume that these m[illegible] were likely to celebrate marriage where the parties were within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity.[2]

About the time that the marriage question was under consideration, another measure for affording Roman Catholics additional relief[3] from the pressure of the penal laws, awakened much interest. Early in the year 1782, Mr. Luke Gardiner—afterwards Lord Mountjoy[4]—gave notice, in his place in Parliament, of his intention to introduce such a bill; but, from the manner in which the intimation was received, it was evident that his fellow members were very much divided in opinion as to the wisdom of the proposal. On Friday, the

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[1] The Act is the 21st and 22nd of George III. chap. xxv. The pertinacity of the Protestant prelates in opposing all concessions to Presbyterians is remarkable. Even so late as 1844 we find Dr. Cooke complaining that the bishops were "secretly opposing" a Presbyterian marriage bill. *Life and Times of Dr. Cooke*, by Dr. Porter, p. 437.

[2] This Protest—which the late Bishop Mant regarded as a truly noble production—may be found in his *History of the Church of Ireland*, ii. 675-8.

[3] In September, 1781, when an apprehension prevailed that the French were about to attempt a landing in the south of Ireland, and when Sir John Irwine, the commander of the forces there, was almost without money, Mr. George Goold, a Roman Catholic merchant in Cork, at once advanced him five thousand guineas. For this seasonable service he received the thanks of Government. See *Correspondence of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, vol. ii., pp. 432-5.

[4] He was killed by the rebels at New Ross in 1798.

15th of February—when the order of the day was read, and when the senators, in the presence of crowded galleries, were about to proceed with the discussion—Mr. Fitzgibbon, an eminent lawyer,[1] created a kind of panic by announcing that, till a few hours before, he had not considered the bill dangerous; but that, on examining it carefully, he was by no means satisfied. It struck him that it would repeal the Act of Settlement, and other most important statutes; and if so, it would destroy the new titles under the popery laws, and "entangle the whole kingdom in a maze of confusion."[2] The penal code was so shamefully oppressive that no one ventured openly to stand up in its vindication; and though Mr. Fitzgibbon professed himself "a firm friend to toleration," it would seem that he secretly contemplated the proposed relaxation with very little favour. The difficulty he suggested was well fitted to make an impression. Mr. Gardiner, the prime mover in the affair, not being a lawyer, could not be expected to be able to argue the point with the objector; and no one was prepared on the spot to grapple with so grave an impediment. It was therefore deemed prudent to pause, that there might be time for investigation; and, after reading the bill, the debate was adjourned till the Wednesday following. The delay was most favourable to the Romanists; as, on the very day on which Mr. Fitzgibbon stayed proceedings, a meeting was being held in a distant part of the country which gave a mighty impetus to the movement.

It had been arranged that the delegates of the volunteers were to assemble for deliberation at Dungannon on the 15th of February, 1782. Their armed associations now reckoned nearly one hundred thousand men; they had engaged in the discussion of political questions; and though, in the present embarrassed circumstances of the country, Government could not well afford openly to oppose their enrolment, it was beginning to regard their proceedings with much uneasiness.

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[1] Afterwards Lord Clare. He became Lord Chancellor in 1789. He was the son of John Fitzgibbon, who was educated for the R. C. priesthood, but who eventually became a conformist and a lawyer. Lord Clare inherited from his father a handsome fortune.

[2] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 241. Dublin, 1784.

The announcement of the proposed meeting at Dungannon awakened no little anxiety;[1] for it was expected that the delegates would enter on the consideration of subjects which many wished to be kept in abeyance; and even Lord Charlemont, who was the nominal chief of the volunteers, felt by no means at ease at the prospect of the convention. On the appointed day the representatives of one hundred and forty-three companies appeared together in military dress; Colonel William Irvine, an Episcopalian gentleman,[2] occupied the chair; but most of those who constituted the meeting were Presbyterians.[3] The eyes of all Ireland were turned to this assembly; some attempts which had been made by the executive to prevent it, added immensely to the excitement;[4] and the volunteers were not in a mood to brook contradiction. Their resolutions, amounting to twenty-one,[5] were carried with great enthusiasm; most of them were passed unanimously; and in no case were there more than a very few dissentients. As the country had long suffered from commercial and other restrictions, imposed by the English Legislature, the volunteers at Dungannon proclaimed unanimously that the "claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords, and Commons *of Ireland*, to make laws to bind the kingdom was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance;"

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[1] Burdy's *History of Ireland*, p. 420.

[2] A number of Episcopalians of wealth and influence occupied prominent positions among the volunteeers; but the bulk of the officers and men in Ulster did not belong to the Establishment. The Presbyterians were an overwhelming majority of the delegates now assembled at Dungannon. Their influence appeared in the proceedings of that memorable day; and the Episcopalians rather reluctantly assented to the resolution relating to the removal of the penal laws. It was opposed to their traditional policy.

[3] In the Belfast *News Letter* of the 22nd of February, 1782, it is stated that the meeting was "composed *almost en'irely* of Dissenters." The Roman Catholics at the time were well aware of this fact. Hence, a few years afterwards, Father O'Leary represents the Presbyterians as saying to the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne:—"When you call upon us to your assistance against our Catholic neighbours, we shall not obey the summons. . . . When they were groaning under the yoke of penal laws, *we published at Dungannon those resolutions* which Europe read with admiration."—O'Leary's *Defence*, p. 68. Dublin, 1787.

[4] Plowden, i. 564; Burdy, p. 420.

[5] These resolutions may be found in Plowden, i. 567-8.

and they resolved, with only two dissentient voices, that "they held the right of private judgment in matters of religion to be equally sacred in others as in themselves;" that "as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."[1]

These resolutions soon gave a decided tone to public opinion. They at once obtained very extensive circulation; and many of them were adopted with the utmost readiness by the rest of the volunteers throughout Ireland. An impression had prevailed that the Protestants of the north were averse to concessions to the Romanists; but it now appeared that they emphatically repudiated any such ungenerous sentiments. In the north there were two classes of Protestants—the Episcopalians and the Presbyterians; and the prejudices of the members of the Established Church—including all the nobility and most of the gentry—had been mistaken for the mind of Ulster. The Episcopalians looked with little favour on the proposal for the relaxation of the penal laws; as these laws were of their own creation, and had, for generations, secured to them a monopoly of power and privileges. Even Lord Charlemont, one of the most liberal of the northern aristocracy, was not prepared to recommend their abolition.[2] The Presbyterians—who were by far the major part of the Protestant population of Ulster—viewed the matter very differently. They had themselves been kept for ages under the heel of prelacy; and they had now become quite impatient of its exclusiveness and domination; for, in the ranks of

[1] This resolution in favour of the relaxation of the penal laws was moved by Mr. Joseph Pollock, a Presbyterian gentleman, who was captain of the 1st Newry Volunteers. Mr. Pollock was the author of the celebrated letters signed Owen Roe O'Neill. See *Grattan's Life*, by his Son, ii., p. 206; iv. 41. The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Black, Presbyterian minister, first of Dromore and afterwards of Londonderry. Dr. Black was a man of great eloquence; and some of his speeches addressed to the volunteers are said to have electrified his auditors.

[2] He was decidedly opposed to giving them the elective franchise. When a bill for conferring on them the franchise was subsequently carried, he went so far as to protest against it. See his *Life*, by Hardy, p. 351. London, 1810.

the volunteers, they had of late been taught to realize their own political importance. Other considerations prompted them to support the claims of the Romanists. They knew that William III., whose memory they venerated, was the friend of toleration; and they were aware that the American colonists, with whom they sympathized, and who had now asserted successfully their independence,[1] were disposed to place Romanists on a level with others in their new republic. Thus it was that they so cordially adopted the Dungannon resolutions.[2]

When the House of Commons resumed the discussion of the Roman Catholic relief bill, a full report of the proceedings at Dungannon had reached the Irish metropolis. The difficulty suggested by Mr. Fitzgibbon had meanwhile engaged the attention of the best lawyers; and though it was found to be more specious than solid, Mr. Gardiner was prepared to propose an amendment which would remove all scruples. The delay had otherwise been advantageous; as the intelligence from the north had produced a deep impression, and had dissipated prevailing misconceptions. "I am happy to find," said Mr. Gardiner as he opened the debate, "that where ill-nature had supposed that prejudice would prevail, benevolence had been seen to flourish. The delegates at Dungannon have manifested that the people of the north are as forward to grant toleration, as the Catholics can be to

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[1] On the 19th of October, 1781, Lord Cornwallis and his army were obliged to surrender to the Americans; and thus the war was virtually closed.

[2] The views expressed at the Dungannon meeting were generally held at this time by the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster. Early in 1782 the Presbytery of Killyleagh published resolutions expressing satisfaction at the prospect of the removal of Roman Catholic disabilities. In the same year the Synod of Ulster, whilst condemning some lax doctrinal statements contained in these resolutions, declared its approval of those parts of them relating to the repeal of the penal laws, as indicating "the generous principles of civil and religious liberty." In an address to the King *unanimously* adopted at the same Synod—which met in Lurgan in the month of June—the ministers and elders say:—"We trust that the desire of your Majesty, whose first wish is to promote the happiness of *all* your subjects, will be perfected; that every species of persecution for religious opinion will be done away—when *every equally good subject* will be equally cherished and protected by the State." MSS. Minutes of the Synod of Ulster for 1782.

receive it."[1] He then went on to state the exact amount of concession which he was desirous to secure. He did not propose that Romanists should be qualified to act as members of Parliament, or grand jurors, or justices of the peace; that they should be officers of the army, or have any place in the revenue department; that they should be barristers or solicitors; or even that they should be freemen in corporations. He simply sought that their privileges should be extended in regard to the enjoyment of property, to the exercise of their religion, to education, and to marriage. All were willing to admit that the time had come when their worship must obtain the sanction of a legal toleration; but a considerable number could not see the propriety of granting them any additional indulgence. Among the opposition was the famous Henry Flood—a man of flowing eloquence, and of lofty patriotic professions; but, withal, somewhat selfish, vain, and unreliable.[2] "What will be the consequence," asked Mr. Flood, "if you give Roman Catholics equal power with the Protestants? Can a Protestant constitution survive? It is necessary, when you are granting Roman Catholics indulgence, that you distinguish between the rights of property and the rights of power. We should allow them to purchase lands; but we should carefully guard against their possessing any power in the state."[3] Grattan, who had declared on a former occasion that he "preferred the political principles of the Presbyterians before all others,"[4] was not disposed to make any such distinctions. He pointed to Presbyterian Holland, where Roman Catholics, though a small minority, enjoyed ample toleration; and argued that in Ireland, where they were the great bulk of the inhabitants, they were entitled to occupy an equally good position. He contended that the proposed concessions could not operate unfavourably to Protestantism. "Bigotry," said he, "may survive persecution

[1] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 248.

[2] Mr. Froude, in his *English in Ireland* (ii. 49, 170-174, 352), has well sketched the character of this pretentious Irish orator. Mr. Flood was a gentleman of large property.

[3] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 248.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 195.

but it never can survive toleration."[1] A little better acquaintance with history would have taught him to express himself more cautiously.

The monastic orders had been prohibited under heavy penalties from settling in Ireland; but the laws relating to them, like many others of the same character, had not been enforced; and their presence in the country had long been matter of notoriety. A proposal now made for securing them indulgence led to an animated debate. None were disposed to insist on the expulsion of these fraternities; and yet some neither wished to sanction their residence by Act of Parliament, nor relished the idea of their being permitted to appear publicly in their peculiar habiliments. During the discussion Mr. Grattan seized an opportunity of eulogizing a member of the order of the Capuchins, the well-known Father Arthur O'Leary. This gentleman, who was born in County Cork in 1729, had been chaplain to a number of Irish soldiers captured by the French,[2] and had then signalized himself by his fidelity to the British Government.[3] When an attempt was made to induce the prisoners to enter the service of the enemy, O'Leary prevented their desertion.[4] More recently he had rendered good service to the State by aiding in the suppression of the Whiteboy disturbances.[5] He was a man

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[1] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 258.

[2] The law at this time was opposed to the enlistment of Irish Romanists; but necessity sometimes compelled Government to employ them and provide them with chaplains. See p. 275 of this volume.

[3] Mr. Froude has lately startled the public by the announcement that, in 1784, O'Leary was sent into Ireland as a spy, or informer, by the English Government. *English in Ireland*, ii. 413. It was well known long since that he was in the enjoyment of a pension. There is no evidence that he should have deemed his mission in 1784 dishonourable. His pension was received as a reward for public services.

[4] Brenan, p. 638. O'Leary himself refers to this transaction in his Miscellaneous Tracts. *Remarks on Mr. Wesley's Letter*, p. 21. Dublin, 1781. Among these tracts is an able defence of the Divinity of Christ.

[5] In 1779 Dr. Troy, then R. C. Bishop of Ossory, also exerted himself with much success in repressing Whiteboyism. Brenan, p. 567. In 1786 he became R. C. Archbishop of Dublin. His immediate predecessor in the see of Ossory was Thomas De Burgo, author of *Hibernia Dominicana*. This work was published at Kilkenny, in 1762, though Cologne is on the title-page. A supplement appeared

of genius, of liberal education, and of much ability as a preacher and writer. Some of his literary productions had obtained wide circulation, and had earned for him extensive celebrity. *An Address to the Common People*—intended to quell the turbulent spirit which appeared so frequently in the south of Ireland—had been read with avidity by all classes, and had produced excellent results. In the course of the debate relating to the repeal of the penal laws, Sir Lucius O'Brien referred to him in complimentary terms; and Mr. Grattan immediately followed in a strain of the warmest commendation. "I cannot," said he, "hear Father O'Leary mentioned without paying him that tribute of acknowledgment so justly due to his merit. . . . He brought out a publication that would do honour to the most celebrated name. The whole kingdom must bear witness to its effect by the reception they gave it. Poor in everything but genius and philosophy, he had no property to stake, no family to fear for; but, descending from the contemplation of wisdom, and abandoning the ornaments of fancy, he humanely undertook the task of conveying duty and instruction to the lowest class of people. If I did not know him to be a Christian clergyman,[1] I should suppose him by his works to be a philosopher of the Augustan age. The regulars are a harmless body of men, and should not be disturbed."[2] Mr. Flood, who was a high Protestant, listened impatiently to this address. "I am no papist," said he, "but a true lover of the Protestant faith and interest. I am not the missionary of a religion I do not profess; nor do

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ten years afterwards. Part of the *Hibernia Dominicana* was condemned in 1775 by the R. C. prelates of Munster, met at Thurles, with Butler, R. C. Archbishop of Cashel, at their head. See Butler's letter to Lord Kenmare. Parnell's *Penal Laws*, appendix xxviii. The author of the *Hibernia Dominicana* is said to have been the last R. C. Bishop in Ireland appointed by the Pretender. Second report from Select Committee on the State of Ireland (1825). *Minutes of Evidence*, p. 221.

[1] Grattan and O'Leary both belonged to a famous club called "The Monks of St. Patrick." Wesley mentions a meeting with O'Leary. "He is not," says he, "the stiff, queer man, that I expected, but of an easy genteel carriage, and seems not to be wanting either in sense or learning."—*Journal*, p. 846. O'Leary dedicated his Miscellaneous Tracts, published in 1781, "to the dignitaries and brethren of the illustrious order of the Monks of St. Patrick."

[2] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 292.

I speak eulogies on characters I will not imitate."[1] Mr. Grattan, however, did not succumb to this rebuke. "I am not ashamed," he replied, "of the part I took in Mr. O'Leary's panegyric; nor shall I ever think it a disgrace to pay the tribute of praise to the philosopher and the virtuous man."[2]

Nearly forty years before—when Lord Chesterfield was Viceroy—an Act had been passed declaring the invalidity of marriages, celebrated by popish priests, between Romanists and Protestants;[3] and Mr. Gardiner now attempted to obtain its repeal; but in this he was defeated. In his other proposals he was more successful. Romanists, on taking the oath of allegiance, were now empowered to purchase lands in perpetuity;[4] to hold houses and lands in the cities of Limerick and Galway or their suburbs; to teach schools attended by pupils of their own denomination; and to act as guardians to Roman Catholic children.[5] They were not to be compelled, as heretofore, on the presentment of grand juries, to pay the entire expense of depredations committed in their respective counties; they were no longer obliged to part with a horse worth upwards of five pounds; neither were they liable to fine and imprisonment for refusing to appear before two magistrates, and declare, on oath, where and when they had last heard mass. A priest was now at liberty to perform publicly the rites of his Church; but this privilege was coupled with a most puerile restriction—for he was to forfeit the

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[1] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 318.

[2] *Ibid.* i. 319. It was finally arranged that the regular clergy in the country at the time of the passing of the Act should be permitted to remain; but no allowance was made for others after them. See 21st and 22nd of George III. chap. xxiv. s. 6. About this time the Irish Parliament voted £50,000 to Grattan for his public services. Flood was overlooked, and ever afterwards Grattan was odious to him.

[3] See before, p. 253, *note* (6) of this volume.

[4] The 21st and 22nd of George III. chap. xxiv. It is said that this change in the law was very grateful to needy Protestant landowners. It greatly increased the market value of their property by increasing the number of bidders. See Wyse's *Hist. of the Catholic Association*, i. 99.

[5] The 21st and 22nd of George III. chap. lxii. According to Mant, the two bills for the removal of R. C. disabilities encountered strenuous resistance from the Protestant prelates in the Irish House of Lords. Mant's *Hist. of Church of Ireland*, ii. 674. It would appear that Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, was the

benefit of this indulgence, should he celebrate worship in any building with a steeple or a bell.[1]

In 1782 the Irish Parliament successfully asserted its independence.[2] It had long submitted with impatience to the operation of the law of Poynings, and to the control of the English Privy Council. The decisions of its courts of law had also been subject to review by the authorities on the other side of the channel. The British Government was exceedingly unwilling to resign this supervision; but it was obliged to succumb to the necessity of circumstances. The foreign relations of the empire were now in a critical condition; in Ireland there were only about 5,000 soldiers; and the unanimous demand for independence made by its own Legislature, backed by an immense array of armed volunteers, was not to be denied. As some maintained that the Irish bill, which now obtained the Royal assent, did not thoroughly secure the end in view, dissatisfaction was not immediately extinguished; but all anxiety was dissipated when in January, 1783, an Act was passed by the English Parliament for removing doubts "concerning the exclusive rights of the Parliament and courts of Ireland in matters of legislation and judicature."[3]

The recognition of the independence of the Irish Legislature diffused joy throughout the country. Ireland had long been discouraged and depressed by the restrictions imposed on her trade and manufactures by English statesmen; and it

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leader of the opposition. Plowden's *Hist. Rev.* i. 581. Agar held the see of Cashel from 1779 to 1801. He was then removed to Dublin. He died Archbishop of Dublin in 1809. When Archbishop of Cashel, he is said to have obtained £40,000 at one payment as a renewal fine for the Palliser estate. In 1795 he became Baron Somerton; and in 1806, Earl of Normanton. D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 350.

[1] To evade the law now made, the Romanists sometimes suspended a bell from a tree adjoining the chapel. Cogan, i. 144. Cogan says that "the old bell of Ardcath tolled away during the penal days." *Diocese of Meath*, i. 335. The first bell-tower erected in Ireland since the Reformation, in connection with a R. C. chapel, is said to have been built at Slane, in Meath, about 1799. Cogan, i. 293.

[2] In 1782 the Irish Parliament passed a law (the 21st and 22nd of George III. chap. xlviii. s. 3) excluding Roman Catholics from Parliament. This was now deemed necessary; as the exclusion had hitherto rested on an English statute. See before, p. 177 of this volume.

[3] The 23rd of George III. chap. xxviii. s. 8.

was expected that her deliverance from British control would be the commencement of a commercial and political millennium. But it was far otherwise. Whilst the change gratified the national pride, it contributed little to the national prosperity. England could still make regulations for the advancement of her own commerce; and it was soon found that Ireland was comparatively helpless if not sustained and protected by her richer r Two independent Legislatures under one sover d not be expected always to act harmoniously casional antagonism threatened the integrity To secure a majority in the Irish Parliame maintained its influence by the lavish distribution nd pensions; the national revenue was thus sh ezzled; and parliamentary corruption never flour ly as during the eighteen years which immediately fo the successful struggle for legislative independence.

The interval between the accession of George III. and the establishment of Irish independence forms a melancholy chapter in the religious history of the country. The destruction of property, and the horrid brutalities and murders perpetrated by the Whiteboys in the south, showed that vast multitudes of the peasantry neither feared God nor regarded man; and though Father Sheehy was guiltless of the crime for which he suffered, there are good grounds for believing that he, and others of the Romish priesthood, gave quite too much encouragement to the desperadoes who were then creating so much mischief and alarm. The landlords, no doubt, by their inconsideration and rapacity, did much to provoke these disturbances; but true religion, wherever it exists, exerts a humanizing influence; and, had the Whiteboys not been sunk in the lowest depths of moral degradation, they would have recoiled from the deeds of fiendish malignity with which they stand chargeable. Though in the north the Hearts of Oak committed sundry acts of violence, their existence was short-lived; and their doings were not nearly so diabolical as those of the southern conspirators. The Hearts of Steel—who were men of desperate character—were never very formidable in point of numbers; and, from

the first, the Protestant clergy—as well Presbyterian as Episcopalian—denounced their atrocities. One Presbyterian minister lost his life when attempting to induce them to desist from their lawless proceedings. On the 6th of March, 1772, the Rev. Samuel Morell, of Tullylish, near Banbridge, was killed by a gunshot wound received at the house of Sir Richard Johnston, a landed proprietor in his neighbourhood.[1] The reverend gentleman may have fallen by the bullet intended for another; but, when such a murder was committed in open day, society must have been sadly disorganized.

Though about this period Irish Presbyterians exercised, in the ranks of the volunteers, an amount of political influence they had not been able to wield since the close of the reign of Charles I., it cannot be said that their Church was in a thriving condition. Most of the ministers were in a state little above indigence; the Regium Donum did not yield nine pounds a year to each recipient;[2] and their flocks—consisting in many cases of farmers in reduced circumstances—could not afford to contribute liberally to their maintenance. The Seceders, as well as others, suffered from the hardships of the times; and some of their ministers emigrated to America.[3] In the Synod of Ulster, church extension was at a stand. For upwards of twenty years only one or two new congregations were recognized.[4] In not a few districts there was a great want of church accommodation; and thus it was that many, who were left without proper pastoral supervision, were ready to join the Steel Boys or the Hearts of Oak. Among the ministers there was a deplorable lack of spirituality and zeal; error in various forms was embraced; preaching was too often neither instructive nor awakening; and, though none yet ventured openly to attack the doctrine of the deity of Christ, there were grave grounds for the suspicion that some were quite prepared for its repudiation.

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[1] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 338.

[2] *Ibid.* iii. 355, *note.*

[3] In 1764 the Rev. Thomas Clark, one of the most eminent of these ministers, with about 300 other Presbyterian emigrants in the same vessel, set sail for the new world. *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 314, *note.*

[4] *Ibid.* iii. 332, 372.

The [E]stablished Church was, financially, in a thriving condition. The increase of rents and tithes—assigned as the cause of so many of the agrarian disturbances—had added much to the wealth of the episcopal clergy. Within little more than forty years, the incomes of bishoprics and rectories had been doubled or trebled.[1] At a time when the necessaries of life could be obtained at one third the price they now command,[2] the [Ir]eland had a fixed income of eight thousand pe[r] Bishop of Derry, who held the next most h[on]ent in the Church, had a stated revenue of [£]r annum.[4] The Archbishop of Dublin had five [th]nnum; the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, [£]per annum each; and the Bishop of Clogher [h]lly ample provision.[5] As political influence was [a]nd avenue to ecclesiastical promotion, the hereditary [a]cy were largely represented on the Irish Episcopal bench.[6] Several of the prelates were temporal peers, as well as lords spiritual; so that, with the

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[1] Thus about 1733 the see of Clonfert was worth rather more than £1,200 per annum; in 1776 it was estimated at £2,400. Mant, ii. 569, 660. In 1733 Killala was estimated at £1,100 per annum; in 1776, at £2,900 per annum. *Ibid.* ii. 570, 660. In 1733 the deanery of Kilmore was valued at £300 a year; in 1776, at £600. *Ibid.* ii. 570, 659.

[2] In 1778 butter sold for 5¾*d.* per lb.; mutton, for 2¾*d.* ditto; beef, for 2¼*d.* ditto; pork, for 2½*d.* ditto; a fat turkey for 10¾*d.*; a goose for 8½*d.*; and a chicken for 2½*d.* Parnell's *Penal Laws*, p. 105.

[3] Mant, ii. 659. This does not appear to include the value of the primatial residence, and the adjoining lands.

[4] Mant, ii. 659. In 1733 it was valued at only £2,200 per annum. *Ibid.* ii. 569. The bishops leased the see lands for twenty-one years. The lease was commonly renewed every few years, so as not to allow it to approach expiration. A bishop could run his life against the twenty-one years; and should he survive that term, he could then charge the highest rent that the property would bring. If the bishop was advanced in life, as was frequently the case, he had an interest in granting renewals on moderate terms. Bishop Jebb, in a speech made in the House of Lords in 1824, stated that the renewal fines taken by the Irish bishops in most instances *greatly exceeded* half the revenues of the sees.

[5] Mant, ii. 659.

[6] Dr. Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh, was also Baron Rokeby; the Hon. F. Augustus Hervey, Bishop of Derry, was Earl of Bristol; Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, became, as we have seen, Earl of Normanton; and the Hon. J. Deane Bourke—made Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin in 1772, and subsequently Archbishop of Tuam—became eventually Earl of Mayo. Mant, ii. 649.

rentals of their private property added to the revenues of their sees, they were among the richest men in the kingdom. Some of them were well acquainted with general literature, though none were eminent in theology. A very few appeared sincerely desirous to walk worthy of their profession:[1] but, as a class, they were characterized by their hatred of evangelical religion.[2] The best that could be said of the majority was, that they had improved the style of husbandry, or given some handsome donations for public objects, or ornamented their cathedrals, or built for themselves goodly palaces. The clergy were generally as lukewarm as their ecclesiastical superiors; and ministers of the Establishment of earnest piety had often no more troublesome adversaries than their own diocesans.[3]

In consequence of the increased strength of the popular party in the House of Commons and other social changes, the Irish bishops had not now the preponderating political power which they wielded at an earlier period of the century; and yet they were still able to obtain the sanction of the Legislature to enactments fitted to promote the influence of Protestant episcopacy. Primate Robinson, who in 1765 succeeded Primate Stone, as Archbishop of Armagh, was much inferior in ability to his predecessor: his vanity was excessive and his pride intolerable: but no stain rests on his moral reputation. He was a man of taste; and he cherished a great desire to promote the outward splendour of the Establishment. He expended large sums on architectural improve-

[1] Mann, who was made bishop of Cork and Ross in 1772, seems to have been an exemplary prelate. See Mant, ii. 649-51. So also was Averell, who became Bishop of Limerick in January, 1771, and died in September of the same year. He was a collateral ancestor of the Rev. Adam Averell, the first president of the Primitive Wesleyan Conference. See pp. 379-80, of this volume.

[2] When the Rev. Mr. Shirley, a most worthy and useful minister, on one occasion preached in Dublin, he was attended by the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Limerick, Ossory, and Derry, with a view, as was believed, to conjure up some accusation against him, by which they might silence his preaching. *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, vol. ii., p. 185.

[3] The Rev. E. Smyth, of Ballyculter, was deprived by the Bishop of Down and Connor because he had rebuked a nobleman, who was a member of his congregation, for living in open adultery. See "An Account of the Trial of Edward Smyth." Dublin, 1777.

ments in and around the city of Armagh:[1] and though it has been said of him, by a very competent observer,[2] that "he did not care what sort of clergy he put in them," he unquestionably exhibited laudable zeal in the building of churches. In 1771 he obtained an Act of Parliament for erecting chapels of ease in parishes of large extent.[3] By another Act passed in the same session,[4] the clergy were encouraged to build parsonages on thei as they were empowered by it to saddle the e successors, provided it did not exceed two ye e of the benefice. Notwithstanding this p ion-residence still continued to be a matter Upwards of ten years afterwards, we find dish, in the Irish House of Commons, moving on the first Monday of the next session of Parlia names of those having cure of souls within their d istinguishing those who had resided and performed divine service in their parishes from the 1st of June, 1782, to the 1st of June, 1783."[5] When an attempt was made to adjourn the consideration of the subject, on the ground that it might have "the appearance of a general censure," the mover declared "that he had good reason for pressing the resolution, though it might not be an agreeable task to particularize individuals who came within its scope." "It will," said he, "produce residence where there is no residence; divine service will be performed where divine service has not been performed; the sick man will find the comforts of religion which are now sometimes sought for in vain; and the public mind will be satisfied that this House expects attention to his duty from

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[1] He built the archiepiscopal palace, repaired the cathedral, built the library the classical school-houses, the observatory, and other edifices. He also endowe the library and the observatory. He was never married. See Stuart's *Armagh*, pp. 444-57.

[2] The Rev. Philip Skelton. Mant, ii. 729.

[3] The 11th and 12th of George III. chap. xvi. The Irish Parliament from time to time made grants for the building of churches.

[4] The 11th and 12th of George III. chap. xvii.

[5] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 323. This motion was made in March, 1782; and was thus a kind of notice to all concerned that their conduct during *the next year* was to be scrutinized.

every clergyman."[1] Such a motion conveyed a bitter reflection on the bishops; for, had they been faithful in the discharge of their duties, it would have been unnecessary.

During the period before us the Methodists continued to make some progress in Ireland. John Wesley generally visited the country every second year; and large crowds frequently attended his services. His preachers now regularly travelled on prescribed circuits—often addressing numerous audiences in the open air; and though the fierce opposition at first encountered by them gradually subsided, they had still reason, occasionally, to complain of disturbance —especially from Romish mobs. But the political excitement which pervaded the whole island during the days of the volunteers turned away the attention of many from these humble missionaries.

[1] *Parliamentary Register*, i. 824.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IRISH INDEPENDENCE TO THE PASSING OF THE ACT ADMITTING ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE ENJOYMENT OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE. A.D. 1782 TO A.D. 1793.

IT was soon discovered that Ireland required much more than legislative independence. It never had substantially enjoyed a representative government—as in 1613, when all the counties for the first time sent members to Parliament, a large number of petty boroughs, virtually belonging to single individuals, had been created for the express purpose of securing Protestant ascendency.[1] More recently Roman Catholics had been excluded from voting at elections, as well as from sitting in the great council of the nation; so that at least three-fourths of the community had no political power whatever. Of the three hundred members now constituting the Irish House of Commons, about one hundred and ten were placemen or pensioners, obliged to vote exactly according to the pleasure of the existing Administration;[2] and a still greater number represented very small boroughs which were bought and sold like any other property. Besides cities and towns of more note, there were upwards of one hundred

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[1] See before, Book iii., chap. vi., p. 491 of vol. i.

[2] In a debate in 1790, Mr. O'Neill, one of the members for County Antrim, stated that the placemen and pensioners amounted to 120. Plowden, vol. ii., part i. 289, *note*; p. 313, *note*. At this time no property qualification was necessary for a seat in the Irish House of Commons. A considerable number of the members were poor or distressed gentlemen very open to the temptation of bribery. See Warner's *Hist. of Ireland*, Introd., vol. i., p. 82.

oughs each returning two members ;[1] and most of these e at the disposal of a few of the landed aristocracy. Large ıs were annually voted by the House of Commons virtually ıaintain a system of Parliamentary corruption ; and honest ı unfettered by party considerations, being in a minority, ld make no effectual opposition. The independence of Legislature, and other concessions recently secured, were simply to the fears of Government—for, had it been dis- ed to resist them, it could have safely reckoned on the rages of a sufficient number of obsequious senators. But successes just achieved stimulated to further effort; and rallying cry of the party known as Patriots now was— ırliamentary Reform."

)n abstract grounds the demand was most reasonable. : Parliament could not be said to represent the nation, :n the nation had no decisive vote in its appointment, and ıdiated its proceedings. Constructed as it was, it might 'e the purposes of an oligarchy; but it could not be ted as part of the machinery of a free and constitutional 'ernment. The true remedy was to be found in a union ı Great Britain, each country having a fair representa- ; for wise statesmen, looking to the general interests of empire, could see the dangers to be apprehended if and remained a separate kingdom, and if an anti-English ty secured the control of its administration. To the

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[1] In a speech delivered by Grattan, on the 8th of February, 1793, he said :— the 300 members above 200 are returned by individuals ; from forty to fifty returned by ten persons ; several of your boroughs have no resident elector l ; some of them have but one ; and, on the whole, two-thirds of the repre- ıtives in the House of Commons are returned by less than 100 persons !" *Hist. of Ireland*, by Dennis Taafe, iv. 436. Whilst the County of Antrim ned only two members, the boroughs of Antrim, Belfast, Lisburn, and lalstown, returned each two members. The members for Belfast were ned by the lord of the soil. The County of Cork returned two members ; and boroughs of Baltimore, Bandon, Castlemartyr, Charleville, Clonakilty, Done- , Kinsale, Mallow, Midleton, Rathcormac, and Youghal returned each two ıbers. The County of Donegall returned two members ; and the boroughs of yshannon, Donegall, Killybegs, Lifford, and St. Johnston each returned two ıbers. The County of Down returned two members ; and the boroughs of gor, Downpatrick, Hillsborough, Killyleagh, Newry, and Newtonards returned two members.

Patriots—many of whom were distinguished more by their ability in declamation than their depth of thought—the idea of such a union was intolerable. The volunteers—now so formidable as a military organization—took a keen interest in the discussion of the subject of Parliamentary reform; and at a second great meeting—composed of the delegates of two hundred and seventy-two companies, assembled at Dungannon in September, a series of strong resolutions in favour of a bet tion of the people. Two of the resolutions s of a rather startling character, namely, s and universal suffrage. The danger of these ns was now beginning to be very obvious; a was in no small degree embarrassed by the that a grand national Convention—represen ers of all the four provinces of the kingdom—was 1 in Dublin in the following November, to digest and publish a plan of Parliamentary reform.

The country was at this crisis in a most anomalous condition. The volunteers, with the concurrence of persons in authority, had been permitted to become so powerful that it was now rather perilous to attempt to curb their movements; and yet if 100,000 men, fully equipped for war, were permitted to continue a course of political agitation, Government might soon be obliged to abnegate its functions. The National Convention—summoned to meet in Dublin during the sittings of the Legislature—had very much the appearance of a rival Parliament; and the proceedings of a certain right reverend delegate, who attended it, were well fitted to convey the impression that it was designed to overawe the Administration. The Lord Bishop of Derry was unquestionably one of the most extraordinary characters of his age. In 1767 the Honourable Frederick Augustus Hervey, master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, was promoted to the bishopric of Cloyne. About a year afterwards—when employed with some gay companions in exhibiting his agility in leaping—a note was put into his hands, and on reading it, he exclaimed: "I will leap no more, for I have beaten you all; I have jumped from

Cloyne to Derry."[1] Subsequently, on the death of an elder brother, he inherited large estates, and succeeded to the title of Earl of Bristol. Possessed of immense wealth, he scattered it around him with the prodigality of a spendthrift. He subscribed with equal readiness to the building of Episcopal churches, Presbyterian meeting-houses, and Roman Catholic chapels. No one acquainted with his character could have suspected him of any leaning to the Methodists; for he could drink a bottle of wine at his dinner, swear profanely, and talk like a libertine;[2] and yet he is one of the very few Irish bishops of whom Wesley speaks in his Journal in terms of commendation. On one occasion, when the Earl Bishop understood that the great itinerant evangelist was to be present at service in the Derry Cathedral, he occupied the pulpit himself; and preached a sermon, which he had probably borrowed from some deeper divine, on the sin against the Holy Ghost. On the same day he dispensed the Lord's Supper to the congregation with an air of solemnity which excited the admiration of the founder of Methodism. "The bishop," says Wesley, "invited me to dinner, and told me, 'I know you do not love our hours, and will therefore order dinner to be on the table between two and three o'clock.' We had a piece of boiled beef, and an English pudding. This is true good breeding. The bishop is entirely easy and unaffected in his whole behaviour, exemplary in all parts of public worship, and plenteous in good works."[3] The great churchman was most desirous to be universally popular; he probably looked on Wesley as a well-meaning fanatic who had influence with a large number of enthusiasts of the same type; and he seems to have thought it not amiss to humour his folly, and secure his good opinion. But, withal, Methodism did not flourish in the maiden city. The patronage of the bishop did not commend it to the pious; and though several of the Episcopal clergy followed the example of the diocesan and gave it their countenance, Wesley complained, when he next visited the place, that the society was declining.[4]

[1] Mant, ii. 647.
[2] Mrs. Carter's *Letters*, ii. 52; Mant, ii. 689.
[3] Wesley's *Journal*, p. 700.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 735.

Other Irish prelates could see that the increasing influence of the popular party threatened their ecclesiastical monopoly; but the Earl Bishop soon joined the volunteers, and signalized himself as one of the most vehement assertors of Parliamentary Reform. It was alleged that disappointed ambition had prompted him to enter on the strange career he now pursued. He had applied, it was said, to be chosen Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and when he met with a refusal, he determined to compel Government to feel how troublesome he could prove in opposition. When selected as one of the delegates for the County of Derry to the National Convention, he certainly did his utmost to increase the popular excitement. "He entered Dublin," says a contemporary, "in royal state . . . The lords had taken their seats in the House of Peers, when the Bishop of Derry began his procession to take his seat in the Convention. He had several carriages in his suite, and sat in an open landau, drawn by six beautiful horses, caparisoned with purple ribbons. He was dressed in purple, his horses, equipages, and servants, being in the most splendid trappings and liveries. He had brought to Dublin, as his escort, a troop of light cavalry, raised by his unfortunate and guilty nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald;[1] they were splendidly dressed and accoutred; and were mounted on the finest chargers that the bishop or his commander could procure. A part of these dragoons led the procession; another closed it; and some rode on each side of his lordship's carriage. Trumpets announced his approach; and detachments from several volunteer corps of Dublin joined his lordship's cavalcade. He never ceased making dignified obeisances to the multitude; his salutations were enthusiastically returned on every side: 'Long live the Bishop,' echoed from every window . . . This cavalcade marched slowly through the principal streets till it arrived at the portico of the House of Lords, which adjoined that of the Commons. A short halt was then made; the trumpets sounded—the sudden and unexpected clangour of which echoed throughout the long corridors. Both Houses

[1] He was executed for murder at Castlebar in 1786. See an account of him in Wesley's *Journal*, pp. 882-3.

had just finished prayers, and were proceeding to business; and, totally unconscious of the cause, several members rushed to the entrance. The bishop saluted them with royal dignity; the volunteers presented arms; and the bands played the Volunteers' March. Of a sudden, another clangour of trumpets was heard: the astonished Lords and Commons—unable to divine what was to ensue, or the reason of the extraordinary appearance of the bishop—retired to their respective chambers; and, with great solicitude, awaited the result. The bishop, however, had done what he intended: he had astonished both Houses; and had proved to them his principles and his determination. Amid the shouts and cheers of thousands, he proceeded to the Rotunda—where, in point of dignity and importance, he certainly appeared to surpass the whole of his brother delegates. He entered the Chamber in the greatest form; presented his credentials; took his seat; conversed a few moments with all the ceremony of a temporal prince; and then—with the excess of that dignified courtesy of which he was a perfect master—retired as he had entered; and drove away, in the same majestic style, and amidst reiterated applause, to his house—where the volunteers had previously mounted a guard of honour. He entertained a great number of persons of rank at a magnificent dinner; and the ensuing day began his course among the delegates as an ordinary man of business."[1]

The proceedings of the bishop were considered so seditious that Government contemplated his arrest. But it was deemed more prudent—for a time at least—to overlook his extravagance; and, as the excitement gradually subsided, he was eventually permitted to escape unscathed. The dangerous absurdity of an armed assembly, sitting contemporaneously with the Parliament, soon became apparent to the more thoughtful and influential members of the Convention; and, after remaining in deliberation for three weeks, its business terminated with the adoption of a motion for an indefinite adjournment. The Earl Bishop retired to Italy—where

[1] Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, pp. 293-4. Paris, 1833.

his conduct created much scandal, and where he terminated his eccentric career in 1803.[1]

About this time public attention was called, in various ways, to the low state of education in Ireland. The mass of the people could not read; there was a great want of parish schools; and the diocesan seminaries were, in general, very inefficiently conducted.[2] Considerable sums were frequently voted for the maintenance of the Protestant Charter Schools;[3] and yet there were loud complaints of jobbery and neglect. When Howard, the philanthropist, visited the country in 1784, and inspected a number of these Charter Schools, he was greatly dissatisfied with their management:[4] and his unfavourable estimate is sustained by the testimony of John Wesley.[5]

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[1] *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 195; *Recollections of Lord Cloncurry*, p. 191.

[2] Mant, ii. 699.

[3] In 1785 these schools received £9,000 under the authority of an Act of Parliament—the 25th of George III. chap. xvi. In 1786 they received another £9,000 under another Act—the 26th of George III. chap. lxvii. In 1788 they received £10,000 under another Act—the 28th of George III. chap. xxx. In 1789 they received £12,000 under another Act—the 29th of George III. chap. xli.

[4] At this time 2,100 children were reported as maintained in the schools, but in reality there were only 1,400. In one case several of the children, though five years at the school, could not read; some could not spell; and not one could write. In one case Howard reports "an excessive parsimony in linen, soap, and other things necessary for cleanliness;" and in another, "the children half-starved and almost naked." See Steven's *Inquiry*, pp. 35-58, 60, 107.

[5] Wesley, writing in 1785, says:—"Having heard a remarkable account of the Charter School here (at Ballinrobe) I resolved to see it with my own eyes. I went thither about five in the afternoon, but found no master nor mistress. Seven or eight boys and nine or ten girls, the rest being rambling about, dirty and ragged enough, were left to the care of a girl half a head taller than the rest. She led us through the house. I observed first the school-room not much bigger than a small closet; twenty children could not be taught there at once with any convenience. When we came into the bed-chamber I inquired 'How many children now lodge in the house?' and was answered 'Fourteen or fifteen boys and nineteen girls. For these boys there were three beds, and five for the nineteen girls. For food, I was informed the master was allowed a penny farthing a day for each. Thus they are clothed, lodged, and fed. But what are they taught? As far as I could learn, *just nothing*. Of these things I informed the commissioners for these schools in Dublin, but I do not hear of any alteration. If this be a sample of the Irish Charter Schools, what can we expect from them?"—WESLEY'S *Journal*, p. 816. Notwithstanding such gross neglect, these schools continued to receive large grants from Government, and legacies from private individuals. Baron Vryhoven, who died in 1791, left them property to the amount of £1,700 per annum. A sum of £1,600 per

In 1786 the Irish Chief Secretary directed the attention of Parliament to the question of national education. To prepare the way for legislation, the registrars of the several dioceses were required to furnish an account of the English schools under the superintendence of the rectors and vicars; and returns were ordered of the schools of royal or other foundation throughout the kingdom—specifying the yearly value of their endowments, the names of the masters and assistants, and the number of day scholars and boarders.[1] In the following year, the Irish Secretary brought the subject again before the House of Commons; and proposed the establishment of a comprehensive system of instruction—with schools for the lowest ranks of the people supplemented by seminaries of a higher order, and—at the summit—a new university. But the change of ministry which some time afterwards occurred, and other political movements, led to the abandonment of this project.

One great argument, urged in favour of a general system of education, was drawn from its tendency to promote the moral improvement of the working classes. Munster had of late been disturbed by combinations of the peasantry, who perpetrated various outrages, and kept the whole country in a state of alarm. The wretched condition of these poor people goes far to account for their insubordination. They were reduced to the depths of poverty by excessive rents and tithes. They were obliged, in some cases, to give six pounds an acre for potato ground, to pay the tithe of the crop in addition,[2] and to make up the rent by labouring at the rate of fivepence per day.[3] A sort of smothered rebellion had

annum—being the interest of £40,000 in the funds—was given by a person who did not wish his name to be known. Steven, p. 126.

[1] Mant, ii. 700-1. See also *Report of the Commissioners of Schools Endowed for the purpose of Education in Ireland*, pp. 16-17. Dublin, 1858.

[2] Potatoes, though not tithed in other parts of Ireland, were tithed in Munster. Plowden, vol. ii., part ii., appendix, pp. 78-9. The tithe of an acre of potatoes ranged from eight or ten shillings to a pound. *Ibid.* p. 79. Grattan states one case in which the tithe for one acre was £2 18*s.* 6*d.* *Ibid.* p. 90. In the south, about one-half of the tithe is said to have been derived from potatoes. Plowden, ii. ii., appendix, p. 147.

[3] Plowden, ii. 158; Mant, ii. 711.

been smouldering for years; and, though the Roman Catholic clergy were accused of giving it encouragement, the charge could not be sustained. In 1784 Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, received the thanks of Government for the zeal with which he endeavoured to effect its suppression.[1] Towards the end of the year 1786, it burst forth with increased violence; and some persons fled in consternation from the districts where it prevailed. The parish chapel was the place where the multitude met to enter into combination; they there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to starve the Protestant clergy.[2] They marched through the country without arms- [illegible]es in hundreds, and sometimes in thousands. But [illegible]: they sought to supply themselves with guns and [illegible]sive weapons. From the [illegible]ath they administered, th- [illegible]alled *Right Boys*. Those [illegible] o refused to obey their [illegible]ls were cruelly tortured. even rectors connected [illegible]e diocese of Cloyne, and [illegible]erto constantly resident, were driven from their parishes; [illegible]e—from incomes of between £200 and £300 per annum were reduced to less than a curate's salary;[3] and, in several places, Protestant worship ceased to be celebrated.[4] In one instance the insurgents nailed up the doors of a church; commanded the curate, at his peril, not to officiate —though the rector was disabled by age and infirmity; and forced the clerk to swear not to give his attendance. They controlled the proceedings of vestries; and threatened to burn

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[1] The letter of thanks is given in Plowden, ii. 107, *note*. Archbishop Butler says that "from the moment Lord Dunboyne, the titular Bishop of Cork, and his vicar-general, subscribed their names among a number of other gentlemen, mostly Protestants, for the suppression of riot and insurrection, they and their clergymen were involved in all the common calamities that have alike extended to the established clergy of the Protestant religion, and the clergy of the Romish."—*Justification*, p. 22.

[2] Mant, ii. 707.

[3] It is right to mention that the southern clergy, by straining the law to the utmost, had of late vastly added to their incomes. In 1787 Mr. Grattan stated in the House of Commons that one living had been lately raised from £60 to £300 by the new incumbent; that a farm which formerly paid £12 tithe, had been raised to £60; that another living in these disturbed parts had been raised from £130 a year to £340; and another from £300 to £1,000 per annum. Plowden, ii. ii. appendix, p. 81.

[4] Mant, ii. 709.

a new church in the diocese of Cork, if the old one were not reserved for a mass-house.[1] It was believed that they acted under the advice of persons better informed than themselves; for some of the contrivances, by means of which they managed to evade the payment of tithes, could only have been devised after careful study of Acts of Parliament.[2]

The clergy of the Church of Rome, as well as the Protestant incumbents, suffered during this reign of anarchy. The priests—even when most desirous to quell the movement—were unable to restrain its progress. They were themselves obliged to submit to a reduction of fees;[3] and the malcontents seemed determined not to yield to any ecclesiastical dictation. No less than fifty Roman Catholic chapels were nailed up and blockaded; priests were dragged out of their beds at midnight, and compelled to swear to abide by the rules of the insurgents; and Dr. MacMahon, Roman Catholic Bishop of Killaloe—when preaching against them—was violently interrupted; and told that he must not say anything to their

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[1] Mant, ii. 709. The threat, it appears, was not carried out. About this time the Irish Parliament frequently voted sums for the building of churches. In 1785 it passed an Act (the 25th of George III. chap. xxvi.) granting £5,000 for the purpose. In 1786 it passed another Act (the 26th of George III. chap. liii.) granting another £5,000. In 1788 it passed another Act (the 28th of George III. chap. xxx.) granting another £5,000; and in 1789 it passed another Act granting another £5,000—the 29th of George III. chap. xli.

[2] Burdy's *Ireland*, p. 444. The Bishop of Cloyne states that the authors of these contrivances were nominal Protestants. *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, p. 80.

[3] Such is the testimony of Mr. Secretary Orde, as given by Plowden, vol. ii. part i., p. 162. The R. C. prelates of Munster, assembled at Cork in June, 1786, adopted seven resolutions intended to appease the insurgents. In one of these they state that two priests, specially obnoxious to the malcontents, had been requested to resign their parishes; in another, they require the R. C. clergy "never to withhold from their people the sacraments on pretence of their dues not being paid to them"; in another, they fix the fees; in another, they forbid the priests to put their parishioners "to expenses oppressive and unseemly, by the entertainments provided at the stations of confession, at weddings, christenings, or funerals;" and in another they forbid them "to vent their vindictive resentment against their poor people by pouring forth from the altar the most shocking curses and imprecations upon them." See Butler's *Justification*, appendix i. It is apparent from these resolutions that the poor Romanists had been driven to desperation by the exactions and tyranny of the clergy.

prejudice.[1] At this time some of the mob marched to the Protestant church, that they might be reckoned as conformists; and that they might evade persecution, as Romanists, for having firearms in their possession. Their proceedings on such occasions were peculiarly Irish. They were escorted to the place of worship by a native piper, who charmed them with the melody of "Patrick's Day in the morning." Wives accompanied their husbands; and the officiating minister was often somewhat disconcerted as the wild music announced their approach, and as the mixed multitude crowded into the sacred edifice. According to the account of a contemporary, their b[illegible] he house of God greatly disturbed the gravity of [illegible] light-hearted members of the ordinary congrega[illegible]n," says he, "followed arby, and Judy followe[illegible] church, where the gay l unthinking were highly [illegible]vith the novel spectacle ıands thrust into the ba[illegible]t to sprinkle about the water, and beads drawn out [illegible]r the communion table ·kon the Ave Marias."[2]

hes were a most obno[illegible]ost. They were paid to clergy from whom the mass [illegible] community received no services; and, as they increased with the costliness and excellence of the crop, they were a tax on industry and enterprise. So greedy were some of the incumbents that they levied contributions for articles which were not legally liable to the exaction; they required payment, for example, even for turf and furze;[3] and they obliged the small farmers to

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[1] Butler's *Justification*, pp. 24—27. See also O'Leary's *Defence*, p. 43.

[2] O'Leary's *Defence*, pp. 31, 32, 163. About this period Dr. John Butler, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, passed over to Protestantism. He read his recantation in the parish church of Clonmel on the 19th of August, 1787. He had succeeded to the title and estates of Lord Dunboyne. Soon afterwards he married a young lady about three-and-twenty years of age. Before his death in 1800 he returned to Popery, and bequeathed one of his estates to the College of Maynooth. His widow, who married a second time, died in 1860 at the age of ninety-six. See Brenan, p. 643 and Fitzpatrick's *Ireland before the Union*, p. 109, *note*. Dublin, 1870. Butler was blind of one eye, and of very forbidding appearance.

[3] Plowden, vol. ii., part ii., appendix, pp. 76, 77. "I have," said Grattan, "two decrees in my hand from the Vicarial Court of Cloyne—the first *excom-*

defray the expenses of collection.[1] The feelings of the peasantry were sometimes sadly outraged by the party in power. "A gentleman of veracity has declared to me," says a contemporary witness, "that thirty-two shillings have been extorted for one acre of potatoes; and that, when a peasant offered to buy his tithes at a certain price, *he was horse-whipped*."[2] The landlords had a common interest with the land occupiers in the extinction of tithes—so that little obstruction was at first offered to the movements of the Right Boys; but when these desperadoes went on to enlarge the sphere of their operations, and to insist on the reduction of rents, the increase of wages, and other such reforms, the local magistrates at once took the alarm, and prepared for resistance. A bill which was brought into Parliament, to arm them with additional authority for dealing with the insurgents, encountered considerable opposition. It proposed that every mass-house, in which the Right Boys assembled to administer their oath of association, should be levelled to the ground.[3] This clause was eventually withdrawn; and the bill, in a somewhat amended form, obtained the sanction of the Legislature.[4]

Considerably upwards of a year after the commencement

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municating one man—the second *excommunicating* four men most illegally, most arbitrarily, for refusing to pay tithe of turf." *Ibid.* p. 76. In Munster hay was tithed, but not in Connaught. *Ibid.*, appendix, p. 147.

[1] The tithe-proctors frequently charged two shillings in the pound for collecting, and made the peasantry pay this demand. Sometimes the parishioners collected the tithe themselves, and thus escaped the extortion of the tithe-proctor. "I have known a case," said Mr. Grattan, "where the parish made, with their clergyman, the following agreement:—Sir, we pay your proctor £500 a year and he gives you £600. We will give you £600, and become your collectors and your security. In another living, the parish paid the proctor £450, and the proctor paid the parson £300. The parishioners became the collectors and the security, paid the clergyman £300 a year, took for their trouble £30, and eased the parish of £120. The consequence was peace."—PLOWDEN, ii., ii. appendix, p. 96.

[2] O'Leary's *Defence*, p. 72.

[3] Plowden, vol. ii., part i., pp. 161-2. The Roman Catholics petitioned the House of Commons against this clause, stating that, during the late paroxysms of popular frenzy, "Chapels have been nailed up and blockaded, their pastors threatened and insulted in the most opprobrious manner, and *in many places* driven from their parishes."—BUTLER'S *Justification*, appendix iv., p. 14.

[4] It is the 27th of George III. chap. xv.

of the alarm caused by the proceedings of the Right Boys, the appearance of a pamphlet written by Dr. Woodward, Protestant Bishop of Cloyne,[1] produced an extraordinary sensation. It was entitled, *The present state of the Church of Ireland, containing a description of its precarious situation, and the consequent danger to the public.* It professed to furnish an account of the origin and progress of the insurrections in Munster; but its testimony was very lame and one-sided.[2] Its object was to rouse the Episcopalian nobility and gentry to bestir themselves in support of the Protestant Establishment, on the ground that their own interests were bound up with its conservation. "The business of this little tract," says Dr. Woodward, "is to place the Church in a point of view merely political, to prove to the gentlemen of landed property in this kingdom that it is so essentially incorporated with the State, that the subversion of the one must necessarily overthrow the other; and that the Church of Ireland is at the present moment, in imminent danger of subversion."[3] It is very difficult to induce most men to adopt views in direct opposition to their own personal interests; and the bishop, though possessed of eminent ability, looked on the whole affair through the coloured medium of High Church spectacles. A disinterested observer of ordinary

[1] He was by birth an Englishman. He became Bishop of Cloyne in 1781, and died in 1794. He drew up a catechism for the use of the Charter Schools which made him very obnoxious to the Romanists. "In that catechism," says O'Leary, "there is not one word of the commandments of God, nor explanation of any moral duty."—*Defence*, p. 123, *note*.

[2] The bishop entirely ignores the sufferings of the Romish priesthood. It appears that the following notice was posted up indiscriminately at churches and chapels:—"You are hereby cautioned to pay ministers' tithes only in the following manner, viz., potatoes, 4*s*. per acre; wheat and barley, 1*s*. 6*d*. per acre; oats and meadows, 1*s*. per acre; Roman Catholic clergy to receive for marriages, 5*s*.; for baptisms, 1*s*. 6*d*.; for anointing and visitation of the sick, 1*s*.; for mass, 1*s*.; for confession, 6*d*. You are hereby warned not to pay clerk money, nor any other dues concerning marriages. Be all sure not to go to any expense at your confessing turns, but let them partake of your own fare."—O'Leary's *Defence*, pp. 149-51. It appears that some Protestants were captains of the Right Boys. *Ibid.* pp. 41, 43. O'Leary tells of a R. C. wedding where the priest received a fee of a crown, whilst the piper obtained eighteen shillings. *Defence*, p. 166.

[3] Though the bishop calls his production a "little tract," it is proper to state that it extended to 124 duodecimo pages.

discernment might have seen that the compulsory maintenance of a Church, disowned by seven-eighths of the people of the country, was a political absurdity—calculated only to impair the strength of the whole constitution; but Dr. Woodward imagined that the perpetuation of this system of ecclesiastical monopoly was essential to the national well-being. He admitted that Protestant episcopacy was making little or no progress in Ireland; and that it had not been successful in elevating the moral and religious character of its own adherents. "The lay Protestants in general do not," says he, "second their clergymen by their exertions; and too many of the higher ranks discountenance all religion by entirely neglecting public worship."[1] Still, however, he was so infatuated as to avow his conviction that the safety of the State depended on these graceless Episcopalians. "Of the three persuasions (Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Romanists) the members of the Established Church alone," says the bishop, "can be cordial friends to the entire constitution of this realm with perfect consistency of principle; and, without such consistency, no body of men—for we speak not of the particular character of individuals—can be entitled to national confidence."[2]

This publication did not, in the end, serve the cause of Protestant Episcopacy. Romanists had of late been at great pains to prove that they did not hold certain principles commonly imputed to them—particularly in relation to their dealings with heretics—and Dr. Woodward certainly adduced weighty testimony, on the other side—calculated to shake public confidence in these disclaimers. It appeared that in 1768 Monsignor Ghilini—the Nuncio at Brussels entrusted with the oversight of the Irish Roman Catholic Church—had written a letter asserting the tenets now disowned;[3] and that

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[1] *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, pp. 47-8.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 19.

[3] This letter to the R. C. Archbishop of Dublin is published in the supplement to the *Hibernia Dominicana*; and three other letters to the other three R. C. archbishops are along with it there designated "Literæ vere aureæ, cedroque dignæ." The Nuncio denounces the clauses in an oath of allegiance then proposed as "absolutely intolerable," because, says he, the doctrines there repudiated are

Dr. Burke, author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*—who died Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory in 1776—had promulgated the repudiated doctrines.[1] The oath, as quoted by Dr. Woodward, taken by every Roman Catholic bishop at his consecration—"I will persecute and fight against heretics"[2]—had also an ugly aspect. The Most Reverend Dr. Butler, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Cashel, in a published letter addressed to Lord Kenmare, made an attempt at explanation;[3] and other Roman Catholic advocates—among whom was the celebrated Father O'Leary—came to his assistance. These publications did not settle the dispute as to the Roman Catholic doctrine in relation to heretics[4]—for on this point, the testimony of Roman Catholic divines is as variable as the colour of the chameleon—but they proved that the Protestant Bishop of Cloyne had given a very partial and misleading representation of the state of the country. By far the most

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defended and contended for by most Catholic nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. Bishop of Cloyne's *Present State of the Church of Ireland*, p. 21. See also Minutes of Evidence taken before the Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges, 1835. Q. 899.

[1] See before, p. 295 of this volume, *note* (4). Butler, R. C. Archbishop of Cashel, says:—"Dr. Burke brought much unmerited obloquy on the R.C. Church by his *Hibernia Dominicana*, by asserting claims that the Holy See itself does not contend for—and never obtained any higher preferment than that he already enjoyed when his supplement to the *Hibernia Dominicana* was published."—*Justification*, p. 85. This is a miserably lame apology; as Burke was already Bishop of Ossory, and there is no evidence that the Pope ever expressed the slightest disapproval of the performance. He survived the publication of the supplement only four years.

[2] Hereticos persequar et impugnabo. O'Leary says that the bishop takes the oath "*in no other sense* than to *prosecute* by arguments, and impugn by persuasion, reason, and good example." *Defence*, p. 106. The Inquisition, which had the sanction of the Pope, took a different view of the subject. It appears from the evidence of Archbishop Murray before the Parliamentary Commissioners in 1825 that the Irish R. C. bishops, in 1791, applied to the Pope to have the oath changed; and that, in consequence, the words objected to *were omitted*—a pretty plain proof that they could not be well defended.

[3] Butler asserts that Marefauschi, the Cardinal Protector entrusted with the superintendence of the ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland, had sustained him in rejecting the doctrine inculcated by Ghilini and Burke. See *Justification*, p. 62.

[4] The condemnation of the *Hibernia Dominicana* by Archbishop Butler and his suffragans in 1775 led to much discussion; and has lately been denounced by a President of Maynooth College as "ill-advised." See Renehan's *Collectanea*, p. 329.

formidable antagonist of Dr. Woodward was a Presbyterian clergyman—the Rev. Dr. William Campbell, of Armagh. This minister, who was of highly respectable descent, had received an excellent education; and had, when a young man, spent seven years on the continent in the family of a gentleman of distinction. Animated by an intense thirst for knowledge, endowed with a memory equally ready and retentive,[1] and furnished with good opportunities for mental cultivation, he gradually acquired a large amount of various learning. He belonged to what was called "the new light party" in the Synod of Ulster. As he wrote with ease and elegance, he was quite a match for the Bishop of Cloyne. He maintained, in opposition to that right reverend author, that prelacy, by its arbitrary spirit, had more than once threatened to destroy the free government of Great Britain; whilst Presbyterianism, instead of being dangerous to the State, had ever been identified with the progress of constitutional liberty. In a subsequent edition of his work Dr. Woodward attempted a reply; and the Reverend Dr. Stock, —an ex-fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and afterwards bishop successively of Killala and of Waterford—produced a more elaborate answer. "Dr. Campbell," says Dr. Stock, "is an opponent that deserves to be treated with high respect. He possesses a clear and nervous style, an extensive acquaintance with history, shrewdness of argument, and a laudable zeal for the reputation of his party."[2] Dr. Campbell, in 1788, published a lengthened rejoinder, entitled *An Examination of the Bishop of Cloyne's Defence;* and thus the controversy terminated.[3]

[1] "When," says the historian of the city of Armagh, "he dictated this work to his daughter, who acted as his amanuensis, he was almost blind; and he was, of course, necessitated to rely, in a great measure, on memory for the accuracy of his references to the various ancient ecclesiastical writers, and the different historians whose authority he cites. Notwithstanding this peculiar disadvantage under which he laboured, he has not been detected in a single misquotation."—STUART'S *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, p. 496. Newry, 1819.

[2] Reply to the Rev. Dr. Campbell's *Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians of Ireland*, pp. 5, 6.

[3] Among others who took part in this controversy were the Rev. Samuel Barber, Presbyterian minister of Rathfryland, and Dr. Hales, then a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin.

These polemic works attracted much notice all over the kingdom; and Mr. Grattan—now the leader of the patriots—marked with special pleasure the ability displayed by the Presbyterian advocate. Another great Irish orator, the celebrated John Philpot Curran—who had a few years before, found his way into the Irish Parliament[1]—took a deep interest in the discussion. Curran had witnessed, with indignation, the preference given to Englishmen in the distribution of the honours of the Irish Established Church;[2] and as the Bishop of Cloyne was an importation from the other side of the channel, he was not at all dissatisfied to see the Right Reverend prelate somewhat hardly pressed in the course of the controversy. During the debate on the bill for the suppression of the Right Boys, he condemned the bishop's publication as "founded on illiberality and misrepresentation;" and ascribed the inefficiency of the Irish Protestant Establishment to the poverty with which the working clergy, the ministers of Irish birth, were obliged to struggle. "The Church of Ireland," said he, "has been, in the hands of strangers, advanced to the mitre, not for their virtues or their knowledge, but quartered upon the country through their own servility, or the caprice of their benefactors. . . . Our native clergy have been obliged to do the drudgery of their profession for forty, or at most fifty, pounds a year. . . On this ground I vindicate the great body of the native (Episcopal) clergy of Ireland from any imputation, because of the small progress which Protestantism has made. . . The pride of Episcopacy, and the low state to which our ministers of the gospel are reduced, abundantly account for it."[3] On the 14th of February, 1787, Mr. Grattan, in his place in the House of Commons, moved for the appointment of a Committee to inquire whether any just cause of discontent existed among

[1] He was returned in 1783 as member for Kilbeggan by the interest of Mr. Longfield, afterwards Lord Longueville. His colleague for Kilbeggan was Henry Flood.

[2] From 1760 to 1800 twenty-two Englishmen were advanced to the Episcopal bench in Ireland, and only eighteen Irishmen. Mant, ii. 769-71. Seventeen of the Englishmen had been chaplains to Lord Lieutenants.

[3] Plowden, ii., part i., 162-3, *note*.

the people of Munster, or of the counties of Kilkenny and Carlow, on account of tithes, or of the mode of their collection: and in the speech which he delivered [1] in support of the motion, he entered at large into the subject, and adduced ample evidence to prove that there was every reason for investigation. But the venal Parliament, by a majority of 121 to 49, rejected the proposal. His speech, in an imperfect form, had been printed without his sanction; and a reply to the garbled document, entitled *Defence of the Protestant Clergy*, soon afterwards appeared. In a second speech on the same subject, Mr. Grattan made a withering reply to his reviewers. He well knew that his assailants were Churchmen; and he taunted them bitterly with their literary silence on other and more important subjects. A physician in Cork had recently assailed the doctrine of the Deity of Christ; but no minister of the Establishment had ventured, through the press, to come forward in its vindication. Father O'Leary had at length taken up his pen, and produced a most effective reply to the heterodox polemic.[2] An overture, made some time before in Parliament, to encourage the cultivation of unprofitable moorland, had been resisted by the Protestant hierarchy, on the ground that the reclaimed wastes were to be tithe free; and that the clergy would thus lose certain prospective advantages. The great Irish patriot was neither forgetful of these things, nor of the telling reply of Dr. Campbell to the Bishop of Cloyne. He expressed his astonishment that the question of tithes was the only theme which could tempt the southern clergy to engage in the labours of authorship. "When their God, their Redeemer, and their country are in question," exclaimed Grattan, "they are silent; but when a twelvepenny point on their tithe is brought forward, then they are vivacious; then the press

[1] The speech, which contains a great amount of important statistical information, is given in Plowden, vol. ii., part ii., appendix, pp. 76-122. Various references have been already made to it in the preceding notes.

[2] See before, p. 306, *note* (4). The Scotch doctor settled in Cork had attacked the immortality of the soul, as well as the Deity of Christ. His work appeared in 1776. O'Leary replied in 1781. O'Leary's reply is dedicated to a club to which Grattan belonged.

groans with clerical Billingsgate. . . . When a bill for the improvement of barren lands, and the encouragement of industry among the lower classes of the people, was last session resisted by the spiritual peers, a right reverend prelate was said to have declared, as a principle, that the poor should not be relieved if the clergy were to be at expense. . . The Saviour of man suffered on a principle different from that which the right reverend prelate has introduced. . . . The bishops allege in their 'Defence' that the people of Ireland pay incomparably less (than the people of England) to their Church. . . . Their pampered expostulation amounts to this, that the clergy of England, being ten times as many and having about ten times as much to do, get only six times as much from a country which is perhaps twenty times as rich. In all this pathetic lamentation how have they forgotten the presbyter (Dr. Campbell)! how have they forgotten the priest (Father O'Leary);[1] and their humble pittance! And yet a poor priest can defend the privileges of a man against proud oppression, and a *presbyter* is *able to puzzle a mitre*. With regard to the presbyter I am clear his income should be increased; the Regium Donum is contemptibly small; one of the acts of a new Administration should be to increase it."[2]

The Presbyterians, a few years before, had been encouraged to expect a large increase of the Regium Donum; but, in the struggle for parliamentary reform, they had opposed the Government; and they were, in consequence, obliged to be content in 1784 with the pitiful addition of one thousand

[1] O'Leary unquestionably possessed remarkable talent and considerable learning; but, after all, his Christian character does not stand high. Though a monk, he was very much a man of the world, fond of the pleasures of the table, and of convivial society. Grattan delighted in his overflowing Irish humour. O'Leary died in January, 1802. He spent his latter years in London in the house of a Colonel O'Kelly, well known as a sporting character and gambler, and the companion of the Prince of Wales—afterwards George IV. One of his biographers would fain have his readers believe that O'Leary was unacquainted with the character of his host; but his shrewdness and discernment forbid any such supposition.

[2] The speech may be found in Plowden, vol. ii., part ii., appendix, pp. 141-165. In the extracts given in the text the order of the sentences, for the sake of perspicuity, is somewhat transposed.

pounds per annum.[1] As the Synod of Ulster and the Presbytery of Antrim now numbered about 180 ministers, the augmentation only yielded between five and six pounds to each individual.[2] About the same time the Irish Seceding ministers—amounting to thirty-seven—obtained their first Regium Donum of £500 per annum. In 1792, in answer to an address from the Irish House of Commons, an additional grant of £5,000 per annum was made to the ministers of the several sections of Irish Presbyterianism. Of this sum the Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim obtained about the three-fourths; the Seceders upwards of £900 per annum; and the residue was given to the Southern Association, and the minister of the French Church, St. Peter's, Dublin.[3]

The Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterians, had already established a few small congregations in the North of Ireland:[4] and they, as well as the Seceders, adhered to the strict Calvinism of the Westminster Confession. In the Synod of Ulster—by far the largest Presbyterian body in the kingdom—there were ministers of considerable erudition and of highly popular talents; but, though none of them yet ventured to preach Unitarianism from their pulpits, there is reason to believe that a few of the most prominent had adopted the sentiments of Arius; and that a still greater number entertained rather latitudinarian views in reference to the doctrines

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[1] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 355.

[2] The Regium Donum of each minister of the Synod of Ulster now amounted in all to a little more than £14. No wonder that Grattan spoke of it as "contemptibly small."

[3] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 368, *note.* In 1792 there were 185 ministers in the Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim; forty-six ministers belonged to the Seceders; and sixteen ministers, to the Southern Association. There were at this time not *more than three Presbyterians* among the three hundred members of the Irish House of Commons. See a pamphlet entitled *An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*, published in 1791, p. 27. See also *Speech of the Right Hon. H. Addington*, p. 31. Dublin, 1799.

[4] The Covenanters differed from others in not fully recognizing the civil government, and in refusing all offices under the Crown, civil or military. About 1761 the Rev. M. Lynd, the first Covenanting minister settled in Ireland, was ordained at Vow, near Rasharkin, in the County of Antrim. In 1792 the first Covenanting Presbytery was constituted in Ireland. Of this denomination the Rev. William Stavely, of Kellswater, near Ballymena, was the great apostle.

of the gospel. The Episcopal Church was in a still worse condition. Its clergy, as a body, were so careless that questions of theology gave them no concern; many of them were Pelagians of the lowest type; and it was rather rare to find among them a truly pious and exemplary pastor. Most of the dignitaries brought over from England did little to promote the efficiency of Irish Protestantism. One of these functionaries—the Right Reverend Dr. Law, Bishop, first of Clonfert, and afterwards, in succession, of Killala and Elphin—deliberately adopted the opinion that it was hopeless to attempt the spiritual enlightenment of Romanists; and accordingly proposed to teach them Popery in its most insinuating form. "Unable," says this dignified ecclesiastic, "to make the peasants about me good Protestants, I wish to make them good Catholics, good citizens, good anything. . . To attempt their conversion, or to think of making them read Protestant books, would be vain. I have therefore circulated among them some of the best of their own authors, particularly one Gother."[1]

The Irish Church Establishment long presented a strange combination of ill-paid labour and pampered indolence. It had abundant wealth to maintain all its clergy most respectably; and yet its revenues were so absurdly distributed that, whilst the laborious minister was often on the very verge of want, the drone, who did nothing, enjoyed thousands per annum, and rolled about in splendour. The Protestant

[1] Letter from the Bishop of Clonfert to the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Boughton Blean, near Canterbury, written in 1786. This letter appeared in the newspaper of the day and was widely circulated. The work of Gother is entitled *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented.* No less than thirty editions of this jesuitical performance have been published. Bishop Stillingfleet produced a reply to it designated *The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome Truly Represented.* A new edition of Stillingfleet's work, edited by the late Dr. Cunningham of Edinburgh, was published between thirty and forty years ago. See *Life of Principal Cunningham*, p. 81. Dr. Law is said to have been a man of genius and erudition. As he advanced in life, he appears to have discovered a more excellent way of promoting the advancement of religion. Early in the present century we find him engaged, along with a number of evangelical ministers, in conducting prayer meetings at the house of Alderman Hutton, one of the elders of the Presbyterian congregation of Mary's Abbey, Dublin. See *Life and Letters of Dr. Urwick*, p. 102. London, 1870. Bishop Law died in Dublin in 1810, leaving no issue.

Primate of all Ireland seems now to have completely forgotten his catechism; for he certainly had not renounced "the vain pomp and glory of this world." The Most Reverend Dr. Robinson possessed a princely fortune, and expended large sums on the improvement of the city of Armagh; but, as a spiritual guide, his example was not edifying. When Curran, in the Irish Parliament, denounced "the pride of episcopacy," this prelate must have been in his view as one of its most significant illustrations. He preached very rarely; he treated the clergy of his cathedral as so many menial servants; and, when he attended public worship, he sought to dazzle spectators by the magnificence of his equipage. He might have walked in a few minutes from his palace to the house of God; but he would thus have lost an opportunity of displaying his archiepiscopal grandeur. One of his visitors has left behind him an extraordinary account of the parade and ceremony in which this great Churchman delighted. "The Cathedral Church of Armagh," says the son of another Irish prelate, "stands in full view from the windows of the palace, and at a short distance from it. Whilst I was passing some days with the Primate, on my return to England from Kilmore, I accompanied him on the Sunday forenoon to the cathedral. We went in his chariot with six horses, attended by three footmen behind; whilst my wife and daughters, with Sir William Robinson, the primate's elder brother, followed in my father's coach, which he lent me for the journey. At our approach, the great western door was thrown open; and my friend—in person one of the finest men that could be seen—entered, like another Archbishop Laud, in high prelatical state, preceded by his officers and ministers of the church, conducting him in files to the robing chamber, and back again to the throne. After divine service, the officiating clergy presented themselves in the hall of his palace to pay their court. I asked him how many were to dine with us? he answered "Not one." He did them kindnesses; but he gave them no entertainments; they were in excellent discipline. I had accustomed myself so lately to admire the mild and condescending character of my

benevolent and hospitable father at Kilmore, that I confess the contrast did not please me."[1]

The Romanists were now fast recovering from their state of political prostration. Though recent legislation had much abated the rigour of the penal laws, they were still eager to secure additional concessions. For a time their nobility and clergy declined to co-operate[2] with the Committee which had long laboured for the removal of their disabilities. The aristocracy were timorous; they were afraid that bold demands might bring down on them another proscription; and they appear to have been dissatisfied because, as they imagined, the conduct of the Committee—consisting chiefly of persons engaged in trade—was not always sufficiently deferential.[3] The hierarchy, on other grounds, were disposed to keep aloof.[4] Though the Roman Catholic clergy profess to direct the laity only in matters of faith, they never clearly define the boundary between things secular and things sacred; and they are dissatisfied when the people, in opposition to their wishes, begin to exercise the right of private judgment even in matters of a purely political character. Such was the present position of the popish party in Ireland;

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[1] Cumberland's *Memoirs*, p. 355. Dr. Robinson was Primate from 1765 to 1795. In 1751 he was consecrated Bishop of Killala; in 1759 he was transferred to Ferns and Leighlin; and in 1761 to Kildare. His will is a literary curiosity. It commences thus:—"At the appointed time I am prepared to resign my soul, the vital and active principle of my nature, to the self-existent Creator of all things, and the beneficent Governor of the Universe from whom I received it." See Stuart's *Armagh*, p. 454, *note*.

[2] At a meeting of a general committee, held in December, 1791, when a motion to petition Parliament for additional relief was made, it was resisted by the aristocratic party, and carried against them by a majority of ninety to seventeen. Parnell's *Penal Laws*, pp. 133-4. The committee maintained that, though opposed by their aristocracy, they had more wealth on their side. One of the committee was Edward Byrne, a Dublin merchant, who is said to have left property behind him worth £400,000. Fitzpatrick's *Ireland before the Union*, pp. 193, 200.

[3] At this time about sixty of the R. C. country gentlemen, in conjunction with the Earl of Fingall, Lord Kenmare, and some of the dignified and other clergy, seceded from the committee. Plowden, ii., part i., p. 323.

[4] Emmet says the R. C. bishops strongly opposed the project of a Roman Catholic Convention, as they probably foresaw "the annihilation of their own influence in that assembly, *as well as the displeasure it would afford to Government.*" —MACNEVIN'S *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 27. New York, 1807.

for the Roman Catholic Committee—disgusted with the pusillanimity of their spiritual guides—refused to submit to their dictation: and the clergy, alarmed by the tone of certain documents recently issued by the Committee, were inclined to suspect that some of them were tainted with the principles which had gained ascendency during the French Revolution. But the success of the Committee in obtaining measures of relief, gradually won back the confidence of the aristocratic and clerical malcontents.

One of the most distinguished advocates for the removal of the penal laws was the celebrated Edmund Burke. Himself an Irishman and of Roman Catholic descent,[1] he supported with great enthusiasm the claims of the majority of his countrymen. As early as 1774 he prepared for them an address to the King in which, with his wonted ability and eloquence, he describes the long array of their social and political grievances.[2] His son, at a subsequent period, acted as their agent; and was largely remunerated for his professional services.[3] About 1788—when the question of emancipation was pressed by a committee of English Romanists on the attention of Mr. Pitt—the British Prime Minister pointed out the difficulties in the way, arising from the doubts thrown, by recent discussions, on the oaths of members of the Church of Rome; and on their loyalty to a Protestant sovereign. The Bishop of Cloyne, in his late pamphlet, had urged these doubts with much ability; and had adduced ample historical evidence to show that they rested on a solid

[1] He was the son of a solicitor in Dublin, who was a nominal Protestant, but who had been a Romanist. Edmund Burke's wife—the daughter of a medical gentleman, named Nugent—continued to be a devout Romanist. Burke himself appears to have been always a very lukewarm Protestant. In a letter written about two years before his death he says:—"I wish very much to see before my death an image of a primitive Christian Church. *With little improvements* I think the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland *very capable of exhibiting that state of things.*" —*Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 284 London, 1844. Burke died in 1797 aged about sixty-eight.

[2] This address may be found in Parnell's *Penal Laws*, pp. 110-16.

[3] He received in all £2,300. Parnell's *Penal Laws*, p. 145, *note*. The character of this vain youth is graphically described by Froude in his *English in Ireland*, iii. 33, 34, 49.

foundation. Others had taken up the argument, and fortified it by additional evidences. The Romish party had most distinctly and openly repudiated the dangerous views ascribed to them; but the public mind was far from satisfied; and the great English statesman proposed that the questions in dispute should be formally submitted for consideration to some of the highest Roman Catholic authorities. A plain man might have thought that, in this case, the right course was to address the Pope himself; and to seek to obtain from the head of the Church a solution of the difficulty. But no one seems to have contemplated such an application. It was perhaps expected either that the great Pontiff would not have condescended to reply, or that he would have claimed prerogatives not quite agreeable to his interrogators. It was, at all events, deemed better to solicit the decision of some of the Roman Catholic Universities. The Faculties of Theology of Paris, Douay, Louvain, Alcala, Salamanca, and Valladolid were accordingly consulted. To each of these Colleges of Divines the three following questions were presented:—"I. Has the Pope, or have the Cardinals, or any body of men, any civil authority or jurisdiction within the realm of England? II. Can the Pope, or Cardinals, or any body of men, absolve His Majesty's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, on any pretence whatever? III. Is there any principle, in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with heretics?"[1] To all these interrogatories these six learned bodies gave an explicit and emphatic negative.

Notwithstanding such testimonies, the Protestants of Ireland remained still divided in sentiment as to the propriety of admitting Romanists to the privileges of the constitution. The Presbyterians generally were in favour of emancipation; and the Synod of Ulster no less than twice in the course of a few years[2] expressed its approval of the relaxation of the

[1] The questions and answers may be found in Parnell's *Penal Laws*, pp. 148-152; and more fully in Plowden, ii., part ii., appendix xci., 199-203.

[2] In 1782 and 1793. See before, p. 304, *note* (2). In 1793 a Declaration of the Synod held at Lurgan in June—to which there was only one dissentient—was ordered to be published. This Declaration contains the following passage:—

penal laws; but the Episcopalians, with some notable exceptions, were opposed to further concessions. In 1790, when a Whig Club, consisting of the leading politicians of what was called the patriotic party, was established in Dublin, the question of the Roman Catholic claims was excluded from its discussions.[1] The spirit of the age was, however, hostile to ecclesiastical proscription; and in 1792 the Romanists, without much difficulty, obtained some additional relief. By an Act passed in that year,[2] they were permitted to teach school, without being obliged to seek licence from the Protestant bishop of the diocese; they were admitted to practise at the bar; attorneys were authorized to take Roman Catholic apprentices, and were no longer obliged to educate their children as Protestants; and barristers obtained liberty to marry popish wives. But the Roman Catholic Committee received, with little thankfulness, what they deemed a poor instalment of freedom. The schism created by the withdrawal of their nobility and clergy was soon healed; and, to meet the charge that their religion rendered them dangerous subjects of a Protestant State, they republished the Declaration of their principles issued by them in 1758.[3] This Declaration, signed by Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and the leading Romish laity and clergy of the kingdom,[4] was pushed into extensive circulation.

The influence of the Committee had been considerably weakened by the withdrawal of Lord Kenmare,[5] Lord Fingall,

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"Impressed with that good will and brotherly love which is inculcated by their religion towards good men of all religious denominations, and trusting that this spirit will always be cherished by the people under their care, they congratulate their Roman Catholic countrymen on their being restored to the privileges of the constitution; and they indulge the flattering hope that Irish Catholics, cultivating and maintaining the principles of civil and religious liberty, will prove to the world that the liberality of Protestants has neither been ill-timed nor unsafe." MS. Minutes for 1793.

[1] Plowden, ii., part i. 380.

[2] The 32nd of George III. chap. xxi.

[3] This Declaration, dated March 17th, 1792, may be found in Plowden, vol. ii., part ii, appendix lxxxviii., 179-181. It is word for word the same as the Declaration of 1758. See before, p. 278 of this volume.

[4] Parnell's *Penal Laws*, p. 134; and Plowden, ii., part i. 373.

[5] "Lord Kenmare," says Richard Burke, "for a long time had their principal

and others, from its ranks; as its enemies took advantage of the circumstance to assert that it did not represent the views of the Roman Catholic community. Though the breach was soon, to a great extent, repaired, its members determined to place themselves in a position in which their right to speak, in the name of all their co-religionists, could be no longer challenged.[1] They accordingly summoned a Convention—to consist of delegates from each county in Ireland—to meet in Dublin in December, 1792. This step created a wonderful sensation; and by some the proposed assembly was denounced as seditious; but lawyers of high standing, when consulted, pronounced it to be quite constitutional; and it was permitted to hold its sessions without disturbance. It agreed on a petition to the King, in which the grievances, of which Romanists still complained, are clearly and pathetically enumerated. This petition[2] is signed by Dr. Troy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan, Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork, in the name of the Roman Catholic prelates and clergy of the kingdom; and contains, in one of its concluding statements, a melancholy acknowledgment of the laxity of principle, in regard to oaths and declarations, of which papists had been often accused. "*Many* of your Majesty's Catholic subjects," say the petitioners, "to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity against their conviction and

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confidence, but they found out at last that he had made himself a creature of the Castle, which had no other view than to put them off with fair words, and never to render them any real service. The natural consequence was that he lost his credit by degrees."—*Cor. of Ed. Burke*, iii. 491.

[1] The old members of the committee were pretty sure of their appointment as members of Convention; for each county, in addition to its own delegates, was to be represented by "associate delegates" resident in Dublin. See Plowden, ii., part ii., appendix lxxxix., 184.

[2] Fitzpatrick asserts in his *Life of Dr. Doyle* (i. 142) that a petition now drawn up was "signed by *three millions* of names"! This must be a monstrous exaggeration. Dr. Hussey states in a letter to Edmund Burke that in February 1795, petitions with "above half a million of signatures" were then on the table of the House of Commons. This is evidently nearer the truth. See Burke's *Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 277.

their conscience, and, preferring perjury to famine, *take oaths which they utterly disbelieve.*"[1]

In 1782 the Presbyterians of the north had rendered good service to the Romanists; for, in their hour of need, they had passed a resolution at Dungannon, as assembled Volunteers, for the removal of their disabilities. On the present occasion they pursued the same course. By petitions to Parliament and otherwise, they rendered them valuable aid.[2] The Roman Catholic Convention had appointed a deputation to present their petition to the King; the delegates on their way to London travelled by Belfast; and, in the capital of Ulster, they were received by the inhabitants with extraordinary enthusiasm. Some of the principal merchants waited on them and entertained them at a public breakfast;[3] and, on their departure, the populace took the horses from their carriage, and drew them over the long bridge of the town—shouting as they moved onwards, "Success attend you, union, equal laws; down with the ascendency."[4] But the Episcopalians, with comparatively few exceptions, adopted a hostile policy. Feeling that their ecclesiastical monopoly was in danger, they offered unmitigated opposition to the admission of Romanists to the enjoyment of the elective franchise. The Corporation of the City of Dublin declared, in an address to the Protestants of Ireland, that, "without the ruin of the Protestant Establishment, the Catholic cannot be

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[1] The petition may be found at length in Parnell's *Penal Laws*, pp. 157-163; and Plowden, ii., part ii., appendix xcv., 215-20.

[2] The importance of the service rendered at this time to the Romanists by the Irish Presbyterians has been often noticed. See Gordon, ii. 328; and Burdy, p. 454. Parnell, when referring to these proceedings, says:—"These occurrences are of vast importance in forming a correct view of the opinion of the Irish Protestants upon this (the Roman Catholic) question; because the Presbyterians, being in numbers fully equal to the Protestants of the Church of England, it leaves but a small number of the whole people adverse to the Catholic claims, even if all these (Episcopalian) Protestants were, as they certainly are not, hostile to emancipation."—*Hist. of the Penal Laws*, pp. 178-9. Richard Burke, writing from Ireland in August, 1792, describes the Protestant dissenters as "*the warmest partizans of the Catholics.*"—*Cor. of Edmund Burke*, vol. iii. 497.

[3] Madden's *United Irishmen*, second series, vol. i., p. 86.

[4] Burdy's *Ireland*, p. 454.

allowed *the smallest influence* in the State."[1] The grand jury of Sligo resolved to resist "every attempt then being made, or thereafter to be made, by the Roman Catholics, to obtain their elective franchise, or any participation in the government of the country."[2] The grand jury of County Louth, with the Speaker of the House of Commons at their head, declared that "the allowing to Roman Catholics the right of voting for members to serve in Parliament, or admitting them to any participation in the government of the kingdom, was incompatible with the safety of the Protestant Establishment."[3] The freeholders of County Limerick—a very small constituency—instructed their representatives in Parliament "to oppose any proposition which might be made for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchise."[4] The grand jury of the County of Monaghan expressed their trust, that no branch of the Legislature would admit of any alteration which could "endanger that ascendency which an established religion and government must maintain;"[5] and the grand jury of the County of Fermanagh came forward to proclaim that they were ready to support, with their lives and fortunes, "the present invaluable constitution in Church and State;" and to resist, to the utmost of their power, "the attempts of any body of men who should presume to threaten innovation in either."[6]

These protests soon proved to be of no avail. The deputies appointed to proceed to London, and lay the Roman Catholic petition before the King, were presented to George III. on the 2nd of January, 1793, at St. James's Palace by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the Home Department; and were very graciously received. The British Cabinet had resolved to make new concessions; and the Irish

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[1] Plowden, ii., part ii., appendix, p. 212. About the same time the Corporation of Dublin declared that the Protestants of Ireland would not be compelled, "*by any authority whatever*, to abandon their political situation, which their forefathers won with their swords."—MACNEVIN'S *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 29.

[2] Plowden, ii., i. 374.

[3] *Ibid.* part i. 375.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* ii., part ii. 199.

[6] *Ibid.* ii., ii. 190, 191. See also *Grattan's Life*, by his Son, iv. 69.

Lord Lieutenant, in a speech to both Houses of Parliament, informed them a few days afterwards, that "he had it in particular command" to recommend them to apply themselves "to the consideration of such measures as were most likely to cement a union of sentiment among all classes of His Majesty's subjects;" and trusted that "the situation of his Catholic subjects would engage their serious attention."[1] The placemen and venal courtiers, forming by far the majority of the senators, listened with submission to this intimation of the royal will; and as the Patriots were now favourable to concession, another relief bill met with little resistance in the House of Commons. When it reached the Lords, it was supported by all the influence of Government; Dr. Law, Bishop of Killala—whose speech on this occasion earned for him early promotion,[2]—expressed his ready and cheerful assent; and though Dr. Agar, Archbishop of Cashel—who possessed a large private fortune, and who could afford to be independent—gave it his strenuous opposition, most of his brother prelates managed to absent themselves;[3] and it obtained, without much difficulty, the sanction of the Upper House of Parliament. It was well known, at the time, that the Act was passed much against the inclination of many who voted for it;[4] but the Government was resolved that the measure should become law; and the servile legislators were obliged to bow to its dictation. The members of the Synod of Ulster approved so cordially of the concessions now made

[1] Parnell's *Penal Laws*, pp. 163-4. This was perhaps the first occasion since the Revolution on which the members of the Church of Rome were officially designated "Catholics."

[2] As to the course pursued by this prelate, see before, p. 308, *note* (5). He was translated to Elphin in March, 1795. He is said to have been indebted for his first bishopric to the Duke of Portland, who wished, by this arrangement, to provide for a poor curate who had rendered him important aid in a lawsuit; but who was not a sufficiently dignified personage for the episcopal bench. See *Public Characters*, vol. v., p. 173. London, 1803. The curate obtained his vacated place.

[3] Of the twenty-six bishops and archbishops, only eight were in attendance. Mant, ii. 725.

[4] This is expressly stated by Gordon, ii. 330, and Burdy, p. 455. See also *Grattan's Life*, by his Son, vol. iv. 85, 86.

that they volunteered, in an address to the Lord Lieutenant, to express their satisfaction.[1]

The Act of 1793[2] added largely to the political privileges of Romanists. They were exempted by it from all penalties for non-attendance on the established service on the Lord's Day in the parish church; they were capable of holding, with a few important specified exceptions,[3] all civil and military offices, or places of trust or profit under the Crown; and they were admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise.[4] As a qualification for these privileges, every member of the Church of Rome was required to avouch his loyalty by swearing the formula of allegiance prescribed by Parliament in 1774;[5] and to take another oath, embodied in the Act itself, avowing his detestation of the principle that it is lawful to murder or injure any person under the pretence of his being a heretic; declaring his belief that no deed in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can be justified on the ground that it is done for the good of the Church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical authority; affirming that it is not an article of the Catholic faith that the Pope is infallible; and testifying that the individual adjured will not exercise any privilege, to which he may be entitled, for the purpose of disturbing and weakening the Protestant religion, and Protestant government in the kingdom.[6] The Roman Catholic Committee were highly gratified by the passing of this Act; and, in testimony of their gratitude, presented, through the Lord Lieutenant, an address to the King in which they expressed "their heartfelt thanks for the substantial benefits which, through His

[1] Parnell's *Penal Laws*, p. 178.

[2] It is the 33rd of George III. chap. xxi.

[3] See afterwards, p. 354 of this volume.

[4] At first this privilege did not add much to their influence. Edmund Burke, writing in December, 1791, says:—"There are not probably *two hundred people in the whole kingdom* who can take advantage of the franchise, because almost all the old freeholders had been worn out during the reign of the penalties."—*Correspondence*, vol. iii., pp. 363-4. London, 1844.

[5] See before, p. 295 of this volume.

[6] The taking of an oath of this description, to qualify Romanists for voting at elections, was finally abolished in 1843 by the 6th and 7th of Victoria, chap. xxxviii. It is entitled "An Act to abolish the Roman Catholic oath as a qualification for voters at elections."

Majesty's gracious recommendations, they had received from the wisdom and liberality of Parliament." [1]

[1] The address may be found in Parnell's *Penal Laws*, p. 175. About this time an address was presented to Government by the R. C. prelates couched in very obsequious language. It is said to have given great offence to many of their laity. "It was clandestinely conducted," says Emmet, "and even remained a profound secret until after it had been some days delivered." It would appear that these bishops had now in view the endowment of a Roman Catholic college. MacNevin's *Pieces of Irish History*, pp. 61, 63, 106.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ADMISSION OF ROMAN CATHOLICS TO THE ENJOYMENT OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO THE UNION BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND. A.D. 1793 TO A.D. 1800.

HITHERTO many of the Irish priests had been trained in France; but the breaking out of the Revolution in that country, and the deadly hostility displayed to their religion by the party advanced to power, had led the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy to see the necessity of making some other arrangement for clerical education. In February, 1794, they accordingly presented an address to the Lord Lieutenant,[1] stating that four hundred persons had till then been constantly maintained in France in course of instruction for the ministry of their Church in Ireland; and that, under the reign of terror, their training establishments had been recently destroyed. In this memorial the petitioners assign a most extraordinary reason for providing a separate seminary to educate aspirants to the priesthood. "Your Excellency's memorialists," say they, "beg leave humbly to represent that, though the mode of education practised in the University of Dublin may be well adapted to form men for the various departments of public business, it is not alike applicable to the ecclesiastics of a *very ritual religion;* and by no means calculated to impress upon the mind those *habits of austere discipline*, so indispensable in the character of a Roman Catholic clergyman, that, without them, *he might become a*

[1] This address may be found in Howden, ii., part i. 446-8.

very dangerous member of society."[1] As they had been advised by counsel that the King's licence was necessary, to enable them legally to secure the funds to be appropriated for the ecclesiastical education of the youth of their communion, they conclude by praying that his Excellency may be pleased to recommend His Majesty to grant authority for the endowment of seminaries to prepare candidates for discharging the duties of Roman Catholic clergymen in the kingdom. Some steps had previously been taken in this direction, as Dr. O'Keefe, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare —who died in 1787—had founded at Carlow a college for the education of priests;[2] and this seminary was already in operation.[3] A favourable answer was given to the present address of the Roman Catholic dignitaries. Government soon afterwards took up the matter; and, in the session of 1795, an Act was obtained for the establishment of a College at Maynooth. A sum of nearly £40,000 was given for the erection of buildings; and a grant of £8,000 per annum was voted for the current expenditure.[4] It was estimated that there were at this time 2,000 priests in Ireland; and, to supply vacancies created by death and otherwise, it was arranged that 200 youths were to be maintained and educated, at the public expense, in the new seminary.[5]

The establishment of the College of Maynooth, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, is a striking illustration of the caprice of statesmanship. Only two years before, Romanists had been restored to the ordinary privileges of

[1] The meaning of this statement apparently is, that clergy, who are pledged to celibacy, must be kept under very strict discipline, otherwise the worst consequences may be anticipated.

[2] Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*, i. 169.

[3] In 1819 Dr. Doyle states that each year since the commencement of the French Revolution, Carlow College contained about one hundred students. Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 85. According to Brenan (p. 567) Carlow College was opened in 1793. In 1825, in his *Evidence before the Select Committee on the State of Ireland*, Dr. Doyle stated that seminaries similar to that in Carlow were then established in the diocese of Ossory, at Waterford, and at Tuam. Second Report from Select Committee. Minutes of Evidence, p. 200.

[4] In 1806 the annual grant was raised to £13,000; but in 1808 it was reduced to the original sum.

[5] The Act is the 35th of George III., chap. xxi.

citizens; and it was still deemed unsafe to admit them to the higher offices of Government. But, withal, the public funds are now to be employed in providing clergy devoted to the maintenance of their worship. The priests trained abroad were believed to have foreign sympathies; and it was expected that those educated in the new seminary would increase the loyalty of the Roman Catholic population. But the result has not justified the calculation. Since the erection of Maynooth, the Romish parts of Ireland have been more difficult to govern, and more expensive to the Imperial treasury, than they were during the eighty years preceding.[1]

About this time a convert from Romanism, whose history is remarkable, was promoted to an Irish bishopric. Thomas Lewis O'Beirne was born of humble parentage in County Longford in the year 1747. He was early destined for the priesthood; and was sent, with another brother, to the continent to receive his professional education. As was usual in those days,[2] he seems to have been ordained about the commencement of his ecclesiastical career.[3] His confidence in the religion of his fathers was shaken during his residence abroad; the anxiety thus awakened probably impaired his health; and, in consequence, he was obliged to return home. After remaining some time in Ireland, he resolved to visit London in quest of literary employment.[4] On his way through Wales he stopped for refreshment at a small inn—where he was thrown into company with two strange gentlemen who had been among the hills on a shoot-

[1] It is rather remarkable that the Rebellion of 1798 followed the erection of the College in 1795; and that the Rebellion of 1848 followed the increase of the grant in 1845.

[2] See before, p. 291, and *note* (1). When thus ordained, they were enabled on the continent, "by chaplaincies, or foundations for masses which they discharged," to defray the expenses of their education. Renehan's *Collections*, p. 108. Roman Catholic writers, who now deny that O'Beirne was ordained a priest in their Church, have forgotten the usage of the period.

[3] Mr. (afterwards Lord) Brougham, who was evidently well acquainted with his history, stated in a speech delivered in the English House of Commons on the 6th of May, 1825, that he was "originally ordained a priest;" but "afterwards, becoming a Protestant, he was made a bishop without any further ordination."—HANSARD, p. 443, vol. xiii., new series.

[4] *Public Characters*, p. 111. Dublin, 1799.

ing excursion, and who had been obliged to take refuge from the violence of the storm in this plain tenement. The strangers soon began to converse in French; but the young Irishman politely informed them that he was acquainted with the language; and that, if they had any secrets to communicate, they must take care not to reveal them in his presence.[1] The manner in which he conveyed this candid caution made a favourable impression; he at once supplied proof that he was familiar with the French tongue; and his new acquaintances were at length quite fascinated by his affability and intelligence. Young O'Beirne told them that he was on his way to London, and probably gave them to understand his errand; for, when about to take their leave, one of the gentlemen handed him a card without a name, but containing directions how to find his town residence—accompanied by a request that his Hibernian friend would call on him when he reached the metropolis. Proceeding there on foot, O'Beirne, on his arrival, soon discovered the house indicated on the card; but was astonished to see that it was a very splendid mansion; and to learn that it was occupied by one of the leading statesmen of the day. On seeking admission, he was equally surprised to hear that the servant in waiting had been expecting his arrival; and had been specially instructed by his master to secure him an audience. The noble owner welcomed him most cordially; and soon assured him of his patronage. If he had already misgivings as to the truth of the religion in which he had been brought up, the bright prospects now presented to him no doubt promoted his determination to withdraw from the Church of Rome. He was shortly afterwards introduced to Lord Howe; he accompanied that nobleman on his ill-starred expedition to America; and was eventually selected as his chaplain.[2] In America O'Beirne was well known as a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church;

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[1] Fitzpatrick's *Sham Squire*, p. 213. Dublin, 1869.

[2] Cotton's *Fasti*, ii. 288; Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 187. According to one account, the regular chaplain died on the voyage to America; and O'Beirne, without challenge, was permitted to take his place. No inquiry seems to have been afterwards made about his ordination. Romanists, who denied the fact, called him, when he became a bishop, "the mitred layman." Cogan, ii. 186.

and, on the occasion of a dreadful fire in New York in 1776, preached a sermon which greatly added to his reputation.[1] On his return to England he engaged prominently in political discussions; and published several pamphlets in support of the opponents of the ministry. A change of Government soon occurred; and his services did not pass unrewarded. In 1782 he came to Ireland as private secretary to the Duke of Portland, the Lord Lieutenant: and in the year following obtained valuable livings in Northumberland and Cumberland.[2] In December, 1785, he is said to have clandestinely performed the ceremony of marriage between the celebrated Mrs. Fitzherbert and the Prince of Wales—afterwards George IV.[3] In 1791 he was collated to the Irish rectory of Templemichael in the diocese of Ardagh.[4] His brother, the Rev. Denis O'Beirne—who was a zealous Roman Catholic priest—officiated at this period in the same parish. The rector of Templemichael became Bishop of Ossory in 1795; and in 1798 was promoted to Meath. It is a singular fact that, during the whole time he presided over the latter diocese, the Right Reverend Patrick Plunket—under whom he had studied on the continent—was the Roman Catholic Bishop of the same see.[5]

Dr. O'Beirne was undoubtedly a man of ability, as well as of most winning manners. His very pleasing exterior and wonderful tact contributed much to his advancement. He was not a theologian; and to the last he remained such a High Churchman, that some of his former friends continued to cherish the hope of his return to the communion of Rome.[6]

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[1] *Annual Register* for 1822, p. 281.

[2] Cotton's *Fasti*, ii. 288. In November, 1783, he was married to Miss Stuart, only surviving child of the Hon. Colonel Francis Stuart, brother to the Earl of Moray. *Sham Squire*, p. 214. He had one son, and two daughters, neither of whom married.

[3] Fitzpatrick's *Sham Squire*, pp. 214, 215. The fact that he had been ordained a priest is said to have recommended him on this occasion to Mrs. Fitzherbert. As to the fact of the marriage, there is no room for doubt. It took place in London. But it is not so clear that O'Beirne performed the ceremony. See *Life and Times of Lord Brougham*, by Himself, ii. 411.

[4] Cotton, ii. 288.

[5] Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, ii. 187, *note*.

[6] Cogan, ii. 187, *note*.

But he possessed a large amount of common sense; and, in an age when episcopal duties were too frequently neglected, he was regarded as an exemplary and efficient prelate. In his primary charge to his clergy, as Bishop of Ossory, he directed their attention to the state of benefices called "non-cures," that is, those which had no glebe, no parsonage, no church, and no church-service.[1] The incumbent, who was an absentee—and who was known to his parishioners only as the recipient of the tithes—acted as if he were under no obligation to perform any clerical duty. The Episcopalians resident in a non-cure were thus left without a stated ministry; they might occasionally attend worship in the church of a neighbouring parish; but they often became lukewarm; had their children baptized by the priest; and lapsed into Popery. The new Bishop of Ossory affirmed that there could properly be no such thing as a non-cure; that the man who had accepted the care of a parish, and enjoyed its emoluments, was bound to attend to it; that he was not at liberty to abandon his charge because he was without an official dwelling; and that he must not fail to celebrate the ordinances of religion even though he had not the accommodation of a church.[2] Bishop O'Beirne endeavoured to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the state of his diocese, by the appointment of rural deans—[3] who, in their several districts, supplied him with much valuable information which he could not otherwise obtain. The assiduity with which the Romish priests attended to their duties was well known to him; and, in one of his charges, he pointed it out to his own clergy as not unworthy of their imitation. "Their labours," said he, "are unremitting. They live in a constant

[1] Mant, ii. 575. In 1805 we find the Rev. John Jebb—afterwards Bishop of Limerick—appointed to the "non-cure" of Kiltinane—worth £250 per annum. He seems to have paid no attention to it. See *Life of John Jebb, D.D., Bishop of Limerick*, by the Rev. Charles Forster, B.D., vol. i., p. 70. London, 1836.

[2] About the same time Archbishop Newcome, who succeeded Dr. Robinson in the see of Armagh, inculcated the same views. Mant, ii. 736.

[3] Dr. Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, appears to have first suggested the revival of this office. Mant, ii. 738-9. It had been established upwards of a century and a half before by the pious Bedell. See Dr. Monck Mason's *Life of Bedell*, p. 210.

familiar intercourse with all who are subject to their pastoral inspection. They visit them from house to house. Their only care, their sole employment, is to attend to the administration of their sacraments, and to their multiplied observances and rites. They watch and surround the beds of the sick. They are instant in season and out of season; they reprove, they rebuke; they exhort, certainly with long suffering, and with doctrine such as it is . . . If we hope to be a match for them, we must imitate them."[1]

Dr. O'Beirne presided over the see of Meath for nearly a quarter of a century.[2] Though a Romanist by birth, he was not disposed to encourage theological controversy; and he lived on very friendly terms with his old co-religionists.[3] He stirred up the clergy to increased activity; and gave a great impulse to the progress of ecclesiastical architecture. During his time, fifty-seven new churches, and seventy-two glebe houses, were erected within the bounds of his diocese.[4]

We have seen that the Act, passed in 1793 for the relief of the Romanists, did not admit them to some of the higher offices of the State. They had now full liberty of worship; they might vote at municipal or parliamentary elections; they might be officers in the army or navy; and they might appear on the bench as county or borough magistrates: but they could not sit in either house of legislation; they could not be judges or sheriffs; neither could any of them be advanced to the position of a Privy Councillor or Lord Chancellor. In 1795 an attempt was made to remove some of their remaining disabilities, and a bill for the purpose was introduced into the House of Commons: but it was soon evident that it was to be opposed by the influence of Government. Its adversaries laid great stress on the difficulty presented by the coronation oath. This plea had been already urged against concession; and seventy-six years before—[5] when the Presbyterians were struggling for their

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[1] Mant, ii. 737-8.
[2] From 1798 to 1823.
[3] Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, iii. 355-7.
[4] Cotton's *Fasti*, iii. 124.
[5] See before, p. 229 of this volume.

Toleration Act—it had not been forgotten: but it was now advanced with increased pertinacity and confidence. It was alleged that, even if the two other branches of the Legislature signified their approval of the measure, the King, without violating his royal vows, could not give it his assent. Grattan, who was in favour of the broadest indulgence, replied with great effect to this objection—reminding those who brought it forward that the coronation oath was framed before the penal laws were placed on the Statute Book, and when Romanists were still entitled to sit in either house of legislation. "The oath," says he, "was taken three years before the exclusion of the Irish Catholics (from Parliament); the oath is the first of William; the tests that exclude them, the third; so that his Majesty must have sworn in the strain and spirit of prophecy . . . His Majesty swears, not in his legislative, but in his executive capacity; he swears to the laws he is to execute, not against the laws which Parliament may think proper to make. On the latter supposition he would, by his oath, control, not himself, but Parliament; and swear, not to execute laws, but to prevent them. 'I will support the true profession of the gospel, and the Protestant religion as by law established.' This is the oath, I will perpetuate civil incapacities on Catholics,[1] this is the comment. Such comment supposes the true profession of the gospel to stand on pains and penalties; and the Protestant religion, on civil proscription."[2] It was asserted, during the course of this discussion,[3] that there were not then in Ireland fifty Roman Catholic gentlemen, in circumstances which warranted them to aspire to the position of members of Parliament. It is now impossible to estimate the weight to be attached to this statement. An opportunity was not given for testing its correctness, as the bill was rejected by a large majority.[4]

When the agitation for the removal of the civil disabilities of Romanists was attracting universal notice, various districts of the north of Ireland were sorely distracted by party spirit.

[1] Grattan might have added "and on all non-conformists."

[2] See the speech in Plowden, ii., part i. 522-3.

[3] By the Irish Solicitor-General. See Plowden, ii., part i. 520.

[4] By 185 to 84.

It is a significant fact that these disorders prevailed most in that part of Ulster in which the Primate of all Ireland had his residence; and in which the largest amount of money was expended by the State for the maintenance of religion. When the Most Reverend Dr. Robinson, in the midst of a population of ragged adherents of the Pope, was driving to church in a chariot drawn by six horses, there were crowds of miscreants in his neighbourhood, who were showing most clearly that they were as ignorant of the true spirit of the gospel, as if they had never heard the name of a Saviour.[1] For years County Armagh was disturbed by hostile bands of vagabonds, known as *Peep of Day Boys and Defenders*, who kept up a species of civil war. Before police were known in the country, it was quite common for parties who were at enmity to meet at horse races, or fairs, or markets; and to discuss their differences with bludgeons. In some cases, still more deadly weapons were employed; and, on one of these occasions, a body of Romanists put to flight some Protestants of the Established Church, who were not so well equipped for the faction fight.[2] It was then illegal for papists to have arms;[3] and the Protestants, greatly irritated by defeat, determined to take the execution of the law into their own hands; and, by seizing the swords, guns, and pistols, of their

[1] "The County Armagh is the most Protestant [Episcopalian] county in Ireland. It is in great part a species of English colony. The Primacy having been usually bestowed upon Englishmen, the consequence was that, whatever church lands could be beneficially demised, came to the hands of the English dependents and favourites of the primates as they fell in. The tenants moved not as their patrons died; but attached themselves to the soil, in which they had acquired a valuable interest. They had generally risen from menial situations, and retained a species of extraordinary gratitude for the Church, on the soil of which they lived and throve. . . . The ancient village feuds and dissensions of the Peep of Day Boys and Defenders were renewed under the acrimonious distinction of Catholics and Protestants."—PLOWDEN'S *History of Ireland from the Union*, Introd., vol. i., p. 9.

[2] This is said to have taken place at Drumbee, near Hamilton's Bawn, in 1784. Burdy, p. 457.

[3] Even according to the Act passed in 1793 no papist was at liberty to keep "any arms, armour, ammunition, or any warlike stores, sword-blades, barrels, locks, or stocks, of guns or fire-arms," except he had a freehold estate of £100 per annum, or a personal estate of £1,000; or except he had a freehold estate of £10 yearly value, or a personal estate of £300, and *had taken the oaths prescribed in the said Act*. Before 1793 they had not such privileges.

foes, to deprive them in future of the means of carrying on a successful warfare. Associated together in companies, they entered the dwellings of their antagonists very early in the morning; stripped them of their arms; and frequently burned their furniture. These Peep of Day Boys were not long permitted to proceed without opposition. The Romanists conspired for mutual protection; bound themselves to each other by an oath of secresy; and were known by the title of *Defenders*. They soon, however, commenced a course of aggression: trained themselves to the use of arms; and became a terror to all the Protestants around them. Their leaders were the very off-scourings of society; and, under the direction of such guides, their proceedings were often of the most diabolical character.[1] Some companies of volunteers were formed to repress their outrages; but, as no Roman Catholics were admitted into their ranks, these new associations quickly appeared as odious to the Defenders as were their original foes, the Peep of Day Boys. The Defenders gradually became more and more formidable; extended their organization far beyond the boundaries of Armagh; assembled, in large bodies, at night to go through military evolutions; and, wherever they appeared, committed many atrocities—including robberies and murders.

When the Defenders began to give trouble in County Cavan and the parts adjacent, they encountered sharp resistance from a body of small farmers who were Presbyterians, and who were settled in that district. These peasants—who

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[1] One of their achievements excited the horror of all Protestants. In February, 1791, at a place called Forkhill—in that part of Armagh which borders on Louth—a school-master, named Barclay, with his wife and brother-in-law, suffered most savage treatment. An attempt to establish a Protestant colony in a Roman Catholic district appears to have led to this outrage. A gentleman, named Jackson, had bequeathed a portion of his property for the education and maintenance of poor children of the Established Church—a bequest under which nine schools at Forkhill are now endowed with £415 a year. *Report of Endowed Schools (Ireland) Commission*, p. 18. Dublin, 1858. It would seem that the Romanists greatly disrelished the education given in these schools. The barbarity practised on Barclay and his family was horrible; but Mr. Froude has not stated the case correctly. See his *English in Ireland*. See also Minutes of Evidence before Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges, pp. 2, 51, 53, 54.

were the descendants of colonists from North Britain, and who were called *Scots* by way of distinction from other Protestants —have been sometimes confounded with the Peep of Day Boys. In one respect they followed their example, for they seized the arms of the Defenders; but otherwise they seem to have been persons of a more respectable description; their exertions were recognized as useful; and they were encouraged and headed by the magistrates and gentry.[1] Though inconsiderable in point of numbers, they excelled in courage, activity, and skill in the use of arms; so that they generally defeated their antagonists. In the end they succeeded in stamping out Defenderism in the district.[2] During the progress of hostilities, and when flushed with victory, they are said to have performed many illegal and unwarrantable acts; but their services, on the whole, were deemed so beneficial that their excesses were permitted to pass unpunished; and even the well-disposed Romanists—who were scandalized by the proceedings of the Defenders—were not inclined to complain of their outrages.[3]

The Defenders and Peep of Day Boys were long at war in Armagh.[4] Jealousies in relation to the possession of land appear to have aggravated their hostility. In several of the northern counties, Romanists—who had been servants or cottiers—contrived, by offering higher rents, to creep into the occupation of small farms. Before 1793—when they could not vote as freeholders—many of the Protestant aristocracy did not care for such tenants; but, when they obtained the elective franchise, this difficulty was removed; so that they became much more formidable as customers in the land market. The poorer Protestants, who lost their holdings, when outbidden by these new competitors, felt deeply aggrieved; and thus personal chagrin was added to the bitterness of sectarian antipathy. On the 21st of September, 1795, the Defenders and their antagonists fought a pitched battle at a

[1] Plowden, ii., part i. 385.

[2] *Ibid.* ii. i. 386.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Those of the Presbyterians who were Peep of Day Boys became reconciled to the Defenders in the summer of 1792. See *Memoirs of Theobald Wolfe Tone*, i. 97; ii. 392. The parties thus restored to peace became United Irishmen.

place called the Diamond in County Armagh, between Richhill and Portadown.[1] The Peep of Day Boys, though opposed by superior numbers, were triumphant; forty-eight of their foes are reported to have met a bloody death;[2] and, on the evening of the day of victory, the first Orange lodge ever established in Ireland is said to have been instituted.[3] It must be admitted that the system had a rather ominous beginning—for the members of this lodge were little better than a lawless banditti. It is alleged that the oath by which they were originally bound together was of a most atrocious character—pledging everyone who took it to use his "utmost exertions to exterminate all the Catholics of the kingdom of Ireland."[4] The accuracy of this representation has been

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[1] I regret to say that Mr. Froude, when treating of this subject, has betrayed a sad want of historical accuracy. He speaks (*The English in Ireland*, iii. 154) of the Diamond as "a village *in Tyrone*;" and says that the Orangemen "organized themselves into a volunteer police to prevent murder," and that they gathered into their institutions "all that was best and noblest in Ireland." Nothing can be more evident than that the original Orangemen were the very scum of society, and a disgrace to Protestantism.

[2] Sir Richard Musgrave (*Memoirs, &c.*, p. 68. Dublin, 1801) gives this account of the number slain, and says that many more besides were wounded. See also Haverty, p. 731, *note*. Colonel Blacker—who was then a mere lad—was on the spot immediately after the battle. It appears that he saw about thirty dead bodies; but a number seem to have been carried away before his arrival. No Protestant was killed. See Minutes of Evidence before Select Committee on Orange Lodges, Q. 8,945. Third Report, p. 214.

[3] It was formed in the house of a man named Sloan, in the village of Loughgall. Evidence of Colonel Blacker in 1835 before Select Committee on Orange Lodges, Q. 8,957. One of the regulations (the 5th) of the early Orangemen was part of the system of the Peep of Day Boys:—"We are not to carry away money, goods, or anything from any person whatever, *except arms and ammunition*, and those only from an enemy." See these regulations in Plowden's *History of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., appendix to Introduction, p. 4. In a speech made in the Irish House of Commons, on the 7th of November, 1796, Mr. Verner states that "*the plundering of houses*, of *which illegality the people were not previously aware* (!), had *now* subsided." Minutes of Select Committee on Orange Lodges. First report, p. 19. Mr. Verner at this time sat in Parliament as one of the members for the borough of Dungannon, nominated by Lord Northland. He was an attorney and a magistrate. His uncle, who was also an attorney, had, by his profession and otherwise, acquired a considerable landed estate which he bequeathed to one of the sons of the member for Dungannon. Plowden's *Historical Disquisitions on the Orange Societies*, p. 47, *note*. Dublin, 1810.

[4] Plowden, ii., part i., p. 537.

denied; but there are strong grounds for believing that it is substantially true;[1] and the conduct of the Orangemen, during the first year of their existence under their new designation, abundantly justified the suspicion that they had entered into some such horrid compact.[2] Had we not the clearest evidence of the fact, we might hesitate to believe that in Ireland—five years before its Union with Great Britain, and in the very county of which the Primatial city is the capital—there were multitudes professing to be champions of Protestantism, who acted with all the ferocity of savages; and who, for months together, were permitted to pursue their career of ruffianism almost without any opposition. For many weeks after the battle of the Diamond, the entire district was kept in a state of great alarm; the magistrates met repeatedly and framed resolutions for the preservation of the peace; but depredations continued on the one side, as well as on the other; and the Defenders made desperate efforts to maintain a formidable front. At length, however, they were completely overpowered; and then the Orangemen commenced to carry out a system of proscription against the whole Roman

[1] This secret test is said to have been called originally their *purple* oath. Arthur O'Connor stated positively, in an examination before the Secret Committee of the Lords in 1798, that, as he had ascertained, "the oath of extermination was administered." The facts seem to have been admitted by the Committee. See Plowden, ii., i. 537, *note*, and 673, *note*. Whilst Gordon states that the "improved system" of Orangeism was "purely defensive" he virtually admits that "the outrages of the *original* Orangemen" pointed to a very different conclusion. *Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 358. Gordon was a minister of the Established Church.

[2] Bernard Cush, of the 5th Dragoons, when sent for by Government at the instigation of Mr. Coile—a respectable Roman Catholic merchant of Lurgan, against whose life a conspiracy had been formed—deposed on oath, in the presence of Mr. Cooke, then Under-Secretary in Dublin Castle, as he had sworn before a county magistrate, "not only that such was the form of the Orangeman's oath, which was tendered to him, and which he refused to swear, but which five others concerned in the conspiracy had actually subscribed to in his presence."—PLOWDEN'S *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., p. 58. See also Additional Evidence, p. 22. The person who framed the first regulations for the guidance of the Orangemen was an episcopalian apothecary, named Giffard, who afterwards became a captain in the city of Dublin militia. For an account of him see Plowden's *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., pp. 21, 22, 65; and chap. i. 58 *et seq.*

Catholic population. According to the testimony of a respectable contemporary historian, who was a minister of the Established Church, "they posted up papers at night on the houses of their adversaries *ordering them to go to hell or Connaught*;[1] and threatening severe punishment on their disobedience—which they took care to inflict. Hence some hundreds of Catholic families[2]—it is said fourteen hundred—were forcibly expelled from their houses, and obliged to take shelter in that province, or other parts."[3]

During the continuance of these outrages, Lord Gosford, as governor of the County,[4] felt it his duty to convene the justices of the peace; and accordingly a numerous meeting of magistrates was held in Armagh on the 28th of December, 1795. The address delivered on the occasion by this nobleman has been preserved, and fully corroborates the preceding representations. "It is no secret," said his lordship, "that

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[1] Many of them removed to Connaught. Lord Gosford, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges, says:—"I recollect Mr. Brown, a member for the County of Mayo, saying it was an ill wind that blew nobody any good, for the people, when driven out of the County of Armagh, came and settled in the County of Mayo, and introduced the linen manufacture there." Q. 3,671.

[2] It is said that, at the time, a list was made out, and delivered to the Irish Under-Secretary, showing that 7,000 Roman Catholics were driven from their homes. Plowden's *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., p. 50, *note*. The person who delivered the list to Mr. Cooke assured Mr. Plowden that he well knew the country so depopulated, which covered an extent of thirteen miles by eleven, had examined the list, and had every reason to give full credit to its accuracy. *Hist. Disquisition*, p. 50, *note*.

[3] Burdy's *History of Ireland*, p. 467. Burdy's *History* was published in 1817. The author had investigated the facts on the spot. Another minister of the Episcopal Church—whose work was published in 1805—gives much the same account as Burdy. Thus Gordon says:—"They (the Orangemen) shamefully abused their victory by the forcible expulsion of some hundreds of Catholic families—*fourteen hundred according to the most probable account*—most of whom took refuge in Connaught."—*Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 348.

[4] "To thwart or disgust that noble Earl (Lord Charlemont), they (the Government) appointed Lord Gosford joint-governor with him of the County of Armagh. Lord Charlemont's ancestors had, from the reign of Elizabeth, uninterruptedly enjoyed the government of that county. Considering this joint appointment of a co-governor as an insult and an offence, his lordship resigned. Lord Gosford was, of course, considered a Government man: but his honour and integrity were unassailable."—PLOWDEN'S *Historical Disquisition*, p. 36. Lord Gosford was appointed governor about 1792. See also *Life of Charlemont*, p. 319.

a persecution, accompanied with all the circumstances of ferocious cruelty . . . is now raging in this country. Neither age nor sex, nor even acknowledged innocence—as to any guilt in the late disturbances—is sufficient to excite mercy, much less to afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this ruthless persecution are charged with is a crime indeed of easy proof—it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith.[1] A lawless banditti have constituted themselves judges of this new species of delinquency; and the sentence they have denounced is equally concise and terrible. It is nothing less than a confiscation of all property and an immediate banishment! It would be extremely painful and surely unnecessary to detail the horrors that attend the execution of so rude and tremendous a proscription—a proscription that certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it consigns to ruin and misery, every example that ancient and modern history can supply; for where have we heard, or in what stories of human cruelties have we read, *of more than half the inhabitants of a populous country*[2] deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry; and driven, in the midst of an inclement winter, to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is *no exaggerated picture* of the horrid scenes now acting in this county."[3]

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[1] About this time, six or seven Roman Catholic chapels were destroyed. See evidence before Committee on Orange Lodges. Q. 5,588. There is no evidence that any Protestant place of worship was injured. Q. 5,589.

[2] This Declaration, made at the time, by one who had the very best opportunities of information, proves that the statement as to the expulsion of 1,400 R. C. families from County Armagh is no exaggeration. Emmet mentions that some of "the fugitives were invited to Belfast, from whence they were received by the Presbyterian families in the counties of Down and Antrim. They were secured from danger, provided with employment, treated with affectionate hospitality, and *the hereditary prejudices they had imbibed against northerns and dissenters were lost in the overflowing of their gratitude.*"—MacNevin's *Pieces of Irish History*, p. 117. The Presbyterians of Belfast made a stock-purse, and supported them till they could procure employment. "Many of them were enabled to pass over to Scotland, and were encouraged to settle in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and Paisley. *This was the beginning of that colony of Irish in that part of Scotland,*" which, in 1810, was computed to amount to nearly 20,000. Plowden's *Hist. Disq.*, p. 67.

[3] This address may be found in the *Belfast News Letter* for the 1st of January,

There is reason to believe that all the original Orangemen were nominally connected with the Established Church.[1] Presbyterians have always been in a minority among the Protestant population of County Armagh; and, towards the end of the eighteenth century, their ministers were avowedly favourable to Roman Catholic emancipation. It is not, therefore, probable that many of their adherents were connected with these scenes of violence.[2] The early Orangemen were professedly organized in support of the existing Protestant ascendency *in Church and State;*[3] so that no Presbyterian, who respected himself and the principles of the religious community with which he was connected, could join their association. It was asserted by persons living at the time, who were furnished with the best means of obtaining in-

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1796. Lord Gosford stated, several years afterwards, that the language should have been even "stronger." See Plowden's *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., p. 37, *note.*

[1] Mr. Verner, in his speech in the Irish House of Commons on the 7th of November, 1796, says:—"That body of men called Orange Boys, to whom so many wanton and unprovoked cruelties had been attributed, were *Protestants of the Established Church.*" Minutes of Evidence before Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges. First Report, p. 18. There is no doubt that the Peep of Day Boys, who took part in the battle of the Diamond, were all of the same class. Lord Gosford says in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges:—"I think that the *original* institution of Orangemen was *confined to the Church of England.*" Q. 3,656. Mr. Sinclair, an episcopalian magistrate of the County Tyrone, who was living at the time, stated, before the same Committee, that he understood the Peep of Day Boys merged into the Orange Association. Q. 5,165. See also Christie's evidence. Q. 5,575, 5,578.

[2] Plowden states that "the Presbyterians *generally abhorred* the principles of the Orangemen."—*History of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., p. 66.

[3] Thus in their Declaration, dated 19th February, 1798, the Orangemen of the Province of Ulster proclaim their steady attachment "to our valuable constitution *in Church and State.*" See this document in Sir R. Musgrave's *Strictures* on Plowden's *Hist. Review*, p. 227. The second rule of the Boyne Society—one of the earliest of these associations—was: "We are *exclusively* a Protestant association," or as they explain themselves in a subsequent regulation, of the *Established* "Protestant religion."—See *Strictures*, p. 228. The name Protestant was then appropriated by Episcopalians. The United Irishmen took advantage of the exclusiveness of the original system, and published a copy of regulations, one of which was:—"No member is to introduce a papist or Presbyterian, Quaker, or Methodist, or any persuasion but a *Protestant.*" *Ibid.* p. 225. It was alleged that this was a fabrication; but, in as far as other sects were concerned, the part just quoted seems to have rested on a foundation of truth.

formation, that those who constituted their earliest lodges were all Episcopalians.[1] In the following year, when the subject of illegal combinations was under the consideration of the Legislature, Mr. Grattan, in his place in Parliament, denounced, in terms of merited severity, the perpetration of the outrages recently inflicted on the Romanists in Armagh. "Of these outrages," said he, "I have received the most dreadful accounts; their object was the extermination of all the Catholics of that county; it was a persecution conceived in the bitterness of bigotry; carried on with the most ferocious barbarity by a banditti who, *being of the religion of the State*, had committed, with the greater audacity and confidence, the most horrid murders; and had proceeded from robbery and massacre to extermination. . . . Those insurgents, who called themselves Orange Boys, or Protestant Boys . . . had organized their rebellion, and formed themselves into a committee, who sat and tried the Catholic weavers and inhabitants—when apprehended falsely and illegally—as deserters. That rebellious committee, they called the committee of elders; who, when the unfortunate Catholic was torn from his family and his loom, and brought before them, sat in judgment upon his case. If he gave them liquor or money, they sometimes discharged him—otherwise they sent him to a recruiting officer as a deserter.[2] They had very generally given the Catholics notice to quit their farms and dwellings—which notice was plastered on the house, and conceived in these short but plain words—'Go to hell—Connaught won't receive you—fire and faggot—Will Tresham and John Thrustout.' The extent of the murders that had been committed by that atrocious and rebellious banditti, I have heard, but have not heard them so ascertained as to

[1] This seems to be admitted on all hands. See Musgrave's *Strictures* on Plowden, p. 148. Thus also the Rev. Mortimer O'Sullivan says, in his evidence before the Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges:—"I believe the first Orange Lodge consisted *exclusively* of members of the Church of England." Q. 584. First Report, p. 36.

[2] About this time the officials often acted in a very arbitrary and unscrupulous manner. They set at nought the law—presuming on the connivance of Government. Lord Carhampton sent multitudes on board the fleet on mere suspicion. An Act of Indemnity was afterwards passed to secure him and others against any prosecution.

state them to the House; but, from all the inquiries I could make, I collect that the Catholic inhabitants of Armagh have been actually put out of the protection of the law; that the magistrates have been supine or partial;[1] and that the horrid banditti have met with complete success; and, from the magistrates, with very little discouragement.[2] On the 28th of December, thirty of the magistrates had come to the following resolution—which was evidence of the designs of the insurgents and of their success: 'Resolved, that it appears to this meeting that the County of Armagh is at this moment in a state of uncommon disorder; that the Roman Catholic inhabitants are grievously oppressed by lawless persons unknown, who attack and plunder their houses by night, and threaten them with instant destruction, unless they abandon immediately their lands and habitations.'[3] It has been said," continued Mr. Grattan, "that of the Defenders, multitudes have been hanged, multitudes have been put to death on the field, and that they are suppressed, though not extinguished; but, with regard to the outrages of the Orange Boys, no such boast can be made. On the contrary, they have met with impunity, and success, and triumph. They have triumphed over the law; they have triumphed over the magistrates; they have triumphed over the people. Their persecution, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation, and extermination, have been entirely victorious."[4]

About a year after its formation, the Orange system was placed on a more respectable footing. A considerable number of persons in the higher ranks of society joined it; a new oath of association of a comparatively harmless character was adopted;[5] and some Presbyterians—not very warmly

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[1] Plowden states that not a single magistrate of the County of Armagh was set aside, though many were believed to have encouraged these outrages. Burdy asserts, on the other side, that *one* magistrate was not only stripped of his commission, but also fined and confined for his partiality. *Hist. of Ireland*, p. 467, *note*.

[2] See ample testimony in confirmation of this statement in Plowden's *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. i., Introd., pp. 41-2, 48.

[3] This resolution was adopted by the meeting to which Lord Gosford delivered the address already quoted.

[4] This speech may be found in Plowden, vol. ii., part i. 547-9.

[5] Though practically harmless, the oath was not strictly constitutional, as it

attached to their Church—were induced to seek admission into its lodges. At that time, the whole country was in a most alarming political condition; and not a few of the friends of Government were disposed to employ the organization of the Orange body, to counteract the influence of another association, of a dangerous type, which had been recently established. The Society of United Irishmen, when instituted in 1791, proposed only the promotion of Parliamentary Reform; and thus contemplated a strictly constitutional object; but, four years afterwards, it assumed quite a new aspect. In 1795 a secret test was introduced; and it became seditious and revolutionary. It now aimed at separation from Great Britain, and the formation of an Irish Republic. The famous work of Edmund Burke against the French Revolution was answered by Thomas Paine; and the reply, entitled "The Rights of Man," was scattered all over the country. "The Age of Reason"—an infidel publication by the same author —also found many readers. A spirit of scepticism was abroad; immorality abounded; and the overflowings of ungodliness betokened approaching judgments. In the midst of abounding wickedness, the Orange institute only intensified the bitterness of party spirit and sectarian antipathy.[1] But, when the more objectionable elements were eliminated from its constitution, it was deemed a not unsuitable agency for the maintenance of Protestant ascendency;[2] and notwithstanding

pledged the swearer to support the King and his heirs only "so long as he or they support *the Protestant ascendency*." See the oath in appendix to Report of Select Committee on Orange Lodges, p. 3.

[1] Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Memoirs of Irish Rebellion* (p. 74), makes the following suicidal statement:—"However useful the Orange institution may be in a country where *the members of the Established Church are numerous*, it must be allowed that it must have been *injurious* where there are but few, because it tended to excite the vengeance of the Romanists against them; and they could not unite with celerity and in sufficient numbers for their defence." If so, it must, on the whole, be mischievous in such a country as Ireland. In a Memoir relative to the origin and progress of the United Irishmen, delivered to the Irish Government by Messrs. Emmet, O'Connor, and MacNevin, it is stated (p. 6) that "wherever the Orange system was introduced, particularly in Catholic counties, it was *uniformly* observed that *the numbers of the United Irishmen increased most astonishingly*."

[2] The meaning of this phrase was clearly explained in 1792, in an address of the Protestant Lord Mayor, sheriffs, commons, and citizens of Dublin, to the

its discreditable origin, it obtained extensive support. Within a very few years after the battle of the Diamond, it reckoned among its members beneficed clergymen and barristers, magistrates, grand jurors, and Peers of Parliament.[1]

The seditious plottings of the United Irishmen at length culminated in the Rebellion of 1798. No ecclesiastical denomination in the country can be fairly accused of countenancing that foolish and abortive outbreak. A considerable number of the Presbyterian laity were, no doubt, more or less involved in it; one of their ministers was executed; and a few others suffered imprisonment or banishment; but the overwhelming majority of the members of the Synod of Ulster were the steadfast supporters of the cause of loyalty and order.[2] Not one of the ministers of the Secession Church in Ireland—now amounting to upwards of fifty—was even suspected of treason.[3] The majority of the leaders of the United Irishmen were nominal Episcopalians;[4] one of the Established clergy poisoned himself to escape the ignominy of a public execution; one Fellow of Trinity

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Protestants of Ireland, in which they say:—"And that no doubt may remain of what we understand by the words *Protestant ascendency*, we have further resolved that we consider the Protestant ascendency to consist in:—

A Protestant King of Ireland,
A Protestant Parliament,
A Protestant Hierarchy,
Protestant electors and Government,
The benches of justice,
The army and the revenue,
Through all their branches and details, Protestant;

And this supported by a connexion with the

Protestant realm of Great Britain."

—MUSGRAVE'S *Memoirs, &c.*, appendix, p. 12.

[1] As early as March, 1798, we find connected with Lodge No. 176, established in Dublin, Earl Annesley, Earl Athlone, Jonah Barrington, Captain Caulfield, Lord Corry, Patrick Duigenan, Captain Henry Eustace, Hon. Captain Ginchell, Sir John Macartney, Captain Ryan, Hon. B. O'Neill Stratford, Major Sandys, Alderman James Vance, and many others. Evidence before the Committee on Orange Lodges. Q. 9,522.

[2] See *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 386, 388, 391-2. [3] *Ibid.* iii. 391.

[4] Of the twenty State prisoners sent to Fort George after the Rebellion, *ten* were Episcoplians, *six* were Presbyterians, and *four* were Romanists. Dickson's *Narrative*, p. 116.

College, Dublin, was believed to be implicated;[1] and many of the students of the University were infected with the revolutionary mania:[2] but, as might have been expected, almost all the clergy, and almost all the laity of the Established Church, were strenuously opposed to the whole movement. Nor can the Church of Rome be justly charged with fomenting the rebellion.[3] Earnest and intelligent Romanists then looked with horror on France—from which the Irish insurgents expected aid; for the overthrow of the monarchy in that country had been followed by the ascendency of infidelity and a bloody proscription. Many thousands of the Roman Catholic peasantry in the south—particularly in Wexford—appeared in arms; and several priests acted as their leaders; but the bishops and more influential clergy gave no encouragement whatever to the insurgents. The Roman Catholic nobility, gentry, and merchants, were generally averse to them.[4]

The system of the United Irishmen—so far from being in

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[1] Dr. Stokes was suspended for three years from acting as a governing member of the University. *Dublin University Magazine*, for May, 1846, p. 555.

[2] Nineteen students were expelled in consequence of their connexion with the movement. *Ibid.*

[3] I marvel that Mr. Froude should publish, as true, the report of some informer to the effect that, in May, 1797, Dr. Troy, R. C. Archbishop of Dublin, was sworn in a United Irishman. See *English in Ireland*, iii. 246. The story has not even the shadow of probability. It is contradicted by the whole tenor of Dr. Troy's career. See before, p. 306, *note* (5); and p. 324, *note* (1). Even the Orange Dr. Duigenan complimented Dr. Troy as "the steady loyalist." In 1798 "he denounced sentence of excommunication against any of his faith and within his diocese who would rise in arms against the Government, and in consequence thereof a conspiracy was plotted against his life, from which he narrowly escaped." —D'ALTON'S *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 486. See also Burdy's *Ireland*, p. 500, *note*. Chief Justice Whiteside states that "for his services then, and for his *general loyalty*, he long enjoyed a pension from the British Government." *Essays and Lectures*, p. 450.

[4] Burdy, p. 500. On the appearance of the French fleet in Bantry Bay in December, 1796, Dr. Moylan, the R. C. Bishop of Cork, addressed a pastoral to his co-religionists, urging them to oppose the invaders. *Dr. Lanigan, his Life and Times*, by Fitzpatrick, p. 72. Dublin, 1873. The appearance of such a manifesto, at such a crisis, was a very decisive proof of the loyalty of the R. C. prelate. In January, 1795, we find the R. C. Dr. Hussey saying:—"As for an invasion from France it cannot be dreaded. There are not five Catholics in the kingdom, *with its Assent*, that would not spill their blood to resist it."—*Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, iv. 208.

any sense an ecclesiastical scheme—professed to ignore all ecclesiastical distinctions. Infidelity was now rife; and there are good grounds for believing that the chief concoctors of the conspiracy had no cordial attachment to any form of Christianity. As Ireland was at this time governed by an oligarchy, the United Society attracted not a few who were deeply dissatisfied with existing arrangements; and who hoped, by means of it, to realize their cherished visions of political freedom. Many of the poor Romanists expected that their Church would now recover its supremacy; in some places the insurrection, on their part, became a war of extermination against heretics;[1] and all Protestants, on pain of death, were compelled to conform to their worship. But, whilst the leading conspirators cunningly sought to enlist men of all sects under their standard, they had not the most distant idea of giving the claims of religion, in any shape, a prominent place in their contemplated republic.

Very shortly after the suppression of the insurrection, the question of a Union with Great Britain was brought under the consideration of the Legislature. By many this measure was opposed, on the ground that it would be detrimental to the country. Since the recognition of its independence in 1782, Ireland had enjoyed unwonted prosperity;[2] the linen manufacture had flourished; other branches of trade had been cultivated with success; and large sums expended on its public buildings had greatly beautified the appearance of the Irish metropolis.[3] It was feared that, by a union with the sister

[1] During the Rebellion the Rev. Samuel Francis, rector of Killegny, in the diocese of Ferns, was forced, with his family, to attend service in the Roman Catholic chapel; and, in a neighbouring parish, the popish mob collected the Protestants of both sexes with the intention of burning them alive in the parish church—when they were rescued by a body of yeomanry. See Gordon's *Ireland*, ii. 424. Such is only a sample of the doings of the Romish insurgents. On the other side, some of the Protestant yeomanry acted most cruelly. See a horrible case of this description reported in Plowden (ii. part ii. 810-12), and authenticated by a letter from the Lord Lieutenant, Lord Cornwallis.

[2] It was stated in 1786, in a petition to Parliament from the sovereign and burgesses of New Ross, that the port duties in 1785 amounted to more than the same duties "*for the nine preceding years.*"

[3] It should, however, be remembered that some of the best buildings in Dublin, such as the College, the Parliament House (now the Bank of Ireland), and the

island, the material interests of the whole kingdom would suffer; and that it would sink into the position of a mere satellite of England. The extinction of the national Parliament would lead many of the nobility and gentry to remove to London; so that their incomes would henceforth be expended in the British capital. Others received the proposal more favourably. They saw that the existence of two independent Legislatures was a source of weakness to the Empire; and, as the venality of a large proportion of the Irish senators was notorious, they could not understand why the kingdom should be worse governed under the supervision of a united Parliament.

The representatives of the three leading religious denominations in the country concurred in supporting the Union. It was proposed to link the Irish Episcopal body to that of South Britain; and the Irish Episcopal clergy, with very few exceptions, gladly assented to the overture. Though religion was still at a very low ebb among Episcopalians of all ranks, their ecclesiastical machinery had of late been considerably enlarged[1]—as there were now upwards of one thousand

Royal Exchange, were erected before 1782. In a popular *History of Ireland* it is stated, on the alleged authority of Lord Clare, that "no nation on the habitable globe had advanced in cultivation, commerce, and manufactures with the same rapidity as Ireland from 1782 to 1800." In Lord Clare's famous speech on the Union there is no such statement. In that speech he gives very different testimony. He says that the debt of Ireland, which in 1791 amounted only to £2,442,890, had increased in 1800 to £25,662,640. *Speech in the House of Lords on the 10th February*, 1800, p. 77. Dublin, 1800. In the same speech Lord Clare draws a melancholy picture of "the *squalid misery*, and *profound ignorance*, and *barbarous manners*, *and brutal ferocity* of the mass of the Irish people" of that period. Speech, p. 83. In a speech delivered in February, 1798, Lord Clare states that "in 1797 the export of linen (from Ireland) *fell above ten millions of yards*," because "the linen weavers of the County of Down had altogether deserted their looms, and addicted themselves to politics."—Speech in the House of Lords February 19th, 1798, pp. 57-8. Dublin, 1798. The statement, attributed by Miss Cusack to Lord Clare, was made by Daniel O'Connell—a very different authority.

[1] In 1792 there were, connected with the Irish Establishment, 1,001 churches and 1,120 benefices. There were only 354 parsonage houses, of which 212 were in the province of Armagh, sixty-four in Dublin, sixty-one in Cashel, and seventeen in Tuam. All the bishops had episcopal residences, with the exception of two—the Bishop of Kildare, and the Bishop of Down and Connor. The Bishop of Kildare, who was also Dean of Christ Church, Dublin, resided in the metropolis.

churches, and a still larger number of ministers, connected with the Irish Establishment. As its adherents were still a mere fraction of the whole population of the island, its best friends believed that it would be greatly strengthened by an alliance with the Church of England. But two Irish prelates —Dickson of Down and Connor, and Marlay of Waterford— protested against the Union.[1]

The ministers of the Irish Presbyterian Church were generally not unfavourable to the measure. They had little reason to be satisfied with the Irish Parliament—for it had imposed on them the penal laws; few members of their communion were ever found in it :[2] and any concession recently obtained from it had obviously been extorted from its fears. From an Imperial Legislature—in which the Tory element would be weakened, and with which influential Scotch Presbyterians would always be connected—they might anticipate more generous treatment. But, though any opposition from them was scarcely to be apprehended, Government took care to conciliate their support by holding out to them the prospect of an increase of the Regium Donum, and of the establishment of a University at Armagh, in which their candidates for the ministry would be educated.[3]

When the project of Union was announced, a terrible outcry was raised against it;[4] and the public feeling seemed to

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Mant, ii. 767, 775, 776, 777. Dr. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne, states that in 1787 the whole number of clergy connected with the Irish Establishment amounted to 1,200. *Present Position of the Church of Ireland*, p. 45. At that time the House of Commons voted £5,000 annually for building churches. *Ibid.* In the preceding twenty years more than seventy new churches had been erected. *Ibid.* p. 76.

[1] Dickson was the friend of Charles James Fox; and Marlay was the uncle of Grattan. Mant, ii. 762. At the Union, the Established Church received £45,000 in compensation for the three boroughs of St. Canice, Clogher, and Old Leighlin. This sum was paid to the Trustees of First Fruits. Another sum of £15,000 was received for the borough of Swords—which was to be expended on schools. See *Liber Munerum Hiberniæ*, part vii., p. 172.

[2] See before, p. 191, *note* (2); and p. 335 *note* (3).

[3] *Hist. of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii. 400.

[4] It is somewhat remarkable that a most numerously signed petition *against* the Union emanated from County Down. It had appended to it 17,000 signatures. A counter petition from the same county in favour of the Union had only 415 names. Gilbert's *Dublin*, iii. 151. Dublin, 1859. The Marquis of Downshire was bitterly opposed to the Union.

...but the first outburst of indignation was ...ous reaction. It was observed that the ...d now greatly multiplied all over the ...pt the most violent anti-unionists.[1] But ...nment—many of whom were members of ...ed them to agree not to make it a subject ...eir lodges;[2] and thus contrived to weaken ... The denunciations of the Union by the ...not lost on the Roman Catholic population— ...t they had nothing to fear from a proposal ...heir bitterest enemies. Thus they remained ...lescent in the midst of the excitement which ...ublin the Union was exceedingly unpopular; ...ted that the extinction of the separate Legis- ...most injurious to the interests of the city. It ..., supported by the Roman Catholic priests;[4] ... of the Roman Catholic laity; but, notwith- ...ish unionists of the metropolis appear to have ...inority; as, at a meeting of the members of

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... the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, dated January 5th, ...nsage occurs:—"Orangemen in different capacities, as ..., grand jurors, freeholders, and members of corporate ...rtunities of debating the important question of an Union. ...reaty of the Grand Lodge that, *as a society, they will remain* ... *Powden*, p. 229. Thirty-two lodges, notwithstanding, *disapproving of this recommendation*, and declaring their ...ation. *Grattan's Life*, by his Son, v. 55.

... himself a Romanist, makes the following statement:— ...*rancy in favour of the Union* existed in the Catholic body, ...bility, gentry, and clergy." Vol. ii., part ii., 979.

...80. General (afterwards Lord) Hutchinson, in a letter to ...y, dated Dundalk, June 12th, 1799, speaks thus on the ...—"If ever there was a country unfit to govern itself, it is ...tocracy, a ferocious commonalty, a distracted Government, ... The bulk of the people, in my opinion, are by no means ... *The South is certainly for it*; the North, silent; Dublin, ...rs, outrageous; the chief opposition will therefore be in ...*ey and influence can do everything.*"—*Lieutenant-General* ... *A Memoir*, by his Son, p. 136. Edinburgh, 1861.

their communion publicly convened, the celebrated Daniel O'Connell commenced his political career by moving an adverse resolution, which was triumphantly carried. From other important cities and towns in the south and west of the kingdom, in which Romanists formed the bulk of the population, addresses in favour of the measure were forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant.[1] In the town of Galway an address was voted, asserting its necessity in very emphatic language.[2] At a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of Waterford, held in their great chapel on the 28th of June, 1799, a resolution was adopted to the effect that "a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, would effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both countries."[3] The Roman Catholics of Cork concurred in hailing the "salutary measure" as the most effectual means of securing the happiness of the Empire;[4] and an address of the Roman Catholics of Wexford—agreed upon at a meeting held in their chapel on the 22nd of September, 1799, and signed by upwards of three thousand persons—states that the subscribers look forward with cordial approval to "the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland."[5] Similar addresses were forwarded by the Romanists from the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Kilkenny; from the inhabitants of Tipperary and Cahir; from the diocese of Elphin; and from many other places.[6]

These addresses in favour of Union were cordially promoted and signed by the Roman Catholic priests and bishops. It would appear that not one Roman Catholic prelate in all Ireland objected to the proposal.[7] The members of the

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[1] In these addresses the priests cordially concurred.

[2] Plowden, ii., ii. appendix, p. 919. [3] Plowden, ii., ii. appendix, p. 318.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 323. [5] *Ibid.* p. 321. [6] *Ibid.* p. 323, *note.*

[7] Sir Richard Musgrave, in his *Strictures on Plowden* (p. 173), expressly asserts that "*all* the Roman Catholic bishops and priests of the kingdom voluntarily signed the addresses in favour of the Union; and the latter got their flocks to do so." Sir Jonah Barrington says:—"Dr. Troy (R. C. Archbishop of Dublin) was consecrated a decided Unionist, and was directed to send pastoral letters to his colleagues to promote it. *Never yet did any clergy so retrograde* as the Catholic

be intensely hostile: but the first outburst of indignation was succeeded by a vigorous reaction. It was observed that the Orangemen—who had now greatly multiplied all over the country—were amongst the most violent anti-unionists.[1] But the friends of Government—many of whom were members of their society—induced them to agree not to make it a subject of discussion in their lodges;[2] and thus contrived to weaken their opposition. The denunciations of the Union by the Orangemen were not lost on the Roman Catholic population—who inferred that they had nothing to fear from a proposal so execrated by their bitterest enemies. Thus they remained comparatively quiescent in the midst of the excitement which it created.[3] In Dublin the Union was exceedingly unpopular; as it was anticipated that the extinction of the separate Legislature would be most injurious to the interests of the city. It was there, indeed, supported by the Roman Catholic priests;[4] and by a portion of the Roman Catholic laity; but, notwithstanding, the Romish unionists of the metropolis appear to have been far in the minority; as, at a meeting of the members of

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[1] Plowden, vol. ii., part ii., p. 979. The well-known John Claudius Beresford, who was secretary to the Grand Lodge, was a strenuous opponent of the Union. He eventually became a bankrupt, and died in indigent circumstances. Fitzpatrick's *Sham Squire*, pp. 202-3.

[2] In a manifesto of the Grand Orange Lodge of Ireland, dated January 5th, 1799, the following passage occurs:—"Orangemen in different capacities, as members of Parliament, grand jurors, freeholders, and members of corporate bodies, will have opportunities of debating the important question of an Union. But it is the *earnest entreaty* of the Grand Lodge that, *as a society, they will remain silent.*"—*Strictures on Plowden*, p. 229. Thirty-two lodges, notwithstanding, agreed to resolutions *disapproving of this recommendation*, and declaring their right to discuss the question. *Grattan's Life*, by his Son, v. 55.

[3] Plowden, who was himself a Romanist, makes the following statement:—"*A very great preponderancy in favour of the Union* existed in the Catholic body, particularly in their nobility, gentry, and clergy" Vol. ii., part ii., 979.

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their communion publicly convened, the celebrated Daniel O'Connell commenced his political career by moving an adverse resolution, which was triumphantly carried. From other important cities and towns in the south and west of the kingdom, in which Romanists formed the bulk of the population, addresses in favour of the measure were forwarded to the Lord Lieutenant.[1] In the town of Galway an address was voted, asserting its necessity in very emphatic language.[2] At a general meeting of the Roman Catholics of Waterford, held in their great chapel on the 28th of June, 1799, a resolution was adopted to the effect that "a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, would effectually promote the strength and prosperity of both countries."[3] The Roman Catholics of Cork concurred in hailing the "salutary measure" as the most effectual means of securing the happiness of the Empire;[4] and an address of the Roman Catholics of Wexford—agreed upon at a meeting held in their chapel on the 22nd of September, 1799, and signed by upwards of three thousand persons—states that the subscribers look forward with cordial approval to "the happy completion of the great and useful measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland."[5] Similar addresses were forwarded by the Romanists from the counties of Leitrim, Longford, and Kilkenny; from the inhabitants of Tipperary and Cahir; from the diocese of Elphin; and from many other places.[6]

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of I me had special reasons for approving of it; as y had been led to hope that, immediately after the passing the Act, their remaining disabilities would be removed; d that provision would be made by the State for the pport of their clergy. The Roman Catholic hierarchy have ice repudiated the idea of any such public subsidy; but y then listened to the overture with pleasure; and were en prepared to make very important concessions to secure iat they regarded as a boon. At a meeting held by them Dublin, in January, 1799, to deliberate on an offer made by e Administration, all the prelates present—including the four chbishops—agreed that "a provision, through Government, the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, competent and cured, *ought to be thankfully accepted;*" and that, "in the pointment of the prelates of the Roman Catholic religion vacant sees within the kingdom, such interference of Government as may enable it to be satisfied of the loyalty of the person appointed, *is just, and ought to be agreed to.*" [1]

After a bitter struggle—during which bribery and corruption in many forms were largely employed on the part of Government—the Union Bill passed through both Houses of the Irish Parliament. According to the 5th Article, the Churches of England and Ireland, as by law established, were united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called "The United Church of England and Ireland;" and "the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the said United Church," were to "remain in full force for ever." Four Irish spiritual Peers were to sit, according to a prescribed order of

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hierarchy, &c., on that occasion."—*Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, pp. 436-7. Paris, 1833. See also Mitchel's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 71-72; and Plowden's *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. ii. 120, *note*.

[1] Brenan, p. 591. Brenan states that only ten R. C. prelates were present at the meeting; but he admits that it included the four archbishops. The prelates also agreed that "the nomination of parish priests, *with a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance*, be certified to the Government."—Brenan, p. 592. The resolutions of the prelates are given in full by Plowden in his *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, vol. iii., appendix, p. 9. Though only ten prelates were present at the meeting it can be proved that they all concurred in the resolutions. See Plowden's *Ireland from the Union*, vol. iii., p. 651, where the fact is expressly admitted by their accredited agent, the R. C. Bishop Milner.

rotation, in the Upper House of the Imperial Parliament. It was agreed that "the continuance and preservation of the United Church, as the Established Church of England and Ireland, was to be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the union." [1]

On the 1st of August, 1800, the bill received the royal assent; and on the 1st of January, 1801, the two islands became a "United Kingdom."

[1] For the articles of Union see Plowden, ii., ii. appendix, 323-333; Gordon's *Hist. of Ireland*, ii., appendix No. iv.

CHAPTER VI.

OM THE UNION TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE III. A.D. 1800 TO A.D. 1820.

EDIATELY after the Union with Great Britain an unted stillness for some time pervaded the political ...osphere. At first all parties seemed disposed to watch in silence the development of the new arrangements. Religion certainly did not suffer by the abolition of the national Legislature. The sentimentalist might lament its extinction; but most of its members were notoriously corrupt; and its last days were spent amidst shameless scenes of venality and jobbery.

When making arrangements for the Union, the Irish Methodists were deemed of too little political significance to be consulted by statesmen; and yet, as a religious element, they were already of considerable importance. Going out into the streets and highways, they preached to the poor; the influence of their labours was felt all over the country; and many of the middle, as well as of the lower classes, were awakened by their ministrations. In the year immediately following the Rebellion of 1798, Messrs. Gideon Ouseley, James McQuigg, and Charles Graham, were appointed by the Conference[1] to preach in Irish to their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The health of McQuigg soon failed; and, after a few years, he was obli...ed to withdraw from the more

[1] The Irish Conference met long before the death of Wesley. He refers to it again and again in his *Journal*. See before, p. 269, *note* (3).

active duties of the mission;[1] but the two other brethren continued during life to itinerate throughout Ireland. Ouseley was a gentleman by birth;[2] he had enjoyed the advantages of a good education; he had a ready command of the native tongue; and he laboured about forty years with all the zeal and self-denial of a primitive evangelist. Travelling on horseback, he explored almost every corner of the island. In these journeys he often had the most miserable lodging and the poorest fare; but he cheerfully submitted to such privations; and, though his life was frequently endangered by the ferocity of Romish mobs, he proved to be as dauntless as he was indefatigable. His presence of mind and his ready wit never failed him. When he entered a popish town—where the rabble had before attempted to put an end to his preaching by pelting him with turf, mud, or more dangerous missiles—he sometimes adroitly contrived to secure himself from annoyance. Mounted on his sober steed—the position which he occupied when preaching in the open air—he planted himself in front of the well-furnished shop window of the resident Roman Catholic dispenser of medicines; and no one then ventured to assail him; for, if the projectile missed its aim, it was sure to break the glass, and smash the bottles of the apothecary general. Mr. Ouseley often preached, on an average, twice or thrice every day for weeks together;[3] and, notwithstanding the frequent inclemency of the weather in a very variable climate, he contrived to accomplish his circuits with wonderful regularity. He was well acquainted with the popish controversy; and, on various occasions, through the medium of the press,[4] he sought to convince his countrymen of the errors of Romanism.

The intense earnestness and unwearied assiduity of the

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[1] He was subsequently employed in editing the Irish Bible, under the direction of the British and Foreign Bible Society. *Ministerial Life of the Rev. Gideon Ouseley*, by Reilly, p. 99.

[2] Major-General Sir Ralph Ouseley was his younger brother.

[3] *Life*, by Reilly, pp. 287, 313.

[4] He wrote a work entitled *Old Christianity*, which had a very extensive circulation, and was frequently reprinted.

did not fail to attract much notice, and to produce
eep impression. Their zeal sternly rebuked the apathy of
ost all around them; and led far-seeing observers to
ticipate the rapid progress of the Wesleyan system. Its
eachers had hitherto professed to act simply as lay assis-
nts to the Protestant clergy; but it was obvious that they
uld not be long content to occupy such a subordinate posi-
n—more especially as their labours were generally repudi-
ed[1] by those whose lack of service they were desirous to
ply. About this time some of them began to dispense
ptism to the infant children of their own adherents;[2] and
is awakened increased jealousy on the part of the existing
inisters. A young Irishman of good position, who had not
n an indifferent spectator of their movements, takes notice
them in a work published early in the century; and
nounces his conviction that they were likely to prove far
more formidable to the Church of Rome than the whole of
the Episcopal clergy. "It is not from the efforts of the Established Church, from its Charter Schools, and the aid of the penal laws," said William Parnell in 1807, "that the Catholics have any reason to apprehend a diminution of numbers; but from a sect, and that sect the Methodists. . . . Their eloquence, their zeal, and astonishing industry in employing the most minute means to propagate their tenets—above all the judicious use they make of the power of the press—[3] have produced an impression which has evidently alarmed the Catholic priesthood. . . . We have not the least

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[1] Among their opponents was the Rev. William Hales, D.D., rector of Killyshandra, County Cavan. He assailed them in a publication entitled *Methodism Inspected*. Dr. Hales, who had previously been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, was one of the most learned men of his age. His great work is his *New Analysis of Chronology and Geography, History and Prophecy*. London, 1809-1814. He died in January, 1831, aged eighty-three. He had been forty-three years rector of Killyshandra.

[2] Lanktree's *Biographical Narrative*, p. 247. Belfast, 1836.

[3] One of the most distinguished of their writers was Adam Clarke, since so well known as the Commentator on the Old and New Testament. He had already acquired a literary reputation. He was a man of great learning and wonderful industry. He was a native of County Derry. Dr. Clarke died in 1832, upwards of seventy years of age.

doubt that, if the Catholic clergy were paid by the Government, and if the practice and principle of religious restrictions were abandoned, in the course of a few years a large portion of the Irish peasantry would be converted to Methodism."[1]

As the Methodists increased, they continued to encounter opposition from the Protestant clergy; so that the inconvenience of their being obliged to depend for baptism and the Lord's Supper on those by whom they were often publicly assailed, was more and more painfully experienced. As some of their own preachers had already ventured to baptize, it was thought that no good reason could be given why they should not also celebrate the Eucharist; and the propriety of adopting this course now began to be discussed in their societies. In 1814 petitions from various places were presented to the Irish Conference, praying that the preachers, when required, might be at liberty to administer the Lord's Supper. After a lengthened debate, a resolution in favour of concession was supported by a considerable majority; but, as great diversity of sentiment prevailed, it was agreed, on the following day, that, for another year, the decision should not be carried into operation. Meanwhile the question created the utmost excitement throughout the whole Methodist body; and, as the change virtually implied that the Irish Wesleyans were henceforth to assume the position of a new sect of Protestant Dissenters, many resisted it with the greatest determination. In 1815 an attempt was made to promote peace by adopting a motion to the effect that the Rev. Adam Averell—a minister of the Established Church long connected with the Conference—should itinerate during the year among the petitioners for the Lord's Supper, and dispense it where it was required; but this arrangement eventually proved unsatisfactory. Some of the preachers began, without further authority, to administer the ordinance; and, at the Conference of 1816, a motion for conceding the desired privilege to the preachers was carried by a majority of sixty-two to twenty-

[1] *An Historical Apology for the Irish Catholics*, by William Parnell, Esq., p. 129. Dublin, 1807. Mr. Parnell was of Avondale, in County Wicklow. He died in 1821 at a comparatively early age.

six.[1] As the minority refused to yield, a schism now took place in the connection. The majority proceeded to assert their position as ministers entitled to dispense all the ordinances of religion: the minority, under the designation of "*Primitive* Methodists," continued as appanages chiefly to the Established Church. The Rev. Adam Averell—who took so prominent a part at the time of the division—acted for nearly thirty years as President of the Primitive Wesleyan Conference.[2]

In the early part of the present century vital piety was at a very low ebb among Irish Presbyterians. Some of their ministers were men of ability and eloquence; and, as a people, they were still distinguished by their industry, intelligence, and public spirit. But laxity of doctrine prevailed in the Synod of Ulster; family worship was, to a great extent, neglected;[3] and even the appearance of their church buildings betokened the woeful lukewarmness which prevailed. Their meeting-houses were generally as destitute of architectural taste, as they were naked and uncomfortable. Notwithstanding the emigration to America—which had been going on almost uninterruptedly for eighty years—Presbyterians still constituted a large section of the Protestants of Ireland; so that statesmen had deemed it prudent to conciliate their support when making arrangements for the legislative union. The proposal to erect a University at Armagh, in which their candidates for the ministry were to be educated, was eventually withdrawn; but the promise of a large addition to the Regium Donum was soon fulfilled.[4] In 1803 the ministers of the

[1] Lankree's *Biographical Narrative*, p. 268. The schism which now followed considerably weakened the cause of Irish Methodism. According to the returns made to the Irish Conference in 1817, it appeared that there were then only 21,031 members in the connection. See *Life of Bishop Jebb, of Limerick*, i. 181.

[2] He died on the 16th of January, 1847, in the ninety-third year of his age. A memoir of this venerable man has been written by Messrs. Stewart and R[illegible] Dublin, 1848.

[3] A minister of the Established Church, speaking of this period, sa[illegible] Presbyterian body . . . . practised it then but rarely. . . . The l[illegible] their part, had long declined from that cardinal requirement o[illegible] —*Pastoral Annals by an Irish Clergyman* (The Rev. Jame[illegible] London, 1840.

[4] The Regium Donum, as now increased, amounte[illegible]

Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim were divided into three classes; and each, according to the rank of his congregation—estimated by the number of families and amount of stipend—received £50, £75, or £100 per annum, out of the public treasury.[1] This classification at first created no little murmuring—as the pastors who most required aid received the smallest share of the Parliamentary provision; and as it was obvious that, by the augmentation, the State intended not so much the benefit of the Church as the extension of its own influence. But, as Government peremptorily refused to modify its regulations, the ministers were obliged to submit to the terms imposed. Notwithstanding the invidious scheme of distribution, each had a considerable addition to his income; and this augmentation of the Regium Donum was, in the end, received by all as a seasonable and important boon. As the secular inducements to enter the sacred office were thus increased, the Synod of Ulster immediately sought still farther to improve its position, by requiring its aspirants to the ministry to pass through a more extended course of education.

Though so much lukewarmness, as well as so much latitudinarianism, now prevailed among Irish Presbyterians, they still had a goodly number of pious and orthodox ministers. One of these—the Rev. Dr. Benjamin McDowel—officiated for upwards of forty years in the city of Dublin.[2] Dr. McDowel was an earnest advocate of the Calvinistic theology; he was a man of varied information as well as an attractive preacher; he possessed much social influence; and

annum for the Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim. In 1809 the Seceders obtained an augmentation. Their ministers were divided into three classes, receiving respectively £40, £50, and £70 per annum.

[1] In 1804 there were 187 ministers and 183 congregations in the Synod of Ulster and Presbytery of Antrim. In 1809 there were ninety-one Secession ministers in Ireland.

[2] He was before minister of Ballykelly, in County Londonderry—where he was ordained in 1766. He removed to Dublin in 1778, and died there in 1824. The congregation to which he ministered now meets in Rutland Square, in the splendid church erected by one generous individual—the late Alex. Findlater, Esq., J.P., of Slopes, Kingstown. Dr. McDowel is described by the Rev. Samuel Pearce, his contemporary, as "a very affectionate and spiritual man," with a "large and flourishing" congregation. *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 217.

some of the most respectable inhabitants of the Irish metropolis were connected with his congregation.[1] To his unobtrusive but faithful labours may be traced the commencement of that religious awakening which, in the early part of the present century, led to so great an improvement in the spiritual condition of the country. Among the young persons under his pastoral care was an orphan boy—Benjamin Williams Mathias—of whom he was guardian, and who profited much by his instructions.[2] Dr. McDowel soon recognized his piety and talent; and encouraged him to turn his thoughts to the ministry.[3] In due time his ward and namesake became a student of Trinity College; but the atmosphere of the Irish University chilled his attachment to Presbyterianism; and, at the termination of his course in 1797, he was ordained, at the age of twenty-four, by Dr. Porter, Bishop of Killala.[4] For some time afterwards he officiated with much acceptance as a curate in County Down; but in 1805 he returned to Dublin, to occupy the pulpit of a recently-erected chapel, known as the Bethesda. He acted as chaplain of this place of worship for upwards of thirty years; and meanwhile continued to attract crowds by his evangelical and impressive ministrations. Though not remarkable for commanding intellect, Mr. Mathias was highly gifted as a preacher: his voice, his appearance, his fluent address, his deep fervour, and the excellence of his

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[1] Alderman Hutton, so well-known in connection with the religious history of Dublin early in the present century, was one of his elders. He was Lord Mayor in 1802. "He was voted a gold box and a valuable piece of plate: *and his great attention to the observance of the Sabbath* is mentioned in three public addresses from the city."—*Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 226, 227. See also *Life and Letters of Dr. Urwick*, p. 102. London, 1870. Alderman Hutton died in 1808. In 1805 he and Dr. McDowel visited London, where they collected £2,000 for the building of a new Evangelical chapel in Dublin. *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 228.

[2] Mr. Mathias "often expressed much thankfulness that he was entrusted, so far as his education was concerned, to such a kind and wise friend." *Brief Memorials of Rev. B. W. Mathias*, p. 5. Dublin, 1842.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 21. Dr. Porter was an Englishman. He came to Ireland as chaplain to Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant; and was consecrated Bishop of Killala in June, 1795. In 1798 he was translated to Clogher, where he died in 1819.

matter, all contributed to promote his popularity; and at length not a few of the *élite* of the metropolis became his constant auditors. Students of Trinity College, lawyers, physicians, gentry, and nobility, as well as many of the humbler classes, flocked to the Bethesda. But the Calvinism which he preached—and of which for years he was almost the only expositor among the Episcopal ministers of Dublin—gave deadly offence to his spiritual superiors. There was not then a single bishop in all Ireland who supported the theology of the Reformation; all were either Pelagians or professors of some lifeless form of Arminianism; and, in ecclesiastical circles, the ministrations of Mathias soon awakened a murmur of disapprobation. The Provost of Trinity College commanded the students, under pain of censure, to discontinue their attendance on the sermons of the earnest evangelist;[1] and the Archbishop of Dublin not only refused to license him, but actually inhibited him from preaching in any of the churches of the Irish capital.[2] The Word, notwithstanding, had free course and was glorified; and the unconsecrated building[3] was the scene of many scriptural conversions. The chaplain of the Bethesda rendered far more substantial service to the ministry of the Established Church than the Professor of Divinity in the University.[4] Students

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[1] *Brief Memorials*, p. 228.

[2] *Ibid.* So much were all the clergy afraid of offending, even by reading prayers for him, that on two occasions, when suffering from extreme fatigue, after travelling on a deputation for a religious society, he could obtain no assistance; and was so completely overcome, when performing service, that he nearly fainted. *Ibid.* p. 229.

[3] The Bethesda was licensed at first as a dissenting chapel under the Toleration Act. *Brief Memorials*, p. 136. It had been occupied for upwards of ten years by the pious but eccentric Rev. John Walker, who was at one time a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; but who afterwards withdrew both from the College and the Established Church. When Mr. Mathias was at college, Mr. Walker was his tutor. *Ibid.* pp. 138-9-10.

[4] The Rev. James Spencer Knox—then a student of Trinity College—thus speaks on the subject:—"The Divinity Lectures in the University were all but a farce, with the merit of being a solemn one. Young men were therefore hurried into the ministry totally unprepared by any academic instructor." . . . "Mr. Mathias then in the full vigour of his faculties, expounded the way of life with the freedom a truth of an apostle of the everlasting gospel. In common with a

continued to attend the services of Mr. Mathias despite the Provost's interdict; and not a few who afterwards, in the ranks of the clergy, did much to elevate the tone of Irish Protestantism, were among his most regular and attentive hearers.

The influence of the ministrations of this true herald of the Cross was felt, not only all over the country, but in distant lands. "I consider," said a pious nobleman who, with his family, had been for some time in attendance on his services, "that Mr. Mathias is doing more for Ireland than any other man in the kingdom."[1] It was alleged that, in almost every part of the world to which missionaries had then gone, some one of them at least dated his first religious impressions from what he had heard at the Bethesda; and it was added that those earnest men who left Trinity College, to take orders in the Episcopal communion, were nearly all brought to a knowledge of the truth, and taught to preach it with effect, under his ministry.[2] Several Romish priests found their way to his place of worship; and were thus won over to Protestantism.[3] But this gifted and successful evangelist throughout life was obliged to depend for subsistence on the voluntary contributions of his attached flock; and though, a few years before the close of his public career,[4] he obtained Episcopal licence, he was never admitted to any of the honours or emoluments of the Establishment. Worn out by excessive exertion, he was attacked by paralysis in 1835; an annuity was then purchased for him by his friends;[5] and in 1841, at the age of sixty-eight, he terminated his mortal course.

About the time when Mr. Mathias was beginning to attract attention as a preacher, there were, in various quarters, indications of a spiritual awakening among the clergy of the

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contemporaries, I may refer my first serious impressions . . . . to the preaching of that gifted man."—*Pastoral Annals*, pp. 112, 113, 20.

[1] *Brief Memorials*, p. 203. See also *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 230.

[2] *Brief Memorials*, p. 226.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 175-6, 179. Mr. Mathias published several works. One of these was entitled "*Vindiciæ Laicæ, or The Right of the Laity to the Unrestricted Reading of the Sacred Scriptures Vindicated.* Another was *A Compendious History of the Council of Trent.* Dublin, 1832.

[4] In 1828. *Brief Memorials*, p. 228, *note.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 241.

Irish Establishment. The Rev. Thomas Tighe, rector of Drumgooland in County Down,[1] the Rev. Joseph Stopford of Letterkenny,[2] the Rev. Dr. Maturin of Fannet, the Rev. John Quarry of Cork,[3] and others, were exemplary and efficient pastors. But nowhere was a work of grace more manifest than in the city of Kilkenny and its neighbourhood. That place—so famous, in the days of the great Rebellion, as the capital of the Catholic Confederacy—had long been noted for its fashionable dissipation. Among the gayest of the gay were often found the dignified clergy; and a private theatre, established in the beginning of the present century, largely enjoyed their patronage. This theatre was kept up about seventeen years;[4] and was meanwhile frequented by six bishops and their families, six deans and their families, seven archdeacons and their families, and at least fifty other clergymen and their families.[5] But, at this very time, there were ministers in the diocese of Ossory who would have done honour to any Church in Christendom. Of these the Rev. Peter Roe was the most distinguished. On Christmas Day, 1798—when yet only twenty years of age—he received ordination from the Bishop of Cork. He was a thoughtful and intelligent youth; and some of his earliest appearances in the pulpit gave promise of the power which he subsequently wielded; but he had not yet fairly realized the solemn dignity of the pastoral commission; and he was still very indifferently acquainted with the great doctrines of the gospel. A violent fever under which he suffered in the autumn of 1799, and which brought him into extreme danger, seems to have first led him to think very seriously of the great salvation.[6] He now began to study the Scriptures with increasing earnestness: his light gradually improved; and his intercourse with

[1] See some account of him in *Brief Memorials*, pp. 21-23.

[2] Dr. Stopford, who had been a Fellow of Trinity College, [illegible] 1833. See some account in the *Memoir of the* [illegible] the *Memoir of the Rev. Adam Averell*, pp. [illegible]

[3] See some notice of him in *Memoir of th* [illegible]

[4] That is from 1802 to 1819.

[5] *Memoir of the Life of the late Rev. Peter* [illegible] p. 327. Dublin, 1842.

persons of piety and talent, connected with non-conforming Churches, contributed largely to his spiritual advancement. At the house of Alderman Hutton of Dublin, and elsewhere, he was introduced to a select circle of good men of various denominations;[1] and he was thus led to cultivate that Catholic spirit for which he was subsequently remarkable. An eminent Moravian minister—named Hartley—resident in the Irish capital, with whom he now became acquainted, first awakened his interest in the cause of missions to the heathen.[2] Immediately after his ordination, he officiated as curate in St. Mary's Church, Kilkenny; and the incumbent, the Rev. Edward Pidgeon—to whom he was related, and who was a man of real excellence—acted towards him with great kindness and consideration. Mr. Pidgeon was himself among the first fruits of the recent revival in the Irish Episcopal body;[3] and he viewed, with no ordinary satisfaction, the zeal, ability, and growing reputation of his youthful assistant. Some time before his death, this worthy minister resigned, in favour of his curate, his appointment in St. Mary's Church. Though Mr. Roe could never see his way to embrace all the peculiarities of Calvinism, he substantially adopted its leading principles; for he taught redemption by Christ, regeneration by the spirit, justification by faith alone through the imputed righteousness of the Great Intercessor, and the sovereignty of grace in the sinner's salvation. As a pulpit orator, he soon attained extraordinary popularity. When yet a very young minister, he was often invited to Dublin to preach on public occasions on behalf of one or other of its charitable institutions; and he was always sure to attract a numerous congregation. Nor was his fame confined to Ireland. When in London he had overflowing audiences; and, on more than

[1] *Memoir*, pp. 62, 124.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 124, 243. See also *Brief Memorials of Mathias*, p. 61. He was the father of the Rev. John Hartley, some time a missionary in Greece. *Ibid.* The elder Mr. Hartley settled in Dublin, 1801, where, for two years, he preached in German to a congregation. He subsequently removed to the Moravian settlement of Gracehill, near Ballymena, in County Antrim. He died in 1811. *Life and Times of Lady Huntingdon*, ii. 223.

[3] *Memoir*, pp. 169-172.

one occasion, an English living, far more valuable than his own, was pressed on his acceptance. But, unwilling to leave a field of labour in which he had been signally honoured by his Heavenly Master, he displayed a noble disinterestedness by declining these tempting offers.[1]

The blessed fruits of Mr. Roe's labours were indeed most abundant. Many of all conditions in the city and neighbourhood of Kilkenny looked up to him as their spiritual father; the private theatre disappeared; and a wonderful change in the general tone of society took place within the circle of his ministrations. Before his death he could reckon up no less than eighteen ordained clergymen who had been pupils in his Sunday school—as well as others who, though not ordained, were engaged in promoting the cause of missions.[2] Even his occasional services, when from home, were not barren of results. When obliged at one time to visit Harrogate in quest of health, not a few were awakened by his exhortations.[3]

Though an earnest Churchman, the minister of St. Mary's, Kilkenny, was no narrow-minded bigot. He had no idea of imitating the folly of John Wesley, who persisted in attending the ministry of the Establishment—no matter how worthless the preacher, and how unprofitable the sermon. In England, Mr. Roe frequented places of worship belonging to the non-conformists—when he found the services more edifying than those provided within the bounds of his own communion. "In conscience and from principle a Churchman, it cannot," said he, "but be a grief to me to be obliged, in order to hear the truth preached, to go to a dissenting meeting house."[4] When in Bath he regularly joined in worship with the Independents, under the pastoral care of the Rev. William Jay. He valued the preaching of that celebrated minister as "both doctrinal and practical;" as "allowing every passage of scripture its full meaning;" and as presenting such variety of illustration as could not fail to make it interesting. From the year 1831—when he spent some time in the south of

[1] *Memoir*, pp. 290, 292.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 217.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 279.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 200.

England, and when he constantly attended the weekly lecture in the Congregational chapel—it was his custom to read aloud one of Mr. Jay's "Morning Exercises" every day before leaving the breakfast table.[1]

It must be admitted that, in as far as his own experience was concerned, Mr. Roe had small reason to congratulate himself on the benefits to be derived from Episcopal government. Though one of the most gifted, most laborious, and most successful ministers ever connected with the Irish Establishment, he received little sympathy or encouragement from any of the Irish prelates. He was again and again thwarted, discountenanced, and even insulted, by his own diocesan. On one occasion, in despite of his solemn protest, a clergyman of anti-evangelical principles was thrust into his pulpit, by Episcopal authority, to preach a charity sermon.[2] Mr. Roe could only signify his displeasure by absenting himself from the service. At another time the bishop positively refused to sanction the meeting of a clerical association for prayer and mutual improvement—though the same dignitary quietly permitted eight clergymen of his diocese to be members of the Kilkenny hunting club.[3] For many years, the emolument Mr. Roe derived from his situation in the Church was very paltry; and, when he had at length an opportunity of obtaining some addition to his income, the bishop most ungraciously refused to fiat the arrangement.[4] "It is not a little remarkable," says his biographer, "that Mr. Roe never received any promotion or preferment from any one bishop of the Church."[5]

The revival among the Episcopal clergy, which commenced about the time of the Rebellion of 1798, continued to spread far and wide; so that before the end of the reign of George III. the Irish Establishment contained a considerable number

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[1] *Memoir*, p. 483. [2] *Ibid.* p. 326.

[3] *Memoir*, pp. 92, 93. About this period many of the Established clergy, with the connivance of their bishops, spent their time in hunting and shooting. "Mr. Daly (afterwards Bishop of Cashel), while curate of Malrancan (in County Wexford) was one day riding with his bishop—they met a number of his clergy following the hounds—when the only remark made by the bishop was that they ought not to hunt *in red coats*."—*Memoir of Bishop Daly*, by Mrs. Madden, p. 36. London, 1875.

[4] *Memoir*, pp. 168-9. [5] *Ibid.* p. 29. Mr. Roe died in 1841

of ministers who, in point of real eloquence, and pastoral devotedness, would have adorned the brightest period in the Christian annals. A few of those now awakened became, in the end, dissatisfied with their Church and withdrew from its communion:[1] but the greater number remained within its pale, and contributed greatly to promote its credit and efficiency. This baptism of grace was experienced by other denominations; and hence, since the year 1800, there has been a general improvement in the state of Irish Protestantism. The Society for Discountenancing Vice—established in 1792[2]—had already done something to promote the circulation of the Scriptures and the Book of Common Prayer; but its operations had been rather languidly conducted: and, as the desire for spiritual knowledge increased, the demand for Bibles became more and more urgent. One of the clerical friends of Mr. Roe—the Rev. Robert Shaw of Kilkenny—was the first who attempted to supply the deficiency. The health of Mr. Shaw had been so greatly shattered about the time of the Rebellion, that he was unfit for stated parochial duty; and he was instructed by his medical advisers to move about from place to place; but he was anxious to be usefully employed; and, that he might render some service to the Christian cause, he resolved to devote himself to the collection of second-hand copies of the Scriptures, which he could distribute, either gratuitously or at very low prices.[3] He accordingly supplied himself with a tax-cart; and, passing over

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[1] Of these may be mentioned Messrs. Robinson, Thomas Kelly, George C. Hargrove, and John Code. See *Brief Memorials*, p. 93; *Memoir of Roe*, 57, *note*; *Memoir of Archbishop of Tuam*, pp. 332, 334, 345. Mr. Kelly became the founder of churches, which bear his name, in Dublin, Athy, Portarlington, Ross, and Waterford. See *Life of Urwick*, p. 280.

[2] In 1800 it received an Act of Incorporation and Parliamentary aid to the amount of £300 per annum. It then commenced to afford assistance to schools, and especially to parochial schools. In 1827, when the grant was withdrawn, it gave up all connexion with schools. *Report of Endowed Schools* (Ireland) *Commission*, p. 19. Dublin, 1858. Mant says that "its founders were three private clergymen, one ecclesiastic, and two laicks."—*Hist. of Church of Ireland*, ii. 740.

[3] Mr. Shaw, though not named, is the clergyman indicated in the *Memoir of Mr. Roe*, p. 233; and in *Brief Memorials of Mathias*, p. 162. His history is more fully narrated in *Recollections of the Life and Times of Rev. Dr. Morgan, of Belfast*, pp. 18, 19. Belfast, 1874.

travelled, from house to house, and from town to his novel mission. As he was a magistrate, and a man of influential family connexions,[1] he usually met a respectful reception. Every volume given him, in re- to his appeal, was duly deposited in his tax-cart; and, had thus collected a goodly store, he returned to ; visited the post offices in all directions; and left ten ve of his copies, with the post-master. As all the post- were then Protestants, he could reckon on their ser- and he gave them a discretionary power as to the sale stowal of the books. When at one time in London his caught a placard announcing the proposed formation of Association for the Dissemination of the Scriptures, he care to attend at the place and time indicated; and, at st meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society, simple and interesting statements of this earnest Irishman, s he described the dearth of the sacred volume in his own country, are said to have greatly stimulated the zeal of the assembly. From 1800 to 1810 Mr. Shaw visited England and Scotland every year. At one time he obtained in Edinburgh alone upwards of three thousand volumes.[2] The average number collected by him annually amounted to between nine and ten thousand. These were scattered all over Ireland; and contributed much, as well to diffuse a knowledge of the truth, as to excite a thirst for scriptural information.

The Hibernian Bible Society was formed in 1806;[3] and other educational agencies soon followed. The London Hibernian Society, which now commenced its operations, was greatly indebted for its success to the energy of Mr. Albert Blest, a pious merchant of good position settled at

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[1] He was nearly related to Sir Robert Shaw, Bart.

[2] *Memoir of Rev. Peter Roe*, p. 234.

[3] The British and Foreign Bible Society was established in March, 1804. The Hibernian Bible Society originated two years afterwards. It has been stated that, at the time of its formation, with the exception of the metropolis, there were not twelve towns in Ireland in which Bibles and Testaments were sold. From its formation to 1874, it issued 3,892,458 copies of the Scriptures; and printed several editions, as well in Irish as in English. It is conducted by a committee of twenty-one members, of various denominations, resident in or near Dublin.

Sligo.[1] This Society was originally designed to promote the preaching of the gospel, as well as to aid the cause of education:[2] but in 1814 its constitution was modified; as, from that date, it confined itself exclusively to the establishment of schools and the circulation of the Scriptures in Ireland. It was founded chiefly by English Congregationalists; and, as at first the Irish Episcopal clergy had no share in its management, they viewed it with distrust;[3] but, when their influence was subsequently recognized, they joined in its support, and helped to extend its operations.[4] In 1818 it could reckon 347 schools and 27,000 scholars.[5] It required the children to commit to memory large sections of the Word of God; and thus many were weaned from Romanism. The Methodists claim the credit of establishing the Hibernian Sunday School Society—which dates its commencement in 1809.[6] The Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor

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[1] During the latter half of the last century, religion was at the lowest ebb among the Protestants of Sligo. But there was one good man there, who, like another Peter Waldo, was a witness for the truth in degenerate times. His name was Andrew Maiben. He was a Scotch Calvinistic Presbyterian, and an influential merchant. He conducted a weekly religious service in a public room; and, on a particular occasion, Albert Blest, then a reckless young man, happened to be present. He continued his attendance; and was soon brought under deep religious impressions. In the end he became a decided and eminent Christian. In 1780 he married Mr. Maiben's daughter. Dissatisfied with the existing Presbyterian ministry—at that time very inefficient—Mr. Maiben and his son-in-law sought supplies of preaching from the English Independents; and thus Congregationalism was introduced into Sligo. Mr. Blest did much to extend and elevate Protestantism in the west of Ireland. He long acted as Secretary for Ireland of the London Hibernian Society; and died, at an advanced age, in 1837.

[2] *Life and Letters of Dr. Urwick*, p. 43.

[3] The Rev. Dr. Sirr, the biographer of the Archbishop of Tuam, says that the Society employed "certain *intrusive preachers, called Missionaries.*"—*Memoir*, p. 676. The Apostle Paul was one of these "intrusive preachers." About this time Congregationalism was introduced into Dublin, Armagh, and other parts of Ireland

[4] *Memoir of the last Archbishop of Tuam*, by the Rev. J. D'Arcy Sirr, D.D., p. 676. Dublin, 1845.

[5] Steven, p. 149. It may here be mentioned that in 1818 the Irish Society for Promoting the Education of the Natives through the Medium of their own Language was instituted. It was connected with the Established Church. See *Memoir of the last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 549.

[6] *Memoir of Averell*, p. 312.

in Ireland—better known as the Kildare Place Society—was instituted towards the close of 1811. It originated in a large and well-conducted school in the Liberties of Dublin which had been in existence from 1786, chiefly under the control of the Quakers.[1] This Society acted on the principle that, in all its schools, the Scriptures should be read without note or comment. In 1814 it was adopted by Government, and encouraged by a Parliamentary Grant. A well-known Roman Catholic nobleman—Lord Fingall—consented to become its Vice-President:[2] and priest after priest agreed to accept its aid.[3] In 1825 it could reckon 1,490 schools, and 100,000 pupils.[4]

But though, in the beginning, the Roman Catholic hierarchy proclaimed no hostility to the Hibernian and Kildare Place Schools;[5] and though a priest might occasionally be seen attending their examinations, and listening to the children repeating Scripture;[6] it was all the while obvious that the more zealous adherents of the Pope regarded these educational movements with no little suspicion. The free use of the Bible

[1] *Memoir of the last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 6

[2] *Life of Lefroy*, p. 88.

[3] *Memoir of the last Archbishop of Tuam*, p.

[4] *Report of Endowed Schools* (Ireland) *Commis* of £6,980 was made by Parliament. This grant was and to £25,000 in 1827. In 1832 the grant was dis

[5] About this time the Right Rev. Dr. Crolly, Connor, was a member of the Commit[tee] of the Belf School Society, the avowed object o[f] to give instruction as might prepare them [for] opportunity of obtaining an acquaint[ance] about 300 R. C. children attended [the] authorized English version of the Bi[ble] 1824 they were suddenly withdrawn.

[6] In 1816 the liberal Romanists of [Ireland] Society." A New Testament appeared [with] the R. C. Vicar Apostolic, in which he [declared] meant "to raise a fund to print and circulate [an] edition of the Catholic version of the sacred Milner vehemently denounced the scheme; and Pius VII., in a Bull dated June 29th, 1816, condemned have," says he here, "been *truly shocked* at this m[easure] very *foundations of religion* are undermined."—Hus[sey] pp. 240-1.

awakened their anxiety; and the secession of some of the pupils from their communion did not tend to abate alarm. Various means were therefore used to counteract the influence of these seminaries. Early in this century a papal Bull approved of a society called "The Sodality of Christian Doctrine"—instituted for the purpose of giving instruction in the elements of Roman Catholicism. Soon after the establishment of Sunday Schools, this society was introduced into Ireland; it embraced both sisterhoods and brotherhoods; its members confessed and communicated once a week; and, before and after mass on the Lord's Day, laboured to make young and old acquainted with the distinctive principles of popery.[1] Another Institute—known as "The Brothers of the Christian Schools," took charge of daily instruction.[2] The Brothers—though not called monks—were bound by monastic vows. They took a vow of poverty, a vow of celibacy, a vow of obedience to their superiors, and a vow to teach children gratuitously for their lives.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century the Romish priests had, to a large extent, lost the confidence of the Irish people. They had not, it was thought, sufficiently sympathized with the oppressed in their struggles for redress of grievances; and the boldness with which the Right Boys insisted on the reduction of clerical fees, betokened a waning regard for their religious directors.[3] By joining their nobility

[1] See *Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland*, 1824-5, by Phelan and O'Sullivan, part ii., p. 287. London, 1826.

[2] *Digest of Evidence*, ii. 288. The founder was Mr. Rice, and their first school was established at Waterford, about the commencement of the present century. In 1820 the order obtained the sanction of the Pope. In 1858 the brothers had 15,000 pupils in their schools in Ireland. *Report of Endowed Schools* (Ireland) *Commission*, pp. 130, 131. Some time after the Sodality of Christian Doctrine was organized, the seminary at Clongowes Wood, in the diocese of Kildare, was established. The place is said to have cost originally £16,000. The institute was conducted by Jesuits, and was intended for the education of the children of the R. C. gentry. *Digest of Evidence*, i. 246; and ii. 150. The congregation of the Sisters of Charity was founded in Dublin in 1815. Brenan, p. 636. The order of the Sisters of Mercy was not established till 1831. *Ibid.* p. 637.

[3] Columbanus (Dr. O'Conor) says in his Third Letter (p. 37):—"The personal regard and consideration for the priesthood has been gradually declining" since 1778. In 1792 we find Edmund Burke saying:—"At no time within my observ-

and encouraging their apathy, when the Catholic Committee were contending for the removal of the penal laws, the priests still further offended the mass of their countrymen. But it would appear that, immediately after the Rebellion of 1798, they rapidly recovered their influence.[1] A considerable number of their curates were implicated in the seditious movement; but, as a body, the parish priests took no part in it; for they were aware that it was to be supported by the power of the French republicans; and they remembered, with horror, how these men on the Continent had overthrown the Roman Catholic Church, and butchered the Roman Catholic clergy. Many of them had exhorted their flocks not to join in the conspiracy; and, when the insurrection was suppressed, the advice was thankfully remembered. Some of them—who were perfectly free from blame—were treated by the yeomanry as rebels; and these harsh proceedings roused indignation and awakened sympathy. The earnestness [illegible] which the priests exerted themselves to induce the d[illegible]ntry to lay down their arms, and t[illegible]al with [illegible]boured to shelter them from pu[illegible]h hold on their affection. N[illegible]ns of the Orange societies [illegible]ch-ment. The Orangem[illegible]r senseless and profane [illegible] goaded the Roman Cath[illegible] bound them more firmly t[illegible] faith.[2]

To not a few [illegible] has so long ret[illegible] the people of I[illegible] such as Transu[illegible]d Pr[illegible] opposed alike to [illegible] and concealed aversion [illegible]f the [illegible]

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vation have the Catholic cler[illegible] people."—*Correspondence*, vol. i[illegible]

[1] See a remarkable letter appen[illegible] appendix, p. 6.

[2] The Orangemen called the Ribbonm[illegible] their appearance in 1812. See Wyse's [illegible]

thing very like a consciousness that it is condemned in the Book of Books; and the social state of those countries, in which it reigns without a rival, attests how little it is fitted to bless and sanctify humanity. Prayers in an unknown tongue are an outrage on all propriety; and it is impossible to vindicate implicit submission to a foreign priest, on the ground either of reason or divine authority, piety or patriotism. But withal Romanism has contrived, to this very day, to maintain its ascendency over the greater portion of a quick-witted and warm-hearted nation. Some of the causes of its success have already been described; and it may here be added that it has been largely indebted for its conservation to its ample supply of working clergy, and to the rigour of its ecclesiastical discipline. Its priests have always been sufficiently numerous to provide for its parishes;[1] they have been judiciously distributed according to their culture and capabilities; and watchful eyes have still been looking on to quicken their activity. Every bishop, every priest, every curate, and almost every layman, is under constant supervision. A brief sketch of the arrangements of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland about the beginning of the present century, will illustrate the minute attention with which it had been governed.

There were, at this time, in the island a considerable number of the regular clergy, as well as a full supply of parish priests. The regular clergy are bound by monastic vows;[2] and, under certain restrictions, may preach and administer the sacraments. They are, to a great extent, independent of the secular or parochial clergy; and between these two denominations there has always existed some little jealousy. They take notice of each others' movements; animate each others' zeal; and supply each others' lack of service. The friars are to be found alongside the parish priests in almost all the large towns of Ireland; and thus, in these centres of influence,

[1] In 1808 it was stated in Parliament that "the number of Catholic clergymen in Ireland approached nearer to 3,000 than 2,000."—PLOWDEN'S *Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, iii. 638. If so, the number of priests must have much exceeded the number of parishes. In this calculation the regulars were probably included. See before, p. 632.

[2] Hence they are called *regulars*, because they live *secundum regulam*.

es exercise a vigilant superintendence over the
n Catholic population. Among the friars are
some of their most effective preachers, and ablest con-
ersialists. These regular clergy are of different orders—
as Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and Augusti-
: and each Order has a Chief or General of its own—who
nges in plicit submission, and who is in close correspon-
the Pope. The bishops nominate all the parish
ice whatever in the selection.
onerous for a single individual,
ient, or unpopular, the bishop can
nce appoint a curate or assistant, who enjoys, according
ircumstances, the one-third or the one-half of the income
he parish.[1] The curate holds his place merely during the
sure of the bishop. When a priest is entrusted with the
rge of a parish, he can be summarily removed at any time
within three years; but, should those three years of probation
be completed to the bishop's satisfaction, he then acquires a
title to the situation; and he cannot be set aside without
proof of canonical incompetency. The income of the priest
is derived chiefly from payments made by the head of each
family at Easter and Christmas; and from contributions at
weddings, baptisms, and funerals. The bishop is supported,
partly by the income of the best living in the diocese;[2]
partly, by fees paid for marriage licences; and partly, by
direct contributions—varying in amount—from the several
parish priests.[3] When a bishop dies, the clergy of the diocese
elect a substitute—called a *Vicar Capitular*—to administer
the affairs of the see; and this functionary is meanwhile
invested with episcopal jurisdiction. The priests then forward

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[1] The curate may be appointed without consulting the parish priest, and in opposition to his wishes. See Kirkpatrick's *Report of the O'Keeffe Case*, Introd., xxiii. London, 1874.

[2] In 1797 Dr. Hussey, R. C. Bishop of Waterford, stated that his emoluments were usually between £400 and £500 per annum. *Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, vol. iv., p. 446.

[3] Dr. O'Conor in his *Historical Address* (part i., p. 120) intimates that, about this time, the Irish Roman Catholic bishoprics were worth from £200 to £700 per annum. There is reason to believe that they have since very much increased in value.

to the Pope the name of some clergyman[1] whom they recommend as a successor to the deceased prelate. The bishops of the province also forward to Rome the names of two or three candidates; and their choice, at the period before us, was generally treated with greater consideration. The Pope, however, is not limited to these selections; as he may promote an ecclesiastic—not pointed out either by the priests or the prelates—to the vacant dignity. Every bishop is required to visit the Pope every few years; and, in person, at headquarters he must give an account of the affairs of his diocese. By means of information obtained through the generals of the various monastic orders, the cardinals can easily test the accuracy of the bishop's representations. When a bishop becomes infirm, he is furnished with a coadjutor, who aids him in the government of the diocese.[2]

In 1799, the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, as already stated, had agreed to give the British crown something like a *veto* on the appointment of prelates; to furnish a guarantee for the loyalty of the parish priests; and to accept a State provision for themselves and the inferior clergy.[3] When this arrangement was adopted, it was expected that their lay co-religionists would be made admissible to seats in the Imperial Parliament immediately after the accomplishment of the legislative union. But the repugnance of George III. to any further concessions to the Romanists, proved a barrier in the way of a settlement which statesmen found it impossible to remove. After several ministerial changes and various proceedings in Parliament, the question of emancipation was again brought under the consideration of the British House of Commons in 1808. On the 28th of May of that year,

[1] They now forward three names.

[2] These statements may be found in a letter written in June, 1806, by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, a Roman Catholic priest of the diocese of Cork, to Colonel Thomas Newingham. See Plowden, iii., appendix, pp. 1-8. There were then four R. C. archbishops, and twenty-two R. C. bishops in Ireland, in addition to the Warden of Galway. Galway was not made a bishopric until upwards of a quarter of a century afterwards.

[3] See before, p. 374. Lord Castlereagh denied that the veto was extorted from the bishops. He says he "never perceived *the slightest reluctance* on their part to the measure."—*Life, Letters, and Speeches of Lord Plunket*, i. 283. London, 1867.

when presenting a numerously signed petition from th Roman Catholics of Dublin, Mr. Grattan affirmed that th influence of the Pope "did not extend even to the appoint ment of the members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy They nominated themselves, and looked to the Pope merel for his spiritual sanction of such nomination. But, if it shoul be supposed there was the smallest danger in this course, h had a proposition to suggest, *which he had authority to stat which indeed he was instructed to make*, namely, that Hi Majesty may interfere on any such occasion with his negative." When describing the mode in which prelates were chose Mr. Grattan evidently speaks without due precision; for w have seen that the Pontiff always claimed greater power tha that here assigned to him. In following up the remarks o Mr. Grattan, Mr. Ponsonby, another member of the House expressed himself still more loosely than the previous speake He declared that, "to remove all apprehensions, *he wa authorized to say* that the Catholic clergy were willing, in th event of the measure being acceded to, that the appointmen of every Catholic bishop in Ireland should, in future, finall vest in the King."[2] When asked, on what grounds h advanced this statement, Mr. Ponsonby replied that it wa made "on the authority of Dr. Milner, who was a Catholi bishop,[3] and who was authorized by the Catholic bishops o Ireland to make the proposition. The proposition was this that the person to be nominated to a vacant bishopric shoul be submitted to the King's approbation; and that, if th approbation were refused, another person should be proposed and so on in succession until His Majesty's approbatio should be obtained; so that the appointment should finall rest with the King."[4]

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[1] Plowden's *Ireland from the Union*, iii. 654.

[2] Plowden, iii. 655-6.

[3] He was a bishop *in partibus infidelium*. Dr. O'Conor (Columbanus) in hi celebrated Letters speaks of him contemptuously as "the Bishop of *Castabala*"— an obscure place in Asia from which he took his episcopal title. He was at thi time one of the R. C. *apostolic vicars* settled in England. He was author of th well-known work entitled *The End of Religious Controversy*.

[4] Plowden, iii. 656.

The nature of the communication made by Dr. Milner to Mr. Ponsonby can still be exactly ascertained; as documentary evidence has been preserved which supplies information equally exact and unquestionable. In a letter which he handed to the British senator, shortly before the presentation of the Roman Catholic petition, the bishop says: "The Catholic Prelates of Ireland are willing to give a *direct negative power* to His Majesty's Government with respect to the nomination to their titular bishoprics, in such manner that, when they have among themselves resolved who is the fittest person for the vacant see, they will transmit his name to His Majesty's ministers; and, if the latter should object to that name, they will transmit another and another, until a name is presented to which no objection is made; and—which is never likely to be the case—should the Pope refuse to give those essentially necessary spiritual powers, of which he is the depository, to the person so presented by the Catholic bishops, and so approved by the Government, they will continue to present the names, until one occurs which is agreeable to both parties, namely, the Crown and the Apostolic See."[1] It is not easy to discover any very substantial disagreement between the proposal in this letter and the statement of his two friends in Parliament; as the King, according to the Prelate's own testimony, could keep any see vacant until a candidate agreeable to him was selected; but Dr. Milner seems meanwhile to have changed his mind, and to have been dissatisfied because the announcement relating to the *veto* was made to Parliament. It is certain that, on the very day after the debate, he printed and published a protest against the use which had been made of his name with respect to the proposal.[2]

[1] Plowden, iii. 651, *note*. The biographer of Bishop Milner jesuitically suppresses this letter, and has the assurance to represent him as saying at this very time to Mr. Ponsonby that he had "no instructions" from the Irish R. C. prelates on the subject of the veto! See Husenbeth's *Life of the Right Rev. John Milner, D.D.*, pp. 152-3. Dublin, 1862.

[2] Plowden, iii. 662, 663-4. Dr. Milner was afterwards known as decidedly opposed to the veto. He was very narrow-minded and jesuitical. According to Lord Plunket, he declared publicly "that the day on which Catholic emancipation was granted would be a day of downfall for the Catholic religion in this country."

this period the political prospects of the Romanists
not cheering. They complained that, though qualified
ne Act of 1793 for almost all civil and military offices
were invidiously excluded from promotion; that a hos
ministry held the reins of government; and that Orange
of the extreme type[1] were advanced, much to thei
oyance, to places of responsibility and profit. In 1807 the
nt to the College of Maynooth had been raised from
00 to £13,000 per annum; but in the present year, after
en debate in the British House of Commons, it had been
duced to £9,250. On the night preceding the appearance
the protest of Dr. Milner, Mr. Grattan's motion, for going
to Committee on the Roman Catholic claims, had been
fected by an overwhelming majority. It is clear that these
s influenced the movements of the Roman Catholic dele
ate. The resolutions agreed to by the Irish prelates in 179
had hitherto been kept carefully concealed; they were known
only to Lord Fingall,[2] and perhaps a very few others of the
leaders of the party; and the bishops were most anxious that
they should remain a secret. As all his hopes were now
dashed by the adverse decision of the Commons, Dr. Milner
appears to have felt that he had not acted with sufficient
caution; and he therefore attempted to beat a retreat under
the shelter of a very shabby and unprincipled disclaimer.[3]

He thought that "by more harmonious intercourse of Roman Catholics and Pro testants, the Roman Catholic religion might be imperilled."—*Life and Speeches o Lord Plunket*, ii. 71-2, 70. He died in 1826 in the seventy-fourth year of his age

[1] Very recently Giffard, the father of the Orangemen—who had before been dismissed from office for his intemperate conduct—was encouraged by the gift of a more lucrative situation. See Plowden, iii. 634. The notorious Dr. Duigenan had also been recently made an Irish Privy Councillor. *Ibid.* iii. 642-3.

[2] Lord Fingall, who acted at this time in concert with Dr. Milner, told Mr Ponsonby that "in 1799 the Catholic bishops had *made a proposal* (on the subject of nomination) to the Irish Government, and that *they now entertained* the same opinion they then entertained." It would appear from this that the proposal of the veto came originally, not from the Government, but from the bishops themselves. Plowden, iii. 649.

[3] There is something very disgusting in the conduct of Dr. Milner on this occasion. The man who must have known well the nature of the relief contemplated and who, only a few days before, had given his sanction to the *veto*, "immediately changed his tone, and declared that the measure of which it formed a part was '

When the proposal, to give the Crown a veto in the appointment of bishops, was publicly announced, it created a profound sensation among the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Had they known that their own prelates were so deeply implicated, they might have expressed themselves with more reserve; but they were as yet ignorant of this circumstance;[1] and they therefore gave full vent to their indignation. They were not aware that the Irish laity had enjoyed a share, in the election of their spiritual overseers, until the time of the English invasion; and that, ever since, the Pope had usurped a privilege to which he had no proper title. They could not, however, brook the idea that a King—deemed by them a heretic—should virtually have the choice of their episcopal guardians. Amidst the excitement, the prelates were ill at ease; they saw that all Roman Catholic Ireland felt insulted and humiliated by the proposal of the veto; and though their own share in the transaction was not yet fully disclosed, dark hints, suggestive of suspicion, began to circulate.[2] They had not anticipated any such outcry as the disclosure made by Mr. Ponsonby provoked. To extricate themselves out of the difficulty, they accordingly met; and condemned the contemplated arrangements. At a Synod held in Dublin in September, 1808, they adopted two resolutions, one of which declared it "*inexpedient*[3] to introduce any alteration in the canonical

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most infamous bill, the like of which was never devised by Cecil, or Shaftesbury, or Robespierre.'"—*Life and Speeches of Lord Plunket*, i. 301, *note*.

[1] Mr. Plowden states that the resolutions of 1799 "never came fully to light till 1810."—*Hist. of Ireland from the Union*, iii. 663, *note*. See also iii. 672, and Columbanus, No. vi., p. 191. Even Mr. Ponsonby declared that on the 13th of August, 1810, "he was ignorant of what had passed between the Catholic bishops and the administration in 1799."—PLOWDEN, iii. 663, *note*. He might have known, however, from his conversation with Lord Fingall in May, 1808, something of its general tenor.

[2] Mr. Clinch, a Maynooth professor, who published a most effective pamphlet against the veto immediately before the meeting of the prelates in September, 1808, was evidently aware that the Maynooth trustees had in some way committed themselves in 1799; and he accordingly endeavours to apologize for them. See Brenan, p. 596.

[3] There was something rather jesuitical in this use of the word under the circumstances. In a letter from Archbishop Troy to a private friend, dated 11th November, 1808, the writer says:—"As *expediency* or *inexpediency* must necessarily be

to observed in the nomination of the Irish Roman
hops;" and the other pledged them "to adhere
e rules by which they had been hitherto uniformly
d—namely, to recommend to his holinesss only such
is as are of unimpeachable loyalty and peaceable con-
[1] These resolutions, signed by the prelates who
rted them, were forthwith published; their appearance
d with special satisfaction; and votes of congratu-
n ed in on the subscribers from all quarters of the
tr
io nese resolutions of the prelates tended greatly to
: tne rears of the opponents of the veto, the controversy
ting to it did not go to rest. A small, but influential,
y among the Romanists of Ireland, still favoured the
sure; whilst a large and more powerful section of their
lish co-religionists, stood forward as its decided advocates.[3]

In 1810, when the question of emancipation was once more brought under the consideration of the Legislature, the aspect of affairs on the Continent imparted fresh interest to the discussion. Pius VII. had meanwhile become a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon Buonaparte; his acts could be controlled by that ever-watchful and most formidable enemy of Great Britain; and, under such circumstances, the danger of entrusting the nomination of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops to the Pope, seeemd, to many, too plain to be denied. Even Mr. Grattan—the most eloquent, most consistent, and most generous champion of the Roman Catholic claims—now declared, in his place in Parliament, that he was in favour of the veto; but he admitted, at the same time, that his country-

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the result of existing circumstances, and not the consequence of fixed or unalterable principle, it appears strange to me *that the resolution should be so generally conceived to reject the veto as inadmissible, and to preclude any future discussion about it.*"—COLUMBANUS, No. vi. 203. The writer of this letter had evidently no insuperable objection to the veto.

[1] Plowden, iii. 697-8.

[2] Of the twenty-six prelates present at the Synod, twenty-three voted for the resolutions. Three of those who had supported the resolutions of 1799 refused to compromise themselves by changing their ground, and consequently dissented from those now adopted. Plowden, iii. 698.

[3] Plowden, iii. 786-90.

men, whose cause he pleaded, were averse to the concession.[1] Early in 1810 their prelates had held another Synod in which, with greater unanimity than before, they had recorded their opposition; and, as a fresh proposal had been made that the State should subsidize themselves and their clergy, they also proclaimed their aversion to this overture. The resolutions they adopted soon attracted much notice; and some of them were far from satisfactory to not a few of the members of their own communion. They affirmed it to be "the undoubted and *exclusive* right of Roman Catholic *bishops* to discuss all matters appertaining to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church;" they declared "their unaltered adherence to the resolutions *unanimously* entered into[2] at their last general meeting on the 14th of September, 1808;" they asserted that "the oath of allegiance framed and proposed by the Legislature itself, and taken by them, was not only adequate security for their loyalty, but that they knew of no stronger pledge they could possibly give";[3] and they averred that "they neither sought nor desired any other earthly consideration for their ministry" save what their respective flocks, "from a sense of religion and duty, voluntarily afforded them." They resolved farther that, though the Pope in his captivity retained "the right of giving communion and confirmation to bishops of the Roman Catholic Church," yet that, "until his freedom was unequivocally

[1] Plowden, iii. 828. Dr. O'Conor asserts that Dr. Lanigan, the learned R. C. historian, was excluded from ecclesiastical promotion because he rejected the views of the party who now dominated in the Irish R. C. Church. Columbanus, No. vi. 130. See another account of this matter in Brenan, p. 650, where there is some account of Dr. Lanigan. He published his *Ecclesiastical History* in 1822, and died in July, 1828. He was for several years librarian to the Dublin Society.

[2] The statement here made by the prelates is incorrect, as it is notorious that there were *three* dissentients from the resolutions of September, 1808. See Plowden. iii. 698, and Brenan, p. 594.

[3] The Irish Roman Catholic prelates at this time declared "that said oath, and the promises, declarations, abjurations, and protestations therein contained are notoriously, to the Roman Catholic Church at large, become *a part of the Roman Catholic religion*, as taught by us, the bishops, and received and maintained by the Roman Catholic Churches in Ireland; and as such are approved and sanctioned by the other Roman Catholic Churches." See *Vaticanism*, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., p. 48. London, 1875.

manifested," they would "refuse and cancel as to any effect" any briefs, bulls, or rescripts "bearing title as from his said holiness." They added that "the choice of persons to fill the office of bishops effectively originated from and was circumscribed by themselves—so far at least as to make it inaccessible to any foreign temporal influence or corrupt recommendation."[1]

Among the assailants of these resolutions was the Rev. Dr. Charles O'Conor, an Irish priest of ancient family and distinguished talent. His grandfather, the celebrated Charles O'Conor of Belanagare[2]—was one of the original members of the Roman Catholic Committee; and the grandson has signalized himself as the author and editor of various learned publications.[3] On the present occasion he came forward as the advocate of the veto; and in a series of letters, under the signature of *Columbanus*—displaying much research and written with great vivacity and vigour—attacked the proceedings of the prelates.[4] He was at this time librarian to the Marquis

[1] See these resolutions in Plowden, iii., appendix iv, 17-23. Mr. Francis Plowden, whose authority is so often quoted in this work, was a respectable and laborious Roman Catholic writer who flourished early in this century. He was a member of the English Chancery Bar, and father-in-law to the Earl of Dundonald. In 1813 he was prosecuted at the Lifford assizes for a libel by a gentleman named Hart; and a verdict for £5,000 damages recorded against him. He left the country, in consequence, and died in Paris in March, 1829, at an advanced age. *Annual Register* for 1829. Appendix to Chronicle.

[2] See before, p. 277, *note* (3).

[3] He is the well-known editor of *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores Veteres*—a work in four quarto volumes, printed at the expense of the Marquis of Buckingham, his patron. In this work a number of the most important of the old Irish annals—long preserved only in manuscript—appeared. The work was not published; but copies of it were presented by the Marquis to various public libraries and distinguished individuals.

[4] The enemies of O'Conor asserted that his letters were the result of mortification, because he had not himself obtained an Irish bishopric. More recently it has been very absurdly alleged that "his senses were disordered during the period of the composition of these writings."—*Irish Wits and Worthies*, by Fitzpatrick, p. 295. In 1827, or about a year before his death, Dr. O'Conor betrayed indications of mental aberration; but the greater part of these writings appeared about fifteen years before. They speak for themselves; and attest the wonderful erudition, eloquence, and good sense of their author. Dr. Reeves truly says that O'Conor is about "the brightest name which the Church of Rome can produce." But his noble mind was fretted and exasperated by the tyranny of ecclesiastical despotism.

of Buckingham at Stowe; and he had adopted the views then held by so many of the English Romanists. As addressed to his co-religionists, his defence of the veto is able and ingenious. He maintained that, on the ground of precedent, the hierarchy could not object to the interference of the British Crown in the appointments to Irish sees; as it was notorious that the Pope himself in days past had been nominated by an Arian Sovereign.[1] He denied that it was the "*exclusive*" right of bishops to discuss all matters relating to doctrine and discipline; and proved that in earlier times the presbyters had not been excluded from such debates.[2] The Irish prelates had of late often appointed their successors;[3] and Dr. O'Conor had no difficulty in demonstrating that the practice was uncanonical.[4] In their recent resolutions they had openly claimed the right of nominating to vacant bishoprics. Dr. O'Conor produced an overwhelming mass of evidence to show that the parochial clergy were entitled to a share in the election.[5] Neither did he overlook the declaration that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy were resolved to depend for support on the voluntary contributions of the people. This resolution, he observed, was "formed in a Synod at which not one Irish priest was permitted to attend. . . . . The bishops are not at the mercy of the populace; the priests are. The bishops do not derive a single shilling *immediately* from the people. The priests have no other resource."[6]

As might have been expected, the letters of Dr. O'Conor were exceedingly offensive to the hierarchy;[7] and they were

[1] *Columbanus ad Hibernos*, i. 51, 52, 54, 57. He shows also that the Huguenots presented to R. C. livings in France, i. 96, 102.

[2] Third Letter, p. 68; *Historical Address*, part ii. 67-80.

[3] O'Conor dwells on a remarkable case in which the Archbishop of Tuam (Dillon) bequeathed his see to the Rev. Oliver Kelly. He speaks of Dillon as "totally unqualified" for his office, as "a man of intemperate manners," and as "an old dotard."—*Columbanus*, No. vi. 208-9.

[4] No. i. 39, 40.

[5] I. 28-34. Third Letter, p. 15.

[6] Third Letter, p. 76.

[7] When he came to Dublin in 1812 Archbishop Troy warned him, under pain of censure, not to exercise any sacerdotal function in his archdiocese. Plowden's *Historical Letter*. Postscript. Dublin, 1812. See also *Columbanus*, No. vi. 217.

written in such a bold and independent spirit, that the author was suspected of a leaning to Protestantism. Mr. Plowden—an English Roman Catholic barrister, distinguished by his historical researches—attempted an answer; and others followed him into the arena of controversy; but they failed to obliterate the impression produced by these animated appeals; and to this day the works of Columbanus are explored, by the student of Irish literature, as a wonderful magazine of civil and ecclesiastical history. When contending for the right of the priests to a vote in the nomination of the bishops, O'Conor had many to sympathize with him; but his eloquence failed to induce his countrymen to relinquish their antipathy to the veto. Foiled in their efforts to obtain the consent of the Irish Romanists, its abettors directed their attention elsewhere; and fearing that emancipation could not be obtained on other terms, sought to secure for the measure the approval of the highest authority in the Roman Catholic Church. In this they were more successful. In 1814 a rescript, signed by Quarantotti, vice prefect of the Propaganda in Rome, reached Ireland, stating that "the Catholics might, with willingness and gratitude, accept the law proposed for their emancipation;" and that when the clergy, according to their usual custom, had elected those whom they judged most worthy of the episcopal dignity, "notice shall be given of the election, that the King's approbation or dissent may be had thereupon. If the candidates be rejected, others shall be proposed who may be acceptable to the King."[1] In the following year, a still more authoritative document announced that the Pope had given his sanction to the veto. A letter, signed by the prefect of the congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, declared that "his holiness will not hesitate to permit, that those, to whom it appertains, may exhibit a list of the candidates to the King's ministers, in order that Government, if

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He was subsequently excommunicated as a heretic. In 1816 he had been three years under this sentence. See his Letter, No. vii., p. 3. He died at Belanagare, the seat of his brother The O'Conor Don, in 1828, aged sixty-eight years.

[1] A copy of this rescript may be found in Brenan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, appendix, pp. 677-9.

perchance any of them be disliked or suspected, may immediately point out the same, to have him expunged."[1]

The Pope at this period was greatly indebted to the British Government for political assistance; and these missives were obtained from Italy by parties desirous to remove difficulties which statesmen found in the way of emancipation. But, after all, they led to no practical results. The Irish Romanists—now headed by Daniel O'Connell—still continued to protest against the veto; clergy and laity united in the opposition; and no bill for the removal of their disabilities could obtain the sanction of Parliament. They secured, however, some abatement of their grievances. They had hitherto complained that, when in the King's service, they were often compelled to attend Protestant worship;[2] but in 1817 they were placed in a better position both in the army and the navy.[3]

It was not without reason that Protestant non-conformists, as well as Romanists, denounced the exclusive spirit in which the patronage of Government still continued to be administered in Ireland. Twenty years after the Union, almost all posts of emolument and honour in the country were still enjoyed by Episcopalians. A large proportion of the rectors, and many even of the curates, were justices of the peace. High Church ascendency was practically maintained long after it had been legally abrogated. Though the Establishment was possessed of such ample revenues: and though even the sacramental elements, received by its communicants, were provided by a vestry cess exacted from all denominations; it was continually applying to Parliament for additional subsidies. Nor were these dealt out to it parsimoniously. In 1803 what was called the Parsonage House Act was passed;[4] and, from 1801 to 1815, nearly half a mil-

[1] See this letter in Brenan, pp. 680-2. "The Congregation de Propaganda is the organ through which *all* the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland referred to Rome are managed and decided."—Evidence of Cardinal Cullen in the O'Keeffe case, p. 345. Report by Kirkpatrick. London, 1874.

[2] They were sometimes punished for refusal. See Plowden, iii. 778-780.

[3] See Grattan's *Speeches*, i. Introd. p. 25.

[4] It is the 43rd of George III., chap. cxviii. At this time a sum of £50,000 was granted for building glebe houses in Ireland. In 1808 an Act was passed "to

as voted out of the Imperial treasury, for the
n of churches and the purchase of glebe lands in
d.[1] In 1817 a grant of £39,000 was voted for the
rt of Irish Charter Schools; and from 1801 to this date
um of £512,043 was expended out of the public purse
se institutions.[2] Notwithstanding all this outlay, the
ls, instead of making progress, rather continued to
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ring the period before us the Established Church ex-
ced a remarkable revival; but, as the improvement
onfined chiefly to the junior clergy, circumstances were
inually recurring which exposed it to severe criticism.
umber of the occupants of the Episcopal bench were of
h birth; but few of the bishops can be commended for
y and learning. One unhappy man, who filled the see of
s and Leighlin from 1809 to 1820, was soon afterwards
posed for "lewd habits and scandalous immorality."[3]

Bishoprics were generally bestowed without due reference to the qualifications of the candidates; and the aspirant to the mitre who, by address and intrigue, could win the favour of a powerful statesman, had the best prospect of promotion. The history of a reverend gentleman advanced to the see of Limerick in the beginning of this century, discloses an extraordinary career. Charles Mongan was the son of a strolling piper, and a native of County Londonderry. He was by birth a Roman Catholic; and he must have been a sharp-witted boy; for he contrived to obtain an education; and, in due course, was sent to the Continent to be trained for the priesthood. His way of life for some time afterwards is involved in mystery: and, when it can again be traced, he is a Protestant, professing great interest in the cause of Missions. It does not clearly appear when or how he was ordained[4]—or whether he

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make more effectual provision for the building and rebuilding of churches, chapels, and glebe houses, and for the purchase of glebe lands, glebe houses, and impropriations in Ireland." It is the 48th of George III., chap. lxv.

[1] *Pictorial History of England*, vol. vi. 766.

[2] Steven, p. 129.

[3] See an account of this sad case in the *Annual Register* for 1822, pp. 425-32.

[4] Archbishop Whately is understood to refer to this case in his *Kingdom of Christ*, p. 219, when he says that "even in the memory of persons living" there

was ordained at all—but he managed to secure an appointment as chaplain to a regiment in America. When there, he married his first wife—a lady said to have been recommended to him by an influential nobleman.[1] The lady died soon afterwards; and he married again, adopted the name of his second spouse, and pursued his way to wealth and dignity. In 1789, he became rector of Tullagh and Skibbereen in the diocese of Ross;[2] in 1790, he was appointed Dean of Ardagh; and in 1800, he was made Dean of Clonmacnois, and Precentor of St. Patrick's, Dublin.[3] In 1806, he was consecrated Bishop of Limerick; and in 1820, he was translated to Cloyne—where he died in 1826 at the age of seventy-two.[4] When he reached the mitre, he does not appear to have retained many traces of the lowliness of his extraction—as he is said to have been distinguished by the "most engaging suavity of manners" and a dignified deportment.[5]

The neglect of duty by many who enjoyed rich benefices in Ireland was now a topic of general complaint. In 1808 an Act[6] was passed for enforcing residence. According to its main provision, an incumbent was obliged to live in his parish during nine months of the year; but the bishop or arch-

existed a bishop concerning whom "doubts existed in the minds of some persons whether he had ever been ordained at all." There is an account of this bishop in the *North British Review* for December, 1866, p. 353.

[1] *Annual Register* for 1826. Appendix to Chronicle, p. 271.

[2] Cotton's *Fasti*, i. 499.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 391.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 306.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 307.

[6] The 48th of George III., chap. lxvi. The Irish Episcopal clergy had been so long accustomed to non-residence that they do not seem to have been aware of its enormity as an ecclesiastical offence. Thus Dr. Jebb, Bishop of Limerick, in his famous speech in the House of Lords in 1824, whilst defending the clergy, makes admissions of the most damaging character. "In the diocese of Lismore," says he, "are forty benefices *with cure of souls*. Of the beneficed clergy twenty-four are resident either on their benefices, *or so near as to perform the duty of them*. Eight are *resident on other benefices which they hold by faculty; two are exempt* under the provisions of the Statute 48 George, chap. 66; *six are absent* with the permission of the ordinary." He then goes on to show that in the diocese of Limerick, with fifty-one benefices, twenty-six of the incumbents were "actually resident;" and that in the diocese of Ardfert and Aghadoe, with forty-two benefices, twenty-one of the incumbents were "actually resident."—*Speech*, new edition, pp. 10, 12. London, 1868. He admits also that there were sundry *non-cures*, or benefices, to which those who received the tithes paid no attention.

bsolve from the obligation: and the rulers of
n granted indulgences with profuse liberality.
rding to a clause in the Act,[1] the prelates themselves were
liable to penalties for non-residence. Some of them
atly preferred to live abroad. At this time one Irish
iop resided in Edinburgh; another, in Bath; and in
summer of 1807, when the Primate had delivered a
e in which he urged the incumbents to live among the
, he himself, almost immediately afterwards, left the

among the Irish Protestant prelates who flourished towards
close of the reign of George III. there was at least one
se memory should be cherished by the wise and good to
end of time. In 1802 the Honourable Power Le Poer
nch, son of the Earl of Clancarty, when only thirty-two
rs of age, was appointed Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
In 1810 he was advanced to the see of Elphin; and in 1819
he became Archbishop of Tuam. His high connexions will account for his early and rapid promotion; and, when first elevated to the bench, he had no special claim, on the ground either of attainments or piety, to such a position. As vicar of Ballinasloe—the office which he held in the Church when chosen Bishop of Waterford—he was favourably known as a

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[1] § 14. It is only fair to state that some of the charges made against the Established clergy were more specious than solid. Though the number of parishes in Ireland amounted to upwards of 2,400, some of these were very small—being in fact nothing more than the sites of old monastic establishments. Hence a minister might have several parishes, and yet not have an unwieldy charge. In 1824 the Chancellor of Cork held "a union of six parishes: St. Nicholas, St. Bridget, St. John of Jerusalem, St. Stephen, St. Mary, and St. Dominick. Now each of these parishes should, according to the doctrine of to-day, have its own parish minister. But how stands the case? The Chancellor of Cork derives from the six parishes an income of £260 per annum. And what is the extent of these parishes? The parish of St. John of Jerusalem is a distillery; the parish of St. Dominick is a sugar house. The magnitude of the remaining four parishes is somewhat in the same proportion. This, in truth, is a union, not of populous districts, but of old religious houses."—Speech of Bishop Jebb in the House of Peers, June 10th, 1824, pp. 21-2. London, 1868. The parish of St. Doologes in Ferns is said to be only forty yards square. Lee's *Tracts respecting the Church in Ireland*, p. 17, *note*. London, 1868. See before, vol. ii., p. 243, *note* (1).

[2] *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxxvii., p. 73. Edinburgh, 1822.

friend to the poor, a pleasing preacher, a considerate land-agent, and an active justice of the peace. But, though desirous to acquit himself creditably as a clergyman, he had a very vague idea of the duties of the ministry, and a very imperfect knowledge of the doctrines of the Gospel. When he became a bishop he addressed himself with much energy to the discharge of his episcopal functions; diligently visited his diocese; found his way into regions which no Protestant prelate had ever before explored; kept a watchful eye on careless incumbents; and introduced various regulations calculated to promote good order and pastoral circumspection. His amiability and large-hearted benevolence commended him to all; but he had early acquired an antipathy to what were called evangelical principles; and his prejudices long remained unabated. It was, however, obvious that the truth was silently making a deeper and deeper impression on his heart; and, though he could not brook the Calvinistic theology, he could not but admire the devotedness and efficiency of those ministers by whom it was professed. He imagined that the doctrine of justification by faith alone, tended to licentiousness; and, as a man of high integrity, he recoiled from a system which seemed to him to suggest such a course. In a visitation sermon addressed to his clergy in 1816, he took occasion to express his convictions; and a correspondence, in consequence, commenced between the bishop and the Rev. William Digby, then Archdeacon of Elphin—an able and most exemplary clergyman, who was known to be an earnest assertor of the evangelical faith. In the end, the bishop embraced unreservedly the views of his archdeacon: and continued, to the end of his days, their steady and influential advocate. When elevated to the archbishopric of Tuam, he exerted himself to the utmost to promote their extension; and the eminent holiness of his life signally illustrated their excellence. He still retained somewhat of the exclusiveness of a Churchman;[1] and he was tempted occasionally to act

[1] See an instance of this in the *Life and Letters of Dr. Urwick*, pp. 139, 140.

rather arbitrarily when mingling with non-conformists; b
he had been trained in a very narrow school of theology, a
much allowance must be made for the prejudices of his ed
cation. Many Irish prelates have far excelled him in geni
and learning; but very few of them can at all be compar
with him in usefulness and self-denial, in apostolic humilit
and in genuine nobility of character.[1]

[1] A memoir of Archbishop Trench, written by the Rev. Joseph D'Arcy Si
D.D., appeared in 1845. In the present volume there are frequent references
Dr. Sirr's publication.

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF GEORGE III. TO THE PASSING OF THE ACT ADMITTING ROMAN CATHOLICS TO PARLIAMENT. A.D. 1820 TO A.D. 1829 (13TH APRIL).

THOUGH, as a body, the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland have exhibited very little of the beauty of holiness, they have had among them honest and devout men sincerely desirous to promote the good of their generation. Those of them who have been placed in positions of special responsibility and prominence, have often possessed a large amount of tact, talent, and culture. Dr. Troy—who became Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin in 1786, and who died in 1823—displayed firmness and discretion in eventful times: and his successor Dr. Murray was noted for his address and prudence. Dr. Curtis—who was made Roman Catholic Primate of Armagh in 1819—had presided previously over the Irish College of Salamanca in Spain. When there during the Peninsular War, he rendered important services to the English army; and it is now well known that his elevation to the archiepiscopal dignity, at the age of seventy-three, was due to the influence of the British Government.[1] He had acted for some time as chaplain to the royal family of Spain; he was admired for his courtly manners: and the Duke of Wellington—with

[1] Fitzpatrick's *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*, i. 164. In a letter to Lord Castlereagh, dated September 22nd, 1819, Dr. Curtis goes so far as to say:—"I should never have acquiesced in the selection made of me by our prelates, *had not Government previously vouchsafed to grant its consent and even approbation to the measure.*"—*Mem. and Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh*, vol. xii. 148-9. London, 1853.

whom, as Sir Arthur Wellesley, he became acquainted on th Continent—is said to have ever afterwards retained a ver favourable estimate of his character. But by far the able Roman Catholic prelate of this period was Dr. Doyle, Bisho of Kildare and Leighlin. Born in County Wexford in 178 and educated professionally at the University of Coimbr he had already acquired celebrity as Professor of Theolog in Carlow College, when, at the unusually early age of thirty three, he was advanced to the episcopate. As he had bee a devout Augustinian monk, he was also a warm admirer the theology of the Bishop of Hippo. He was a diligen student; and, possessed of a singularly tenacious memory, h had rapidly acquired extensive information. His immediat predecessors in the see had been rather indolent; and ha permitted the parish priests to act very much as they pleased but the new bishop determined to rule with vigilance, and t make himself known as a strict disciplinarian. Some of hi clergy were in very comfortable circumstances; and, thoug they still complained bitterly of legal disabilities, there wer many cases in which the married ministers of the Estab lishment might have coveted their professional incomes There were three parishes in the diocese of Kildare an Leighlin, in each of which the dues of the priest amounte to £500 per annum; there were four others, in each of whic they reached £400 per annum; in each of fourteen other they were worth from £200 to £300 per annum; and, in th remaining parishes, they varied from £100 to £200 pe annum.[2] Some of the reverend gentlemen had amasse considerable wealth; and one—who does not appear to hav

[1] In his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons i 1825, the Rev. Wm. Phelan stated that "in all the towns, the incomes of th parish priests were *considerably more* than those of the clergy of the Establishe Church," p. 37. Dublin, 1825.

[2] Fitzpatrick, i. 278. At this time the official income of Dr. Troy, R. C. Arch bishop of Dublin, did not exceed £800 per annum. *Ibid.* i. 181. The income the R. C. Primate of Armagh did not exceed £500 per annum. *Ibid.* i. 505. D Doyle's income was about the same amount; but latterly he had, in addition, th excellent mansion and demesne of Braganza purchased from the executors of Si Dudley Hill for £2,500. *Ibid.* i. 280. The money was contributed by the R. C clergy of Kildare and Leighlin.

been placed in a very lucrative position—bequeathed a fortune of £8,000.[1] Dr. Doyle insisted that no earthly relative should inherit any share of such accumulations. All must be handed over to the Church and its charities.[2] Many of his clergy had contrived to obtain possession of large tracts of land, and spent much time in farming; he required them to relinquish their agricultural pursuits, and to devote themselves to their spiritual duties. The priest's glebe must not henceforth exceed fourteen acres.[3] At this time many of the Roman Catholic clergy were to be seen among the most interested spectators at the races, or following the hounds in the hunting field.[4] Bishop Doyle deemed such amusements unbefitting their vocation; enjoined them to withdraw from the sporting club; and, except under peculiar circumstances, interdicted their appearance at the racecourse. Some of the priests had been accustomed to perform their ministrations in worn-out vestments. The new bishop denounced such slovenliness; and, when visiting his diocese, the sight of a shabby chasuble sometimes so roused his indignation, that he either tore it to pieces on the spot, or threw it into the fire.[5]

Before this date the Roman Catholic clergy had been generally disposed to court the shade.[6] They had been so long treated as proscribed that, many years after the passing of the Act of Toleration, they still hesitated to take a prominent part in any public movement. Dr. Doyle inaugurated a new

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[1] Fitzpatrick, i. 278. At this time the average professional income of an Irish Presbyterian minister—Regium Donum included—did not amount to £110 per annum. The Presbyterian minister had generally a family. Dr. Cooke stated, in 1825, in his evidence before the Committee of the Lords, that "as the (Presbyterian) minister of a country parish" (Killileagh) he had "the largest emolument in the kingdom," and that he received "only £100 a year from the people."—*Minutes of Evidence*, p. 218. He had R. D. in addition.

[2] Fitzpatrick, i. 129. Our Lord taught differently. Mark. vii. 10-13.

[3] *Ibid.* i. 129. Before this time a priest had sometimes a farm of ten times that size.

[4] *Ibid.* i. 97-98.

[5] *Ibid.* i. 276, 278.

[6] In the latter part of the last century the priest of one of the largest parishes of one of the principal towns in Ireland—though he had occupied his place for forty years—had never been seen on the public promenade. After the concessions of 1793, a friend induced him, for the first time, to visit the rest of the town. He appeared among his fellow-citizens as an intruder, and shrank back to his retreat the moment he was allowed. Fitzpatrick, i. 142.

policy. Confident in his own intellectual resources and in t increasing strength of his denomination, he resolved to assu a different attitude, and to speak out boldly on behalf of hi self and his co-religionists. But he deemed it prudent, in t first place, to assemble his party; and by those applianc which he considered most potential, to endeavour to dissipa their despondency and enkindle their enthusiasm. With th view he made arrangements for holding in July, 1820—abo eight months after his consecration—what was called " spiritual retreat," or a grand devotional meeting—such as ha been scarcely known in Ireland since the time of the Refor ation. In response to his invitation, nearly every prelate the island and a thousand priests assembled at Carlow.[1] T exercises continued for ten days; the public services we conducted entirely by himself; and for a week he preach thrice daily. On these occasions he poured out streams impassioned eloquence which electrified his auditors. H reminded the priests of their duties; dilated on the circu stances of the Roman Catholic Church; and in words of t deepest pathos, exhorted all to labour, with unwearied zea for the advancement of its interests. "Forty years ha elapsed," said one who joined in the solemnities, "but m recollection of all that Dr. Doyle said and did is fresh a vivid. . . . I can never forget that tall majestic figure poin ing the way to heaven . . nor the lofty serenity of count nance, so eloquent of reproach one minute and so radiant hope the next." Dr. Troy, the Archbishop of Dublin, now the verge of the grave, wept like a child, and raised his han in thanksgiving. At the conclusion of the retreat he we again, and kissed the young prelate with more than a brothe affection.[2]

Dr. Doyle was himself thoroughly in earnest; and he ha sufficient discernment to see that, if Romanism were to mai tain its ground in Ireland, its advocates must display increase activity and watchfulness. In many parts of the country times past, it had to contend with what was little better tha a dead Protestantism; and it had therefore lost comparativel

[1] Fitzpatrick, i. 120.

[2] *Ibid.*

few adherents; but a great awakening had taken place among the ministers of the Establishment; and some of them were now remarkable for Christian excellence and pastoral ability. The improvement had extended to the laity; and many of the Protestant gentry all over the land were admirable specimens of the power of godliness. The Methodist preachers had been prosecuting their itinerant labours with amazing zeal; and they were gathering Romanists, as well as others, into their communion. The Presbyterians were also displaying missionary ardour; and were sending ministers into some of the popish towns and cities.[1] The Synod of Ulster had recently established a congregation in Carlow itself, over which—a few weeks before the "Spiritual Retreat"—a pious young pastor[2] of popular gifts had been ordained.

The labours of the Bible Society had already produced much good fruit; and schools—connected with the benevolent institutions recently established, and in which the Scriptures were read daily—were now in extensive operation. The Roman Catholic clergy regarded this state of matters with no little uneasiness; and a Bull sent from Rome in 1819, denouncing the "Bible Schools,"[3] increased their aversion to

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[1] In 1818 the Irish Burghers and Anti-Burghers united and formed a Synod under the designation of "The Presbyterian Synod of Ireland distinguished by the name of Seceders." Immediately afterwards they established a Home Mission.

[2] The Rev. James Morgan—afterwards Dr. Morgan, of Fisherwick Place, Belfast. He was ordained in Carlow on the 21st of June, 1820. At that period there was little sectarian feeling among pious Protestant ministers of different denominations. Some of the Episcopal clergy—such as the Rev. Peter Roe, the Rev. Robert Shaw, the Rev. John Hare, the Hon. and Rev. E. Wingfield, and the Rev. Dr. Singer, of Trinity College, Dublin—met for prayer and religious conference in the lodgings of the young Presbyterian minister of Carlow. In that town, not long before, religion was at a very low ebb among Protestants. The Protestant incumbent was in the habit of playing at billiards in the public news-room on Sunday mornings until it was time to go to church.

[3] This epistle, dated Rome, 18th September, 1819, exhibits no little ignorance on the part of the Pontiff. He says:—"The directors of these schools are, generally speaking, Methodists who introduce Bibles *translated into English by the Bible Society.*" See *The Protestant Layman*, by Stuart, pp. 286, 287. Belfast, 1828. The Pope, during the present century, has repeatedly issued his fulminations against Bible Societies. The Encyclical Letter on the subject, issued in May, 1844, by Gregory XVI., was translated into English and widely circulated by the late Sir Culling Eardley Smith, Bart. London, 1845.

the new seminaries. But notwithstanding, the evangelical part moved forward with growing determination. In 1822 th "Scripture Readers' Society" was instituted. It contemplate the diffusion of a knowledge of the Word of God among th poor and neglected portion of the population. Towards i foundation Mr. Lefroy—a worthy lawyer[1] of high standing an afterwards Lord Chief Justice—contributed the magnificer sum of £1,000; and Lord Powerscourt, an Irish noblema deeply interested in the spiritual welfare of his countryme added a donation of double that amount.[2] Most of th charitable and religious agencies, now at work in Ireland, we not identified with the Establishment; and they received ver little encouragement from the Protestant hierarchy. Thoug the Bible Society was based on the most Catholic principles though it acknowledged no sectarian distinctions; though aimed simply at the circulation of the Book of Life; an though many of the evangelical Episcopal clergy continue to adhere to it; it never was regarded with much favour by th Irish prelates. At length, with one most honourable excep tion, they withdrew from it altogether.[3] Its very catholicit seems to have rendered it offensive to these Most Reveren and Right Reverend dignitaries. At its public meeting Protestant ministers of various denominations appeared c

[1] In a letter, dated March 31st, 1840, and published in the *Family Friend*, December, 1873 (p. 178), the Chief Justice states that, when going on the Munst Circuit in 1822, the appalling extent of crime which he witnessed suggested to hi the propriety of establishing this institution. He adds that the Rev. Robert Dal his uncle Judge Daly, and others, at once raised £4,000. The Rev. Robert Da was appointed Bishop of Cashel in December, 1842, and died in February, 187 He was born in County Galway in June, 1783, and was son of the Right Ho Dennis Daly. Bishop Daly was long prominently connected with the evangelic clergy. His *Life* has been written by Mrs. H. Madden. London, 1875.

[2] The Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland had in 1873 forty-one readers its employment, of whom eleven could read or speak Irish.

[3] "Some of the bishops went so far in their hostility to the Bible Society as inhibit any clergyman from preaching in their dioceses who took any part in proceedings. . . . At a meeting of the Bible Society in the Rotunda, in Dubli the Rev. Robert Daly (afterwards Bishop of Cashel) compared their oppositi . . . . with the conduct of Sanballat the Horonite, and Tobiah the servant, Ammonite, and Geshem the Arabian."—*Memoir of Bishop Daly*, p. 101. " was now a common saying in the religious world, 'Robert Daly against all t bishops, and all the bishops against Robert Daly.'" *Ibid.*

the platform to plead its cause; among its most active agents were Presbyterians,[1] Methodists, and Independents; in such company, the rank of the bishops and the position of their church were not, as they thought, duly recognized; and, though they seldom ventured openly to attempt a statement of their objections,[2] they ceased, one after another, to give it their patronage.[3] The good Archbishop of Tuam alone could not be induced to cherish so narrow a spirit. Though not altogether satisfied with some of its arrangements, he continued, to the last, to sustain it by his benefactions.[4]

There was at this time a prelate of great ability who, for several years, exercised a commanding influence in the Irish Establishment. Dr. William Magee had been a Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin; and had acquired much reputation by a work on the Atonement. In 1819 he was appointed Bishop of Raphoe; and in 1822 he was advanced to the see of Dublin.[5] He was a man of wonderful activity, much zeal, and perhaps a little vanity. He had been brought up in narrow circumstances;[6] and when he reached the archiepiscopal throne of the Irish capital, he appears to have been rendered somewhat giddy by the elevation. In his Primary Charge to the Dublin clergy, in October 1822, he unhappily indulged his love of antithesis so far as to give needless offence to all other denominations. "We are hemmed in,"

[1] The Rev. James Carlile, one of the ministers of Mary's Abbey Presbyterian Church, Dublin, was long a secretary of the Society.

[2] The Rev. Charles Simeon, of Cambridge, seems to have considered that their antipathy to Evangelical religion had much to do with their opposition. "The bugbear in their minds," says he, "is Calvinism, by which they designate all vital religion."—*Memoir of Chief Justice Lefroy*, p. 94. Dublin, 1871.

[3] *Memoir of Lefroy*, p. 94; *Memoir of the last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 461.

[4] *Memoir of Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 502.

[5] During the two and a half years he was in Raphoe it was understood that he received £24,000. Dr. Beresford, his immediate predecessor, refused to renew the leases of the tenantry, except on terms which they considered too high. Many leases required renewal when Dr. Magee became bishop, and he thus reaped a rich harvest in the way of renewal fines.

[6] It is stated in the *Life, &c., of Lord Plunket*, that Magee's father's family lived at Enniskillen on a pension of £100 per annum, allowed by creditors. Lord Plunket's father resided in the adjoining house. He was a Presbyterian minister. Plunket and Magee often sucked the same breast.

said he to his reverend brethren, "by two opposite descri
tions of professing Christians—the one, possessing a Chur
without what we can call a religion; and the other, a religi
without what we can call a Church—the one, so blind
enslaved to a supposed infallible ecclesiastical authority
not to seek in the Word of God a reason for the faith the
profess; the other, so confident in the infallibility of the
individual judgment, as to the reasons of their faith, that the
deem it their duty to resist all authority in matters of religio
We, my brethren, are to keep clear of both extremes; an
holding the Scriptures as our great charter, whilst we mai
tain the liberty with which Christ has made us free, we are
submit ourselves to the authority to which He has made
subject. From this spirit of tempered freedom and qualifie
submission, sprung the glorious work of the Reformation, b
which the Church of these countries, having thrown off th
slough of a slavish superstition, burst forth into the purifie
form of Christian renovation."[1]

As there were only three religious communities of an
great importance in the country, the bearing of thes
observations could not well be misinterpreted. When D
Magee spoke "of a religion without what we can call
Church," he obviously intended to delineate Presbyterianism
and yet such a description of one of the largest denominatio
in Protestant Christendom was rather more pert than char
table. By the Government which had just appointed him a
archbishop, the Church of Scotland was recognized side b
side with the Church of England; but the new metropolita
proudly proclaimed that it was no Church at all! Hi
account of its principles was even worse than a caricatur
In the Presbyterian standards, the supreme authority of th
Word of God is asserted most emphatically; whereas, in th
congregations over which the archbishop presided, th
Apocrypha was read "for example of life and instruction o
manners."

Several Presbyterian divines vigorously assailed Dr. Magee'

[1] See Fitzpatrick, i. 200-1.

Charge;[1] but the criticism which attracted the largest share of public attention proceeded from another quarter. The new Metropolitan had described Romanism as "*a Church* without what we can call a religion;" and whilst thus apparently admitting the validity of its orders, he affirmed that it was something even more degraded than heathenism. The young Prelate of Kildare had been long furbishing his weapons of theological warfare; and the Protestant archbishop—reputed the most accomplished divine in the Irish Episcopal Church —was the very antagonist he desired. Soon after the appearance of the Charge, he published in the newspapers, under the signature of J. K. L.,[2] a voluminous reply; in which, with great subtlety and eloquence, he attacked most of the vulnerable points in the Irish Establishment. Instead of taking his stand on the impregnable foundations of Protestantism, Dr. Magee had planted himself on the essentially popish ground of the so-called apostolical succession; and he had thus made a mistake of which his adversary knew well how to avail himself. If Protestant ministers once admit that there can be no Church without diocesan bishops who can trace their descent from the apostles, they confess what is historically untrue; and they betray the very citadel of Christianity. If they acknowledge that they derive their title to the pastoral commission from Romish prelates, they virtually surrender their own position. Dr. Doyle maintained that the Protestant bishops were usurpers; and that the apostolic succession could not be transferred to them from the representatives of the Pope. In language of keen irony he reviewed the origin of the Establishment; exposed its intolerance; dilated on its inefficiency; and denounced its pretensions to catholicity. In a new edition of his Charge, Dr. Magee noticed his attack; and J. K. L. promptly responded. The archbishop had staked the credit of Protestantism on a

[1] The Rev. Dr. Drummond, a Unitarian minister of Dublin, also published a reply: but, as it was very much a defence of Rationalism, it obtained little circulation beyond the very limited bounds of his own party.

[2] *i.e.*, James Kildare and Leighlin. These initials were frequently afterwards employed by Dr. Doyle. Under the same signature, he replied in 1827 to another Charge by Archbishop Magee.

false issue; and the cause of truth was in no way advanc by the discussion.

Meanwhile the promoters of the circulation of the Wo of God, and of scriptural education, were not idle. Pub meetings were held everywhere for the establishment branches of the Bible Society, or for the reception of annu reports; and, at such times, the speakers often expatiated wi great force on the claims of the inspired records, on the rig of all to read the sacred volume, and on the importance its universal diffusion. These statements were exceeding grating to the Romish clergy—and to none more than Bishop Doyle. "I deem," said he, "the reading of the Scri tures by the weak and ignorant, such as children a whether with or without comments, *an abuse always to deprecated;* but such reading of them in this country, at th time, and in the present circumstances, I consider an abu filled with danger—not only an evil, but *an evil of gre magnitude.*"[1] Romanists themselves acknowledge that t Bible is the Word of Truth; but the views of Bishop Doy are so dishonouring to a revelation admittedly from heave and so directly opposed to God's own infallible assurance that they can find currency only among those who a blindly wedded to a system. "The law of the Lord *perfect*, converting the soul," says the King Eternal, "t testimony of the Lord is sure, *making wise the simple.* . . Wherewithal shall *a young man* cleanse his way? *By taki*

[1] Such are the words of a letter addressed by him to Archbishop Murray, dat 16th September, 1824, in reply to a communication soliciting his advice respecti the Kildare Place system of education. See Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 352. In o of his "Letters on the State of Ireland" Dr. Doyle says:—"I heard of a po man in the County of Kildare who . . . . having been favoured by the lady his master with one of the Society's Bibles, without note or comment, accept of it with all the reverence which the fear of losing his situation inspired. B behold, when the night closed, and all danger of detection was removed, he, l he should be infected with heresy exhaled from the Protestant Bible during l sleep, took it with a tongs, for he would not defile his touch with it, and buried in a grave which he had prepared for it in his garden! . . . I . . . do admi the orthodoxy of this Kildare peasant; nay, I admire it greatly; and should happen to meet him *I shall reward him for his zeal.*"—Letter, vii. 180, 18 Dublin, 1825. Columbkille or Columbanus would have pronounced a very differe verdict on the transaction.

heed thereto according to Thy Word. . . . There was *not a word* of all the law that Moses commanded which Joshua read not before *all the congregation* of Israel, with the women, and *the little ones*, and the strangers that were conversant among them."[1] The reading of the Bible is represented in the Bible itself as one of the great means of grace, as a privilege of inestimable value, as the duty of young and old, laity and clergy.[2] All the eloquence of Dr. Doyle, added to his weight of character, could not convince his unsophisticated countrymen that he judged wisely, when he condemned the study of the holy oracles. About this time, even the Professor of Scripture at Maynooth withdrew from that seminary; and devoted himself to the ministry in the Established Church.[3] In 1824 the priests in various places attended the meetings of the Bible Society, and attempted to interrupt the proceedings. They were, in consequence, challenged to discuss the right and duty of the laity to search the Scriptures; and public disputations on the subject between the Romish and the Protestant clergy were held in Kilkenny, Carlow, Carrick-on-Shannon, Easky,[4] and elsewhere. The results were favourable to the Reformed faith. Prejudices were removed; a spirit of inquiry was awakened; the demand for the Bible was promoted; and hundreds who usually attended mass were some-

[1] Ps. xix. 7; cxix. 9; Joshua, viii. 35.

[2] Ps. cxix. 18, 19, 97, 98, 99; Rom. iii. 2; 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15; Rev. i. 3. When adverting to the assailants of Dr. Doyle, his biographer, Mr. Fitzpatrick, has strangely overlooked the most formidable of them all—the Rev. Dr. Carson, of Tobermore, County Derry. With his tractates on the Reading of the Scriptures by the Laity, and on Transubstantiation, Dr. Doyle never even attempted to grapple. They may be found among his published works. Dr. Carson was a learned and pious Baptist minister, of great grasp of intellect, and a most vigorous controversialist. He died in 1844, aged sixty-seven.

[3] Evidence of Archbishop Magee before Committee of Lords in 1825, p. 13. Dublin, 1825.

[4] The discussion at Easky—a small town in the County Sligo on the borders of Mayo—took place in the Roman Catholic chapel. The speakers on the one side were three priests, and, on the other, two Scripture readers and the Rev. W. Urwick (afterwards D.D.), then Independent minister at Sligo. The discussion lasted two days, and terminated amicably. Protestantism gained by it a number of converts. See *Life and Letters of Wm. Urwick, D.D.*, pp. 64, 423. Dublin, 1870. Gideon Ouseley was present at the Carrick-on-Shannon discussion; but the priests refused to permit him to take part in it. *Memorial*, pp. 254-5.

times seen listening to services conducted by evangelica ministers. In one district of country, sixteen Roman Catho lics, who were teachers of daily schools, openly embrace Protestantism.[1]

But whilst, to the eye of the spiritual observer, Ireland no presented so many hopeful indications, the advocates o Romanism, at this very time, were exerting themselves wit unwonted energy and perseverance. Nor were their effort unavailing. The repeal of so many of the penal laws ha revived their hopes; the miserable buildings, in which the had previously worshipped, were quickly disappearing; sub stantial chapels—some of them fine specimens of architectur —rose up in all parts of the country;[2] and the titles of "m Lord" and "your Grace"—sometimes to the amusement, an sometimes to the irritation of Protestants—began to b ostentatiously given to their bishops and archbishops.[3] Th prophecies of Pastorini—announcing the speedy downfa of the Reformed faith—were circulated and believed and the miracles of Prince Hohenlohe were paraded a proofs of the divine authority of Popery.[5] Such things coul not fail to make an impression on a credulous and ignorar people. Even in Carlow, Protestant preachers could sometim

[1] Evidence of Archbishop Magee before the Lords Committee, pp. 18, 19, 2

[2] In November, 1825, the splendid Marlborough Street Cathedral, Dublin, w consecrated. Dr. Doyle preached on the occasion to a congregation of 3,00 Fitzpatrick, i. 437. Dr. Doyle himself erected at Carlow a Cathedral which w considered, at the time, one of the finest ecclesiastical structures in Ireland.

[3] These titles of secular nobility which, under the Irish Church Act of 1869, not legally belong to the newly-appointed bishops and archbishops of the Iri Episcopal Church, were not, in the early part of the present century, given by a Protestant to the R. C. dignitaries. They have no proper claim to them.

[4] Guided by the prophecies of Pastorini (or Bishop Walmsley, a R. C. exposit of the Apocalypse) many Romanists expected that Protestantism would perish 1825. See Digest of Evidence before Parliamentary Committees, vol. i. 300- and Evidence of Archbishop Magee, p. 129.

[5] Digest of Evidence before Parliamentary Committees, i. 286. About this ti the consecration of the first Roman Catholic burial-ground, performed since t Reformation, took place. Dr. Doyle was the consecrator. Fitzpatrick, i. 4 Since that period Roman Catholic prelates have been acting very much on t denominational system in regard to grave-yards. They wish certain places appr priated to their own adherents. Before this time, Romanists and Protestants we buried in the same cemeteries.

attract crowds of Romanists; but the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin boasted that, in his diocese, two hundred converts, on an average, were annually won over to his communion.[1]

In the midst of this religious excitement, the condition of the country was otherwise far from satisfactory. Many of the peasantry were in a state of extreme wretchedness; famine had aggravated their misery; party spirit was rife; Orangemen and Ribbonmen were at deadly enmity; and the Catholic Association—organized to struggle for concessions to Romanists, and of which Daniel O'Connell was the ruling spirit—carried agitation into almost every parish in the land. In 1825, Select Committees of the two Houses of Parliament —appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland—examined a great number of witnesses, with a view to devise some remedy for existing evils. Magistrates, lawyers, and land-agents, as well as divines of various denominations, and from different parts of the country, appeared before the representatives of the Lords and Commons; and furnished them with a large amount of information. Among the subjects illustrated were the tenure of land; the condition of the poor; the state of education; the operation of tithes; the influence of Orange and Ribbon Societies; the comparative strength of the several religious communities; the Roman Catholic claims; and the doctrine of the Church of Rome in regard to oaths, the toleration of heretics, and the obedience due to civil rulers. Dr. Magee, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, was examined at much length; and gave evidence as to the state of the Irish Establishment, the prospects of Protestantism, and the danger of concessions to Romanists. Dr. Doyle also appeared among the witnesses, and was closely interrogated. He was already well known as a vigorous controversialist; a volume of letters on the State of Ireland just published under the signature J. K. L., had added to his reputation; and his presence, as a witness, had been anticipated with no little interest.

[1] Fitzpatrick, i. 503. It is, however, significant that two of Dr. Doyle's nieces—young ladies of great intelligence and under his own guardianship—passed over at this time from Popery to Presbyterianism. Fitzpatrick gives a version of this affair evidently tinged by his own prejudices, ii. 158.

id Commons, opposed to the granting of addi-
al privileges to the members of his Church, were resolved
t he should pass through a searching ordeal; and they
d accordingly prepared lists of questions, calculated to
icit his views on almost every topic connected with the
oman Catholic controversy—including absolution, penance,
rgatory, indulgences, miracles, the invocation of saints,
communication, the validity of Anglican orders, Bible
cieties, tithes, the oath of allegiance, and Roman Catholic
ancipation. But the astute bishop was quite a match for
examinators. He was far too well versed in polemic
inity to be easily entangled. He had words at will, com-
ete self-command, and great power of assertion. When an
friendly Peer put some not very sage or pertinent question,
would confound the noble catechist with a scathing reply;
nd, when he deemed it expedient to give no very definite
answer, he poured forth a flood of oratory which astonished
and upset the interrogator. When explaining difficulties suggested to him, he more than once adroitly quoted certain portions of the Book of Common Prayer, where something like Popery is inculcated. He seems in fact, to have been unwilling to recognize any substantial difference between the Church of Rome and the Episcopal Church of Ireland; and hence, in the very year preceding, he had eagerly grasped at a proposition for their union, made by an influential statesman.[1] He found it very easy to show to the Committee that a number of the most popular objections to emancipation could not be maintained; and his answers—though sometimes not quite so candid as clever—were so plausible, and delivered with such an air of sincerity, that his examination, on the whole, produced a most favourable impression. The perfect ease with which he stated his sentiments, and the manner in which he dealt with some of the queries addressed to him, created no small surprise. The Duke of Wellington, who was present, was impressed by his intellectual power. "Well, Duke,"

[1] Fitzpatrick, i. 321. Bishop Milner, the English R. C. Vicar Apostolic, was greatly scandalized by the letter which Dr. Doyle wrote on this occasion. See his *Life*, by Husenbeth, pp. 495-497.

observed a Peer who happened to be approaching the Committee room as his Grace had just left it, are you examining Dr. Doyle?" "No," replied the Duke, "but Dr. Doyle is examining us." His testimony unquestionably led several members of the Legislature to think more favourably of the Roman Catholic claims.

A considerable time elapsed before the report of the evidence given by the witnesses was published by authority; but its general tenor was soon known, and when the rumours relating to it reached Ireland, they did not tend to abate excitement. The priests continued with increased bitterness to oppose the scriptural schools, to condemn the reading of the Bible, and to denounce all who endeavoured to promote its circulation. This open hostility to the Word of God gave great offence to many of their own adherents, and caused considerable secessions from their communion. In one district of the south—the parish of Askeaton—where there had been no discussion, and where the Protestant bishop[1] of the diocese, Dr. Jebb of Limerick, was not at all disposed to encourage proselytism, 470 persons, without solicitation, passed over into the Established Church.[2] In other places where the evangelical

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[1] Dr. Jebb, who became Bishop of Limerick in 1822, and died in 1833, was a distinguished scholar, and a prelate of singular amiability of character. He is well known as the author of a work on *Sacred Literature*. His views were High Church, and he was much opposed to controversy with the Romanists. His life has been written by the Rev. Charles Forster. On one occasion (in December, 1821) he was permitted by the parish priest to appear in the R. C. chapel on the Lord's Day, and to address the congregation from the altar. His object was to prevent the people of Abington, the parish of which he was then rector, from rising in insurrection; and his appeal was completely successful. See *Life*, vol. i. 210-14. London, 1836. He could not embrace the Calvinistic doctrine; and yet he admitted the superior efficiency of some of his clergy who professed it. One day, when discussing with some intimate friends the state of his diocese, he exclaimed with great warmth:—"And there is that little William Hoare (the Rev. Wm. Deane Hoare) who *though he is such a Calvinist*, is worth all the men in my diocese *for work*."—*Memoir of Chief Justice Lefroy*, p. 58, *note*.

[2] *Life of John Jebb, D.D.* p. 312. See also *Life and Letters of Dr. Urwick*, p. 187. A considerable number of these converts must, shortly afterwards, either have left the country or returned to Romanism, as, according to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (184 c.), there were in Askeaton, in 1831, only 297 Protestants. Of the converts reported in 1827, 170 were adults and 300 children.

:d against the errors of Popery, there were
:ous conversions. One hundred persons read their re-
ation at Ballinlough in the diocese of Tuam.[1] In
:ember, 1825, in the district of King's Court, a series of
esolutions appeared to which the signatures of 375 persons—
l adherents of the Papacy—were affixed. In this remarkable
cument the subscribers declared, on behalf of themselves
l upwards of five thousand of their adult brethren, that
y considered the reading of the Scriptures their right as
n, their duty as Christians, and their privilege as Roman
tholics.[2] Lord and Lady Farnham took the deepest
erest in these proceedings and contributed much to their
:ouragement. In one month, nearly fifty Roman Catholics
nounced the errors of Popery in the parish church of Cavan.[3]
ie movement spread; and was soon commonly known as
he second Reformation." On the 12th of April, 1827, the Archbishop of Tuam confirmed forty-three converts from Romanism in the church of Ballymachugh.[4] About this period, in the course of a few months, upwards of thirteen hundred conversions were reported.[5] At the time, shrewd observers suspected that some of the recantations were not genuine;[6] and a number of those who now conformed to Protestantism subsequently relapsed into Popery; but others attested, by their consistency and steadfastness, that they were the subjects of a spiritual renovation.

The din of theological controversy was now to be heard in

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[1] *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 206.

[2] *Memorials of the Rev. Gideon Ouseley*, pp. 268-9. The authenticity of these resolutions was unblushingly denied; but they were produced and relied on as undoubtedly genuine, at an inquiry into education in Ireland before a Committee of the House of Lords. Dr. Monck Mason's *Life of Bedell*, p. 320, *note*. Another document of the same kind, signed by 3,221 R. C. masters and scholars of the Irish Society, was presented at the Society's annual meeting on the 17th of March, 1832. *Ibid.* pp. 320, 321. In 1840 a similar memorial, with 6,026 signatures, was presented. *Ibid.*

[3] *Memorials of Ouseley*, p. 271.

[4] County Cavan. *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 539.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Thus Gideon Ouseley, who now visited Cavan and who was very kindly received by Lord and Lady Farnham, speaks of the "crude elements still to be wrought upon." *Memorial*, p. 270.

almost every part of Ireland. Discourses on the errors of Popery—often attended by immense crowds—were delivered week after week in the Protestant churches;[1] whilst the Roman Catholic chapels resounded with attacks on the faith and practice of the adherents of the Reformation. Challenges were given and accepted; the priests and their antagonists appeared on polemic platforms; and discussed at great length their points of disagreement. The reports of these conferences—immediately committed to the press—were perused

[1] During these discussions, public attention was drawn to the fact that the second commandment is suppressed in the R. C. catechisms. In the Old Testament the commandments are said to be *ten* in number (Ex. xxxiv. 28; Deut. iv. 13); but they are not distinguished as first, second, third, and so on. The intelligent reader may, notwithstanding, see plainly how they are divided. The *first* relates to the *object* of worship—Jehovah; the *second*, to the *mode* of worship—there must be no use made of images; the *third* relates to the *spirit* of worship—we must beware of frivolity and formalism; and the *fourth*, to the *time* of worship—we must set apart for it one day in seven. In the authorized R. C. catechisms no notice is taken of the second commandment; and the number ten is made up by dividing the tenth into two. The late Sir Robert Peel, in a speech made in the House of Commons in 1827, created a considerable sensation by animadverting on this suppression of the second commandment. Archbishop Murray, in a letter published at the time (see Meagher's *Notices of his Life and Character*, pp. 66-99), made a sophistical attempt to explain the omission. He alleged that in the Romish catechisms "the commandments are given in an abridged form"—a statement which is only partially correct—and he urged that Clement of Alexandria and Augustine support that arrangement of the decalogue adopted by his church. His appeal to Clement is quite fallacious; as that writer, in the very place he cites (the book sixth of his *Stromata*), does *not* divide the tenth into two; and says that the *second* teaches men not to transfer God's title "to things created and vain *which human artificers have made.*" The reference to the authority of Augustine is almost as little to the purpose. The great African divine—misled, as it would seem, by a desire to make out a shadowy argument in favour of the doctrine of the Trinity—divided the first table of the law into three parts (71 Quæst. on Exod.); but, at the same time, he recognizes the fact that what he calls the first commandment consists of two distinct sections, of which the second—prohibiting the use of images in worship—is a *more perfect explanation* of the first. Romanists—as if conscious that this second part plainly testifies against their idolatry—leave it out altogether in their books of elementary religious instruction. Their division of the commandment relating to covetousness into two, is opposed to the authority of the Apostle Paul. See Rom. vii. 7; and xiii. 9. It is absurd to say that the omission of the prohibition relating to the use of images in worship is an "abridgment" of the divine law. It is a wilful attempt to obliterate an important precept. The numeration of the commandments, as adopted by Protestants, was generally recognized in the Latin, as well as in the Greek Church, until the time of Augustine.

ıse avidity. In July, 1827, the Rev. Robert Stewart, tinguished Presbyterian minister, and the Rev. Bernard Luley, the parish priest, met in a public hall at Ballymena, unty Antrim; and, in presence of a deeply interested ıdience, discussed, for three successive days, the subject of e Pope's Supremacy. In Downpatrick, Londonderry, and rious other towns, three or more ministers of the Episcopal ırch confronted an equal number of the Roman Catholic rgy in the arena of debate. But the discussion which ated the largest amount of general interest was held in ıblin in April, 1827, between the Rev. T. P. Pope—a Pro-tant minister of great piety and eloquence—and the Rev. ɔmas Maguire—previously better known as a sporting priest ın as a devout theologian. The result was sufficient to con-ıce all earnest inquirers that a careful perusal of the Word God, is a much more satisfactory way of attaining a clear knowledge of divine Truth, than attendance on any such dis-putation. Father Thom—as he was popularly designated—fought with weapons which his grave opponent could not handle. He was very unscrupulous; and among his boon companions he had often tested his capacity for "setting the table in a roar." He now called into requisition his great powers of wit, sarcasm, and declamation. His rich Irish brogue added to the fascinations of his waggery. He was quite impervious to argument—for Mr. Pope might just as well have entered into controversy with a windmill; but his drollery and dexterity, his recklessness of assertion and his boundless effrontery, sustained him throughout the six days' disputation. At its close his partisans did not scruple to proclaim that he had gained the victory. Politics were now mingled with theology; and the Catholic Association forthwith proposed to celebrate his triumph, by presenting him with a service of plate of the value of £1,000.

The sequel of this story is somewhat melancholy. The promised gift—which was splendid and costly—was awkwardly delayed; and Father Thom, as is supposed, at length became impatient. About six months after the discussion it was still not forthcoming. At a public meeting meanwhile held in the town of Roscommon, to petition for emancipation,

the Reverend Controversialist was present; and was invited, as the hero of the day, to make a speech. To stimulate, as was thought, the zeal of his admirers, he affirmed in the course of his address, according to the newspaper reports, that "within the last fortnight, a Protestant rector had waited on him, bearing a letter from an archbishop, making an offer of one thousand pounds in hand, and a living of eight hundred pounds a year, if he would abjure the Catholic religion and become a Protestant parson."[1] This speech was immediately printed off as a hand-bill, and posted up throughout the country. A few days afterwards, an Irish correspondent of a London morning journal supplied a piece of additional information. "Who do you think," said he, "was the archbishop who promised Maguire, the priest of the mountains, £1,000 in cash, and a living of £800 a year? Why, no less a personage than the Archbishop of Tuam. *This statement I received this day from Mr. Maguire himself.* The archbishop wrote to a Protestant clergyman, desiring him to make the offer, and to show the letter; but, not to surrender it into his possession, unless Maguire were disposed to accede—and the induction into the living was to take place within eight days."[2] Mr. Maguire permitted these statements to pass without any contradiction; and they were widely circulated; but the Archbishop of Tuam was not the man to tolerate such an imputation on his integrity. He knew something of Father Thom; and he would not willingly have admitted him to a cûracy in any parish over which he had control. He therefore deemed it his duty to take legal steps to call the publishers of the libel to account; and, after much shuffling and equivocation on their part, it was proved that the whole story from beginning to end was a barefaced fabrication.[3]

The progress of events had been gradually removing the objections to emancipation; and there was a growing conviction among statesmen that it was unsafe much longer to defer

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[1] *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 508.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 509-510.

[3] The facts may be found detailed in the *Life of the Archbishop of Tuam*, pp. 506-524.

the concession.[1] The tenantry had been long accustomed vote at parliamentary elections very much according to dictation of their landlords; but of late, under the influe of the Roman Catholic Association, they had evinced a d position to mutiny; and at Waterford, in 1826, they co pletely threw off the yoke of the territorial aristocra The association continued to gather strength; and at len it could boast that it consisted of 14,000 members, includ four Roman Catholic archbishops, twenty bishops, and 2,(clergy.[2] It collected large funds—known as the Cath rent; held frequent public meetings; subsidized newspape employed agents of various kinds; and kept up a perpet agitation.[3] The excitement reached a climax in 1828 wh despite the combined opposition of the local magnates, O'Connell, though disqualified as a Roman Catholic, returned as member of Parliament for Clare by a triumph majority. It was now feared that the country was on the v verge of a rebellion;[4] and statesmen who had hitherto b

[1] It was always supported by influential Presbyterians. In 1826, at the ope of the annual meeting of the General Synod of Ulster, the Moderator, the James Carlile, of Dublin (afterwards D.D.) preached a sermon in which he stro advocated the propriety of granting R. C. emancipation. The discourse gave g satisfaction, and was published at the request of many who heard it. In the preceding, Mr. Cooke, the then Moderator, stated, before the Parliamentary C mittee, that he also was favourable to R. C. emancipation. When asked on occasion, "Do you think the admission of Catholics to equal rights would dimi or increase certain animosities?" he answered, "I think in the North (of Irel it would diminish them. By the admission of the Catholics to the honours of state their chief source of prejudice and alienation would be done away. admission of Catholics to equal privileges would, in the South of Ireland, productive of great good."—*Life and Times of Dr. Cooke*, by Dr. Porter, p. London, 1871.

[2] Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*, vol. ii. p. 83. There were at time upwards of 3,000 of the R. C. clergy in Ireland. In Digest of Evid before the Parliamentary Committees (1824-5) they are stated to have amou to 3,500. Digest, by Phelan and O'Sullivan, part i., p. 460. London, 1826.

[3] In 1826 the Catholic rent amounted to £19,228 3*s*. 4½*d*. Wyse, vol. appendix cclxxi.

[4] "The late Stephen Coppinger, of the Catholic Association informed [Wm Fitzpatrick, J.P., author of the *Life, Times, and Correspondence of Dr. Doyle*] writer of these pages, that he had been himself assured by Dr. England (R. Bishop of Charlestown, North Carolina, that he, Dr. England, almost person organized in 1828 a force of 40,000, which, headed by General Montgomery,

adverse to the granting of additional privileges, deemed it prudent to give way. In April, 1829, the Roman Catholic Relief bill became law; and thus, after a fierce and protracted contest, the members of the Church of Rome were placed on a level, as to political advantages, with the rest of their countrymen. They were now qualified to sit in Parliament, to act as judges and privy councillors, and to hold all other posts of emolument and dignity, with the exception of a very few of the highest offices of the State.[1]

Appended to the Act, were several clauses designed to calm the fears of Protestants, or obviate some difficulties which might arise from its concessions. No Roman Catholic priest was to be qualified to sit in the House of Commons; and no Jesuit, not already in the country, was to be at liberty to enter it without special permission. Every Roman Catholic returned to Parliament was obliged, before admission, to take an oath resembling that imposed by the Act of 1793[2] on the Roman Catholic freeholder, before he could exercise the elective franchise. The form of this oath, which was embodied in the Act itself, contains among others, the following declarations: "I, A. B. . . . do declare that I do not believe that the Pope of Rome or any other foreign Prince, Prelate, Person, State, or Potentate, hath or ought to have any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly or indirectly, within this realm. . . . And I do hereby disclaim, disavow, and *solemnly abjure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishment* as settled by law within this realm; and I do solemnly *swear* that I *never will exercise any privilege to which I am, or may become, entitled, to disturb or*

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son of an Irish refugee, was intended for the invasion of Ireland had emancipation continued to have been withheld."—*Life of Dr. Doyle*, ii., p. 5. This organizing of soldiers was an odd employment for one who professed to be a Christian bishop.

[1] The Act is the 10th of George IV., chap. vii. According to the Act, a Roman Catholic cannot be Guardian or Regent of the United Kingdom, or Lord High Chancellor, or Lord Commissioner of the Great Seal of Great Britain and Ireland, or Lord Lieutenant or Lord Deputy of Ireland, or Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

[2] See before, p. 346 of this volume.

Protestant religion or Protestant government in Kingdom."[1]

A scrupulous Romanist might refuse this oath, and thus clude himself from Parliament; but anyone prepared to it was in no danger whatever, should he immediately erwards ignore its obligations. The Act laid down no rule which a breach of the oath could be defined, and annexed penalty to its violation. As a safeguard to maintain the cendency of Protestant Episcopacy, the oath was practically eless. Those, who by this door found their way into Parliant, soon discovered how much credit was to be attached their asseverations, when they "solemnly abjured any ntion to subvert the present Church Establishment."[2]

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[1] It is now no longer necessary for R. C. members of Parliament to take this h. That part of the 10th of George IV., chap vii., requiring it was repealed 1867 by the 30th and 31st of Victoria, chap. lxxv. s. 5.

[2] In a debate which took place in the House of Commons on the Irish Tithe Bill, on the 16th of April, 1832, when the Irish R. C. members were reminded of this oath, one of them coolly replied :—"You must permit us to be the auditors of our own accounts." See a full and authentic Report of all the Debates on the Irish Tithe Question in the last Session of Parliament, pp. 123, 124, 125. Dublin, 1833.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE PASSING OF THE ACT ADMITTING ROMAN CATHOLICS TO PARLIAMENT TO THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA. A.D. 1829 TO A.D. 1837.

WHEN the question of Roman Catholic emancipation was provoking such keen discussion in political circles, Irish Presbyterians were engaged in a controversy of a quite different character, which created intense excitement. In days of spiritual declension, the Synod of Ulster had not been sufficiently careful in requiring from all admitted into the ministry a declaration of adherence to the doctrine of its formularies. Error had thus silently crept into some of its pulpits and congregations. The errorists at length began openly to broach their sentiments,[1] and to insist on maintaining a recognized position. The effort for their expulsion convulsed the whole Presbyterian community.

This controversy originated under somewhat peculiar circumstances. Among the witnesses examined in 1825, before the Parliamentary Committees appointed to inquire into the state of Ireland, was the moderator of the Synod of Ulster. The divine who then happened to fill that office was a remarkable man—the Rev. Henry Cooke of Killileagh, afterwards better known as the minister of May Street Church, Belfast. During the course of his examination he was interrogated on

[1] Until 1817 Arians were in danger of incurring certain legal penalties if they ventured openly to proclaim their views. In that year an Act was passed "to relieve persons impugning the doctrine of the Holy Trinity from certain penalties in Ireland." It is the 57th of George III., chap. lxx.

various subjects relating to the denomination of which he w
the representative. He was thus led to give evidence
reference to ministerial education. In the beginning of t
century, most of the Irish Presbyterian pastors had be
trained at the University of Glasgow: but in 1815 a semina
known as the Belfast Academical Institution—including both
collegiate and a school department—had been opened in t
metropolis of Ulster. It had enjoyed a Parliamentary gran
and attendance on its collegiate classes had been sanction
by the Irish Presbyterian Synods. The professors we
selected by a board of managers and visitors, some of who
were Arians; and one or two gentlemen of heterodox sen
ments had been recently chosen to fill Academic chairs.[1] M
Cooke had in consequence stated publicly that young me
intended to occupy the pulpits of the Synod of Ulster, cou
not now be safely educated in such an establishment; a
this avowal had exposed him to no little obloquy. The pa
liamentary grant to the institution had been withdrawn so
after it was given, on the ground of the suspected disloyal
of some of the managers and teachers: but vigorous effo
had been made for its recovery; and, with a view to indu
Government to consent to its restoration, the claims of t
seminary were brought under the notice of the Parliamenta
Commissioners. Mr. Cooke was therefore called on to e
plain and vindicate his reasons for dissatisfaction. Wh
required, at the same time, to state what were the theologic
principles of the members of the Synod of Ulster, he a
nounced his conviction that, of two hundred ministers, abo
thirty-five were Arians. The Rev. William Porter, the Cle
of the Synod, was also summoned to give evidence; ar
when examined on the same subject, he acknowledged that
was an Arian himself, and expressed his belief that his sen
ments were gaining ground among his brethren.

The Synod of Ulster still professed a Calvinistic creed, t

[1] In 1829 another unsatisfactory appointment was made; and the Presbyter
Church withdrew its students from the class of the new professor. In 184
when the Belfast Queen's College came into operation—the Academical Institut
ceased to be a collegiate seminary. It is now a high-class school furnished wit
board of accomplished teachers.

Westminster Confession of Faith:—but, for many years past, subscription to it had not been rigorously enforced; and, in a number of presbyteries, had been permitted to fall entirely into abeyance. Lax principles had thus advanced unchallenged; but the heterodox ministers had rarely ventured to declare themselves; as the mass of the people still adhered to the faith of their fathers. It was not strange, therefore, that the evidence before the Parliamentary Committees—when published early in 1827—produced a considerable sensation, Many northern Presbyterians were indignant, when informed that the Clerk of the General Synod of Ulster had avowed himself an Arian. The declaration of the Moderator that, according to his estimate, there were thirty-five Arians in the body, was anything but reassuring. It eventually appeared that he had overrated the numbers of the errorists; and suspicion now rested on some who subsequently avowed their belief in the Divinity of the Saviour. Meanwhile the public mind was much excited; and the annual meeting of Synod in June, 1827, was awaited with no little anxiety.

Mr. Cooke was already recognized among the Presbyterians of the north as the great champion of orthodoxy. In 1821 he had acquired much credit by the promptitude and success with which he replied to the arguments of the Rev. J. Smithurst, a Unitarian Missionary from England; and, for years, he had been known as an evangelical preacher of uncommon popularity. The anomalous condition of the Synod —with a Calvinistic creed and a number of Arian ministers in its communion—had much engaged his thoughts; and though at first he did not well see his way to the solution of the difficulty, he was bent on ecclesiastical reform. Notwithstanding the assertion of Mr. Porter the clerk, he was aware that the number of Arian ministers was diminishing; and, by effectually closing the door against heterodox candidates for licence and ordination, he hoped that the purgation of the body could be gradually accomplished. With a design, however, to test the accuracy of Mr. Porter's evidence, he moved, at the meeting of Synod in Strabane in 1827, that the members, "for the purpose of affording a public testimony to the truth, as well as of vindicating their religious character as

leclare that they do most firmly hold and believe
octrine concerning the nature of God contained in these
ds of the Westminster Shorter Catechism, namely, 'There
three persons in the Godhead, the Father, the Son, and
Holy Ghost, and these three are one God, the same in
stance, equal in power and glory.'" This motion led to a
animated debate—during which the Reverend Henry
ntgomery of Dunmurry,[1] the acknowledged leader of the
n party, delivered a speech of surpassing brilliancy. Mr.
n nery was a man of majestic presence, as well as of
at tact and subtlety; and a voice of singular excellence,
ch he managed with consummate skill, imparted a wonder-
charm to his flowing and impassioned eloquence.[2] But, in
nt of dialectic power and theological learning, he was far
erior to some of those opposed to him. So long as he con-
ued to speak, the audience were fascinated by his genius;
but when he sat down, the spell was broken: and men of cool and clear intellect could not well tell why they had listened with such great admiration. It appeared, at the close of the debate, that the speech had made but little substantial impression. It was arranged that, on this critical occasion, the members should stand up, as they gave their votes. One hundred and seventeen ministers and eighteen elders stood up, and avowed their belief in the doctrine of the Trinity; two ministers opposed it: and eight others declined voting.

At this Synod Mr. Cooke had announced his conviction that there should be a separation between the Arians and the orthodox; and the course of events was evidently tending in that direction. Many, however, were not yet prepared for so decisive a movement; and renewed anxiety was felt as the

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[1] Dunmurry is a village in the neighbourhood of Belfast. The Rev. H. Montgomery (afterwards LL.D.) was long head-master of the English school connected with the Belfast Academical Institution. He was subsequently one of the theological professors of the non-subscribers; but he remained till his death Unitarian minister of Dunmurry. Notwithstanding his great popularity as a speaker and his acknowledged talent, his congregation did not increase. Though in a populous and flourishing neighbourhood, it was, at the time of his death, in a languishing condition. He died in December, 1865.

[2] His *Life*, in two volumes, is in course of preparation by his son-in-law, the Rev. John A. Crozier, A.B. One volume has already appeared.

annual meeting of 1828 drew near. When it assembled, there was considerable diversity of sentiment as to the line of policy to be pursued; but Mr. Cooke at length moved a series of resolutions, which quickly led to the termination of the controversy. He proposed that a committee be appointed to examine candidates for licence and ordination, with a view to exclude from the sacred office all who either denied the doctrines of the Trinity, Original sin, Justification by faith, and Regeneration by the Holy Spirit; or who appeared to be destitute of vital godliness. After a debate of two days' duration—in which the Rev. Robert Stewart of Broughshane displayed extraordinary powers of reasoning—Mr. Cooke's motion passed by a great majority, in the largest meeting of Synod ever yet known in Ulster. A committee—consisting exclusively of decided Trinitarians—was appointed to carry out the decision.

Arianism had now received its deathblow in the Irish Presbyterian Church. The door was effectually shut against its candidates for licence and ordination; and, if any of those who entered the ministry under an evangelical profession, ever afterwards avowed different principles, they were forthwith to forfeit their position. The Arians were thus publicly branded as unfit for the pastoral office; and those of them already in the Synod were placed in a most uncomfortable predicament. If they remained in it, they might be suffered to die out undisturbed; but they had no security that they would be permitted to enjoy even that rather equivocal privilege. Another vote might exclude them from ecclesiastical fellowship. They therefore resolved to make a last effort to induce the Synod to reverse its decision; and, at a public meeting held in Belfast, in October, 1828, they adopted a *Remonstrance*, in which they set forth their alleged grievances; and announced that, if they could not obtain a repeal of the recent Act, they would form themselves into a separate association. When the Synod met in Lurgan in June, 1829, their prospects were not improved; and accordingly, in September of the same year, seventeen ministers withdrew; and assumed the designation of *Remonstrants*. In May, 1830, they assembled again in Belfast; and were organized as a

y under the name of "The Remonstrant Synod

ough the General Synod now required, from all its didates for the ministry, adherence to the doctrines of the stminster Confession, it permitted those, who hesitated to orse all the phraseology of that symbol, to give in written ements explanatory of their scruples. In a few years the ice was found to be useless, as well as inconvenient; for time was often occupied in the consideration of frivolous tions. In 1835, at a meeting held in Cookstown, the od accordingly adopted the principle of absolute subscrip-. It was thus prepared, shortly afterwards, for entering closer connection with various other Presbyterian churches. he withdrawal of the Arians—now known as Unitarians as like life from the dead to the Synod of Ulster. The an ministers were permitted to retain their Regium onum; but most of the laity withdrew from them, and were formed into new congregations under orthodox pastors. The controversy which ushered in the separation had been carried on with unusual ability; and had attracted notice all over the empire. Many in Ulster were led by it to search the Scriptures for themselves, to ascertain their testimony on the subject of the Godhead; and, in this way, a general knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel was promoted and extended. The Arian ministers—though few in number—included several individuals of much activity and address. Their influence had long operated prejudicially in ecclesiastical courts—as by them all evangelical efforts had been discouraged or opposed. When delivered from this incumbrance, the Church moved forward with surprising elasticity. A spirit of revival appeared throughout all its borders; prayer meetings were generally established; missions were supported with fresh zeal; and Presbyterianism planted its standard in many districts where it had been before unknown. In ten years the General Synod erected no less than eighty new congregations.[2]

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[1] The Unitarians have at present about forty small congregations in Ireland. According to the census of 1871, they amounted in all to 9,373 individuals. See Census of Ireland, 1871. Summary Tables, p. 82. Dublin, 1875.

[2] That is from 1830 to 1840.

In the same period contributions, amounting to upwards of £100,000, were expended in building and repairing its places of worship.[1]

All classes of Presbyterians in Ireland took the deepest interest in the Arian controversy. The Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterians—so noted for their stern orthodoxy—rejoiced greatly in the triumph of the evangelical cause; and one of their ministers—the Rev. John Paul of Carrickfergus,[2] a writer of first-rate polemic power—rendered good service to Mr. Cooke and his friends during the course of the discussion. The Seceders—a still more numerous body—were also cheered by the result. The Secession Synod—now consisting of upwards of 130 congregations—had recently been taking up a more prominent position in the country; and one of its ministers—the Rev. John Edgar of Belfast, its Professor of Theology—had added no little to its reputation. Endowed with much eloquence, as well as with great energy, benevolence, and good sense, he had already signalized himself in connection with various public movements. In the autumn of 1829 he inaugurated the Temperance Reformation. Temperance Societies had, some time before, been established in America; but Professor Edgar was the first individual in the Old World to stand forward as their advocate. He travelled through many parts of Ireland, England, and Scotland, to organize the movement; addressed immense audiences in not a few of the large towns; pleaded the cause from the pulpit as well as from the platform; originated Temperance periodicals; and issued tracts, letters, and larger publications written in a popular style, with amazing industry.

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[1] That is from 1827 to 1837. See *History of Presb. Church in Ireland*, iii., chap. xxxi.

[2] Afterwards D.D. He died in 1848 aged seventy-one years. He wrote an able treatise against Arianism, containing a reply to a volume of sermons by Dr. Bruce, of Belfast. Dr. Bruce's volume was the first publication in which Arian sentiments were avowed by any Irish Presbyterian minister since the time of Emlyn. In 1840 a disruption, caused by diversity of sentiment relative to the power of the civil magistrate, took place in the Irish Covenanting Synod. Dr. Paul was the leader of what was called the more liberal party; and Dr. Houston, of Knockbracken, near Belfast, of the more strict Covenanters.

: efforts were crowned with no common success. ıe Temperance Reformation soon spread throughout Great Britain; extended to the Continent; and at length reached ıe colonies of the empire. The tone of public sentiment was changed; many drinking customs were abolished; the sale of ardent spirits decreased; and thousands and tens of thousands had reason to rejoice in the happy revolution.

The passing of the Act admitting Romanists to Parliament, the separation of the A[illegible] from the Synod of Ulster, and the commencement of [illegible]emperance Reformation, all occurred during the y[illegible]. The same year brought about a change of so[illegible]ortance connected with the discipline of the Irish Roman Catholic Church. The way in which the members of the Episcopal order were chosen had long created much dissatisfaction; the wishes of the parish priests had been disregarded; appointments had been often secured by intrigue or political manœuvring; and the bishops had of late evinced a desire to appropriate the right of nomination. If the letters of Columbanus produced no other effect, they at least made some impression on the parochial clergy; and stirred them up to assert their privileges. An arrangement, now concluded, placed them in a better position than they had heretofore occupied. According to a decree issued in the course of this year by the Propaganda at Rome,[1] it was ruled that, when a bishopric becomes vacant, the metropolitan must take steps for assembling all the parish priests and canons of the diocese, that they may recommend to the Supreme Pontiff three candidates for the see. The bishops of the Province are then to place on record their judgment as to the merits of these three clerics, and transmit it to Italy. Should the bishops consider all of them unqualified, the Pope, in the plenitude of his power, may fill up the vacancy. The individuals recommended must be natives of Ireland. Should the bishops sanction the nomination of the parish priests, the Pope may then make his selection; but

[1] This decree may be found appended to the *Diocesan Statutes of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Province of Leinster*, by R. T. McGhee, pp. 103-107. London, 1837.

it must always be understood that he is not absolutely bound to choose any of the three candidates.[1]

Though the relief Act of 1829 greatly improved the social status of the members of the Church of Rome, its spiritual guardians resolved to take immediate steps still further to fortify their position. They had good reason to bestir themselves; for they were now confronted by an earnest Protestantism, confident in the knowledge of the truth and determined on aggression. The prelates accordingly held Synods throughout Leinster in the summer of 1831, at which a new code of ecclesiastical statutes was promulgated. Such meetings had been discontinued in Ireland for nearly a century and a half; as none had ventured to assemble since the reign of James II.[2] On this occasion the proceedings were conducted with much of that outward pomp in which Romanism takes such peculiar satisfaction. On Tuesday, the 19th of July, 1831, a Synod over which Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, presided, met at the College of Maynooth; and nearly 150 of the clergy were in attendance. It was opened by a procession from the Hall of Theology to the Chapel. Cross-bearers led the way; curates, parish priests, and the superiors of religious orders, followed; next appeared the canons of Dublin and Glendalough, and the officials of the Synod in cassocks and surplices; and the Archbishop himself in his robes, attended by a deacon and a subdeacon in red vestments, walked in the rear. The usual prayers at the opening of a Synod were read; and the profession of faith—known as the creed of Pope Pius IV.—was sworn to—first by the Primate on his knees, and immediately after by each of the clergy present. The services occupied four days. The statutes, which were in Latin, were read over in six sessions. Every day a sermon, addressed specially to the clergy, was preached by the Vicar General. Towards the close of the Synod, a discourse in Latin was delivered by the Archbishop; an indulgence was published; and the assembly was then dissolved.[3]

[1] Brenan, pp. 632-3.

[2] Meagher's *Life and Character of Dr. Murray*, p. 128. Dublin, 1853.

[3] Meagher, pp. 130, 131.

ıtes now promulgated—extending to no less than
enty-seven chapters—had evidently been drawn up with
great care; and were the results of conferences, held at each
other's houses, by the Roman Catholic Prelates of the
Province of Dublin.[1] They are to be viewed—not as reflecting
the state of the Irish Roman Catholic Church at the time
ey were adopted—but as presenting a model which some of
s most able and zealous guardians wished the clergy to
ıdy and try to realize. In framing of these regulations
much deference was, no paid to the position and
experience of Archbishop rray; but it is obvious that
Dr. Doyle, Bishop of e and Leighlin, had the chief
hand in their preparation. discipline which, as we have
seen, he had already att d to introduce into his own
cese, and which was at me little thought of in many
parts of the island, is here explained and enforced. According to the new statutes, a priest must not hold more than fifteen acres of land;[2] and he must not attend balls, horse-races, or theatrical exhibitions.[3] When he appears in public, he must be dressed becomingly—in black or at least in dark-coloured clothing; and so that his clerical character may be known by his apparel.[4] The parish chapels must be kept neat and clean; and they must not be used for public meetings of the laity, except such as are held for objects relating to religion or charity.[5] A priest must not perform his ministrations in dirty or tattered vestments; neither must he celebrate mass without a chalice and patine of gold or silver.[6]

About this time public attention had been awakened to the evils arising from the habitual use of distilled spirits; and Professor Edgar of Belfast had enlisted the Rev. George W. Carr[7] of New Ross among the supporters of the Temperance

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[1] Meagher, p. 129.

[2] *Capitulum Primum, Cap. Decimum Sextum. De Cens.* Dr. Doyle had allowed only fourteen acres. See before, p. 415. [3] Cap. i.

[4] Cap. ii. [5] Cap. xxii. [6] Cap. xi.

[7] Mr. Carr, who was born in 1779, was son of the Rev. Edward Carr, and grandson of General Whitmore. In consequence of his objections, among other things to the baptismal and burial offices, Mr. G. Whitmore Carr withdrew from the Established Church in 1811, and became a Dissenting minister. He was the

Reformation. Mr. Carr—aware of the influence of Dr. Doyle—had expounded to him the principles of the new Society; and, in December, 1829, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin had expressed his approval of the movement.[1] It is evident that some of these Leinster statutes derived their inspiration from the apostles of Temperance. The priests are here enjoined to cultivate habits of sobriety, and to practise self-denial in the use of wine. Great gatherings at wakes are prohibited; and the clergy are instructed to discourage the wasteful expenditure incurred by handing round tobacco and whisky on such occasions. "We altogether condemn and forbid," say the statutes, "that deplorable custom, so ruinous to the christian people, of supplying intoxicating liquor at funerals; and we command the clergy often to remind the people of this our prohibition. And, should it appear necessary, let the clergy threaten that they will not give their blessing at a burial, if this practice, so much to be reprobated, be not abandoned." [2]

In these statutes an entire chapter[3] is devoted to the subject of ecclesiastical dues. No scale of fees is fixed for the rich; but a hope is expressed that they will contribute to the support of the priesthood in a way befitting their rank and their more ample fortune. The payments to be made by farmers and shopkeepers in good circumstances are distinctly defined.[4] A rate of contribution is also laid down for those who are in a more humble position, and who are obliged to labour for their daily bread.[5] The clergy are taught that they are not to leave their wealth to their relatives; but to devote it to religious and charitable purposes. In this case the ties

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earliest supporter of the Bible Society in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell is said to have declared that he was the best public speaker he knew out of Parliament. He was a man of singular benevolence and worth. He died at New Ross in 1849.

[1] *Memoir of Dr. Edgar*, p. 40.

[2] Cap. xxvi.

[3] Cap. xxiv.

[4] A person in this class is to pay for a baptism, five shillings; for a marriage, two pounds; for a marriage licence, ten shillings; for a mass for the dead, fifteen shillings; and for private masses, two shillings.

[5] Such persons pay one half the amount assessed on the class above them.

affection must be utterly ignored.[1] In every case there are to be a number of rural deans, whose business it is to watch over the neighbouring ecclesiastics. When a priest is overtaken by any dangerous disease, the rural dean is to visit him, and to enquire whether the sick man has made his will.[2] In every case the executor must be a clergyman of the same diocese.[3] If any priest persists in refusing to make a will, his confessor is authorized to withhold absolution.[4]

It is the divine rule that a minister of the gospel should be "the husband of one wife;"[5] but the Church of Rome, by insisting on the celibacy of the clergy, exposes them to much scandal, and places them under peculiar disadvantages. The compilers of these statutes—well aware of the difficulties of their position—have imposed on them various restrictions designed to keep them out of the way of temptation. They must avoid public entertainments, and especially those at which females are present.[6] The feet of women ought rarely or never to cross their threshold.[7] The Confessional in all ages has been the fruitful source of immorality; and these statutes fence it round with safeguards calculated to diminish its dangers. The priest must hear sacramental confession only in the church, or in the sacristy, or in a private house where he is holding a station.[8] But cases will occur in which such rules cannot be observed—for how can an old man "dull of hearing," or a deaf young lady, secretly confer with a spiritual guide in any apartment to which others are admitted? For such contingencies it is not always very easy to make special provision; and the statutes declare that the deaf may confess in "any decent place,"[9]—without explaining more particularly in what way the spot may be defined. The Confessional presents so many temptations to sin that no legislation can render it unobjectionable. In the chapter "on the Sacrament of Penance" some of the almost countless

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[1] Cap. i. "Omnem humanum hunc ergo fratres, nepotes, propinquosque, carnis affectum, unde multorum malorum in Ecclesia seminarium extat, penitus deponant."
[2] Cap. vi.
[3] Cap. i.
[4] Cap. i.
[5] 1 Tim. iii. 2.
[6] Cap. i.
[7] Cap. i.
[8] Cap. xvi.
[9] Cap. xvi.

ways in which it may be made to minister to iniquity are indicated; and as clause is piled on clause, in an elaborate statement of the means by which the priest may entangle the penitent, the dangerous character of the institute itself is unwittingly described with startling truthfulness. "The priest," says this chapter, "who shall attempt to solicit or entice to the commission of dishonourable and base sins, either by words, or signs, or nods, or touch, or by writing, then, or afterwards to be read, any penitent, whatsoever person she be, either in the act of Sacramental Confession, or before, or immediately after confession, or by the occasion, or pretext of confession, or even without the occasion of confession in the confessional, or in any other place destined or chosen to hear confessions, with the pretence of hearing confessions there, or who shall have held with presumptuous audacity any unlawful or dishonourable conversation or intercourse with them, is ordered . . . to be suspended for ever."[1]

Well may it be said of Romanism that it "gendereth unto bondage." By declaring the sacraments to be absolutely necessary to salvation, instead of signs and confirmations of the blessings of the gospel, it keeps its disciples in a state of perpetual disquietude. If a child dies unbaptized, it is supposed to be lost; if a man dies without extreme unction, it is feared that he is in the same unhappy predicament. A tremendous responsibility is thus made to rest upon the priest; and, if his doctrine be true, much misery must be occasioned merely because he cannot be omnipresent. In these statutes minute directions are given as to the way in which he is to perform the duties of his office. In the celebration of mass, he must adhere with the utmost scrupulosity to the ceremonies instituted by the Church of Rome.[2] When requested to pray for the sick, he must not dare to use any formula which is not to be found in the Roman ritual.[3] No priest, under pain of suspension, is to repeat prayers for anyone who is not under his spiritual jurisdiction.[4] A priest

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[1] Cap. xvi.
[2] Cap. xi.
[3] Cap. xvii.
[4] Cap. xvii., ad finem.

ss every week, or more frequently should he be of mortal sin.[1] When a penitent confesses some rmous transgression, the priest must take care not to ibit any signs of indignation or astonishment, and thus eter him from making a full revelation of his crime.[2] When priest visits a man on his death-bed, he must exhort him make his will; and, if he can, to leave something to the or and to religious objects.[3] The priest must on no account rite the will himself, when another can be found who is mpetent to perform that duty.[4] As the priest cannot be esent at every birth which occurs in his parish, he must struct the midwives, so that they may be qualified to take his place, and to baptize infants should death seem imminent.[5] The priest must not, at any time, be outside the bounds of his parish, for twelve days in succession, without a written permission from the bishop or his vicar general;[6] and the curate, or coadjutor, must not be absent, even for a single day, without the leave of the parish priest.[7] Every priest, when admitted to a benefice, must make a profession of his faith according to the form presented in the creed of Pope Pius IV.; and must promise and swear that he will continue obedient to the Church of Rome.[8]

These statutes contain many other admonitions and directions intended to aid the clergy in the performance of their duties; and fitted, either to stimulate their zeal, or to increase their information. Some of the instructions here given were obviously very much required. The priest is told that he must take heed to the tongue; that he must not indulge in scurrilous or filthy language; that he must not curse or scold; and that, without the express sanction of the bishop or the vicar general, he must not assail anyone by name when addressing the congregation.[9] Every priest, under pain of suspension, must observe a spiritual retreat of six days' duration once in every two years.[10] That he may be prepared to decide the cases of conscience brought before

[1] Cap. xi. [2] Cap. xvi. [3] Cap. xvii.
[4] Cap. xvii. [5] Cap. xiii. [6] Cap. viii.
[7] Cap. ix. [8] Cap. viii. [9] Cap. i; cap. xvi. De Censuris.
[10] Cap. v.

him in confession, he must have in his possession some work on moral theology,[1] in which he may very frequently, and, if possible, every day, read at least one chapter.[2] "Since ye are called into the lot of the Lord," say the statutes to the clergy, "meditate in his law day and night; feed your minds and thoughts with the study of spiritual books; with these join both the knowledge of the precepts of the Church, and the skill of reciting horary prayers, and an acquaintance with ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies; read something daily from the sacred books; and, if your ecclesiastical engagements permit it, some of the little works of the holy fathers."[3] For mutual improvement, the priests are to hold conferences on theology yearly, in the first or second week of the months of July, August, September, and October. Should any priest be absent from two of these conferences, in the same year, without the written permission of the bishop or the vicar general, he incurs a sentence of suspension.[4]

These statutes present perhaps as favourable a view of Romanism as any enactments of the kind that ever were compiled. They were drawn up under the eye of an Irish prelate of consummate ability, who was anxious to keep the more offensive features of his system as much as possible in the back-ground. The grossness of Popery, as it exists in Spain or Italy, is here unseen. The regulations exhibit a laudable zeal for the reputation of the clergy. They provide for the exact performance of all official duties; and reveal the wonderful skill with which the whole ecclesiastical machinery is kept in motion. But withal, as the evangelical reader examines them, he cannot but feel that Popery is "another gospel." Like Judaism in the days of our Lord, whilst it retains much that is true and excellent, it makes void the word of God by its traditions,[5] and teaches "for doctrines the commandments of men."[6] The New Testament knows

[1] It appears that, at this time, *Dens Theology* was the text-book in Maynooth. It seems to have been in general use among the priests. See the *Diocesan Statutes*, by McGhee. Preface, xvi-xviii.

[2] Cap. iii.

[3] Cap. iii.

[4] Cap. v. De Col. Theol.

[5] Mat. xv. 6; 1 Pet. i. 18.

[6] Mark, vii. 7.

nothing of the Latin mass, the secret confessional, the celibacy of the clergy, baptism by midwives, and an oath of perpetual obedience to the Church of Rome. Whilst these statutes lay so much stress on the colour of the priest's clothing and the condition of his chasuble, they virtually obliterate from the decalogue the second commandment[1] condemning the worship of images; and never once insist on the special observance of the Lord's Day.[2] Whilst they require every priest to have in his possession a book on moral theology—referring apparently to the extremely objectionable work of Peter Dens—they make no mention of a Hebrew Bible or a Greek Testament. They greatly dishonour Christ by representing all grace as flowing, not directly from Himself, but from the clergy and the sacraments. They are silent as to the searching of the Scriptures, walking by faith, and rejoicing in the promises.

Though these statutes were promulgated with great formality among the Roman Catholic clergy of the dioceses of Dublin, Ferns, Kildare, and Ossory, their compilers were evidently most unwilling that they should obtain any further publicity. Every parish priest was furnished with a printed copy; but, when he was believed to be at the point of death, the rural dean was directed to go to his house, to lay hold on the little book, and to carry it home with him.[3] If the volume happened to escape this functionary, and if it were offered for sale at the auction of the priest's library, one or other of the Roman Catholic clergy was prepared to purchase it at any price.[4] At length, in 1836, a zealous minister of the Established Church obtained possession of a copy; and published it soon afterwards for general perusal.[5] Various reasons may be assigned for the extreme desire manifested to keep it secret.

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[1] Thus (cap. xvc. De Cas. Reser.) they speak of the seventh commandment as the *sixth*. In the Romish Catechisms in use in Ireland the second commandment is in the same way suppressed. See before, p. 429, *note* (1) of this volume.

[2] In the Statutes, the Lord's Day is always mentioned in connection with festival days, as if they were of equal authority. [3] Cap. vi.

[4] The book is said to have cost each parish priest two shillings and threepence; but a copy was sold by auction in August, 1836, at £7 10*s.*, exclusive of auction-duty.

[5] Under the title of *The Diocesan Statutes of the Roman Catholic Bishops of the Province of Leinster exactly reprinted* . . . . By the Rev. Robert J. McGhee, A.B. 1837.

It was probably not deemed desirable to submit it to the searching scrutiny of Protestant criticism. The statutes presented a picture of the deportment becoming parish priests which was seldom realized; and opened up a view of the working of the interior machinery of the Church to which, perhaps, it was not thought prudent that the laity should be freely admitted.

The information furnished to the Legislature, by the witnesses examined before the Parliamentary committees in 1825, had pointed out to statesmen the importance of attempting to provide some satisfactory system of elementary education for Ireland. The abuses of the Charter Schools were notorious; the daily reading of the Scriptures by all the children, in the schools of the Kildare Street Society, caused them to be regarded with distrust by the Roman Catholic clergy; and the London Hibernian Schools had often been employed as instruments of proselytism. Much of the teaching given to the Irish peasantry, without any protest on the part of the priests, was rather fitted to demoralize than improve;[1] and the schools already in operation were quite insufficient to meet the wants of the country. The tone of the Roman Catholic prelates had been gradually becoming more exacting; and, in 1826, they published a series of resolutions asserting a right to direct the education supplied by the State to the children of their own communion.[2] It could not be expected that Government would yield to this demand; and that, ignoring the claims of parents and guardians, as well as its own prerogative of supervision, it would hand over to an irresponsible hierarchy the complete control of a system of instruction furnished at the public expense. Statesmen were, however, pretty generally agreed that some change must be inaugurated; and, in 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons had passed resolutions in favour of non-sectarian education. Early in 1831 Mr. Stanley—afterwards Lord

[1] In the hedge schools such works as *The Adventures of Redmond O'Hanlon*, and *Irish Rogues and Rapparees*, were in common use.

[2] See these resolutions appended to one of Dr. Doyle's works, and also in Wyse's *History of the Catholic Association*, vol. ii., appendix c. Because of their importance it has been thought right to append them to this volume. See Appendix.

... in the Irish office, corresponded with Dr. Doyle ... subject; and in a letter, dated Carlow 17th of January ... that year, in reply to a communication from the Castle, Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin ex-pounded his views to the Chief Secretary. "I have so often," said he on this occasion, "expressed my anxious wish to see *children of the same country of whatever religious persuasion united at school*—because there, and perhaps only there, the seeds of mutual confidence and affection can be sown in the hearts of the great mass of the people—that I need not now make any profession or avowal on that subject; but I may be permitted to express the pleasure afforded me, by knowing from your letter, that a like desire animates those whose good will, unlike to mine, is united with the power of carrying into effect views not more just than useful to this country. . . . . S. Wren's report[1] of May, 1828, sets forth the principles on which education in Ireland might be honestly, and for the State as well as for the public, profitably conducted—*Education for all without distinction, religion to be left not only free, but untouched, except by the pastors of the children.* A responsible commission composed of men above all suspicion, and to whom the different religionists would look with confidence; this is a basis on which the whole system would rest. The commissioners directed by Government, and acting under the control of Parliament, could, and I think ought, to be left to draw up their own rules and regulations."[2]

This letter supplies proof that the Roman Catholic prelates have since completely changed their ground on this great question. Doctor Doyle, who was now their leader, here eulogizes the united system, and points out its peculiar claims; but his successors of the present day declare that they are conscientiously constrained to stand up for denominationalism. The plan of which the bishop here so cordially approves was

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[1] This Report seems to have been sent to him for inspection.

[2] This letter may be found in Fitzpatrick, ii. 257-8. In 1828, at a public meeting in Belfast, Dr. Crolly, then Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor, declared that the Royal Academical Institution—in which the system of non-sectarian and united instruction was fully carried out—presented "*a perfect model* of education without bigotry." See Crozier's *Life of Dr. Montgomery*, vol. i. 168.

soon afterwards submitted to the public in a letter addressed by Mr. Stanley to the Duke of Leinster. In this letter, bearing date October, 1831, it was announced that Government intended to constitute a board, of which his Grace was to be President, for the superintendence of a system of National Education. The commissioners were not to sanction the reading of the Scriptures in the schools by all classes of the pupils; they were to encourage the clergy of all denominations—who were to be treated as on a level—to give instruction in the school-rooms to the children of their respective persuasions; and the masters were to keep a registry of the attendance or non-attendance of each child on divine worship on Sundays. When this letter appeared in the newspapers, the scheme it propounded was indignantly denounced by a large portion of the Protestant public. The cessation of the Parliamentary grant to the Kildare Place Society increased the dissatisfaction. In January, 1832, a very large and influential meeting assembled in the Rotunda, Dublin; and, with great unanimity, agreed on a petition to Parliament, stating that the withdrawal of the Scriptures from the Schools was "at variance with the reverence due to the Word of God, and with the temporal and spiritual welfare of the country."[1] In the following month, another protest was drawn up and signed by seventeen of the Irish Protestant archbishops and bishops. In this document the prelates express their "unfeigned regret" that "the proposed plan of national education excluded, as a common source of instruction, that volume which authoritatively inculcates, under the most awful sanctions, universal charity, mutual forbearance and the cultivation of order and peace;" and deprived "the clergy of the Established Church of the trust committed to them by the Legislature of superintending national education." "Nor are they," continued the protestors, "at all consoled in seeing *this superintendence in matters of national education taken from themselves* for the purpose of being vested in a board composed of persons of such conflicting religious opinions, that it is impossible to

[1] A copy of this petition may be found in *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 693.

an unity of operation, without some surrender or pression of important points of revealed truth."[1]

The complaint, made in the words just quoted, reveals one ise which embittered the opposition of the Episcopal clergy the system of national education. They saw that the days their ecclesiastical ascendency were numbered. They had naged to appropriate the patronage of almost all the iptural schools in the country; and, even in those districts he North where the Presbyterian population preponderated, y had often contrived, by means of their influence with ndlords, to shut out the Presbyterian ministers from any ure in the management. Many of the Presbyterians, from first, could not but approve of various parts of the tional system—as it was obviously calculated to place them a better position; and yet some of its arrangements emed to them exceedingly objectionable. They did not see why the parish priest should be permitted and encouraged to catechize in schoolrooms built by themselves; nor why a Protestant teacher should be obliged to register the attendance of young Romanists in the mass-house every Lord's Day. The prohibition of the Bible, as a school book, was another innovation which they did not relish. They believed that the great body of the Romanists had no insuperable objection to the reading of the Word of God;[2] and that its disuse, in general education, was an unworthy concession to their hierarchy. But, if their own children were at liberty to employ the sacred book in the schoolroom for religious instruction, Presbyterians were not prepared to say that they should forego the benefits which the new system undoubtedly supplied.

The Synod of Ulster held a special meeting in January,

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[1] *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, pp. 694-6.

[2] In 1824 there were in Ireland 11,823 schools. In 6,058 of these schools, the Scriptures were read, and in 3,322 they were not read. As to the residue, there was no information. In 4,472 of the schools, the authorized version was read; in 401 of the schools, the Douay version was read; and in 669 of the schools, both versions were read. As to the residue, there seems to have been no precise information. Second Report of the Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, appendix, p. 48.

1832,—when the excitement created by the appearance of Mr. Stanley's letter was still unabated. The original plan was yet unchanged; and the Synod agreed to protest against the system. The Rev. James Carlile—Presbyterian minister of Mary's Abbey, Dublin—had now been appointed by the Lord Lieutenant a member of the New Board of Education, in connection with Dr. Whately[1] and Dr. Murray, the Protestant and Roman Catholic Archbishops; and had not his brethren possessed the utmost confidence in his integrity, sagacity, and simple-mindedness, his acceptance of the office would have probably brought him under ecclesiastical censure.[2] In the end, however, Dr. Carlile rendered important service as a Government Commissioner.[3] Owing partly to his judicious interference, some of the arrangements described in Mr. Stanley's letter to the Duke of Leinster were soon formally set aside; and others so modified as to be much less objectionable. The Synod became gradually more favourable to the system; and, at its annual meeting in Cookstown in 1833, many hoped that all difficulties were on the eve of an adjustment. The Synod then unanimously resolved to submit certain propositions to Government as the basis of a settlement; and it was confidently expected that these terms would be speedily accepted. In 1834—when the Committee appointed to confer with Government gave in its report—it was stated that the negotiations had closed unsatisfactorily; but, as many thought that everything essential had been conceded, this diversity of sentiment led to an animated discussion. A motion that the ministers and people of the Church might now apply "for aid out of the funds for national education strictly adhering to the propositions agreed upon at the last meeting of Synod," was lost by a narrow

[1] On the death of Archbishop Magee, Dr. Whately, in September, 1831, was appointed his successor. His originality, dialectic skill, and high integrity are well known. He died in 1863 at the age of seventy-six. He was succeeded by Archbishop Trench.

[2] At this time he ceased to be secretary of the Hibernian Bible Society—an office which he had long and most efficiently filled.

[3] The country is largely indebted to Dr. Carlile for many of the excellent school books published by the National Board.

n consequence of this decision the mass of the
yterians still kept aloof from the connection.

e aversion of so many Protestants rendered the new
ard more acceptable to the Romanists. The Orangemen
re among its most violent assailants; and the priests could
but think that they had little to fear from a system which
ountered such hostility. They accordingly exerted them-
es to place schools under its superintendence. Whatever
ws they may have since expressed as to its principles, it is
tain that, when instituted, they hailed it with cordial satis-
ion. Dr. Murray, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin,
d as a commissioner of education with the full concurrence
is brethren;[2] and continued till his death to give it his
action. In December, 1831, Dr. Doyle issued a circular
is clergy, in which he informed them that the terms, so
g sought for by repeated applications to Government, had
.t last been obtained. Mr. Stanley's measure, says J. K. L's Biographer, "was regarded as a boon by the great majority of the Catholic Priesthood and people . . . The youth of Ireland, with hearty ardour, thronged forward to taste the fruits of the new tree of Knowledge."[3]

The loss of patronage, sustained by the formation of the National Board of Education, was not the only calamity which the Episcopal clergy had now to deplore. In various parts of the country they experienced a far more substantial evil in the loss of their maintenance. A systematic opposition to

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[1] The numbers were 74 to 81—56 ministers and 25 elders voted *against*, and 62 ministers and 12 elders voted *for*.

[2] On one occasion, when he proposed resigning his office as a commissioner, all the other Irish R. C. prelates, with one exception, requested him to continue in that position. See *Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Whately*, by his Daughter, vol. ii. 266. In 1840, at the instigation of some Irish R. C. dignitaries, the Propaganda issued a condemnation of the system. Dr. Murray then addressed a letter to the Pope begging that a legate might be sent to Ireland to examine, on the spot, its constitution and working; and the result was a withdrawal of the threatened prohibition. A rescript, issued by order of Gregory XVI., permitted Irish Romanists to avail themselves of the national schools. This Pope declared that Catholics might be taught by Protestants provided that religion, morality, or sacred history, were not included in the instruction. Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. 346-7. See also Meagher's *Life and Character of Dr. Murray*, pp. 59-61.

[3] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. 344, 345.

the payment of their tithes was extensively organized; and some of them were reduced almost to destitution. Though all the Romanists admitted to the exercise of the elective franchise had solemnly sworn that they would never use any privilege to which they were entitled "to disturb or weaken the Protestant religion"—and though their church had encouraged them to take this oath—it now appeared that the obligation was ignored. The opposition to tithes was fomented by the priests; and Dr. Doyle, whilst advising the people not to break the law, zealously encouraged them to pursue a course of passive resistance.[1] The peasantry, stimulated by such high authority, did not always keep within the letter of their instructions. In many Roman Catholic districts tithes could no longer be collected; a reign of terror was established; and anyone, who dared to pay the demand, was almost sure to have his cattle houghed, his sheep driven over a precipice, or his house burned. Large county meetings were held in Cork, Carlow, and elsewhere, in which resolutions were adopted, and addresses prepared, fitted to foster this lawless spirit. "It is a glaring wrong," said these manifestoes, "to compel an impoverished Catholic people to support in pampered luxury the richest clergy in the world[2]—and a clergy from whom the Catholics do not experience even the return of common grati-

[1] On one occasion—when under examination by a Parliamentary Committee—Dr. Doyle declared "that he would allow his last chair to be seized—nay, he would sacrifice his life, before he would pay an impost so obnoxious and iniquitous." —FITZPATRICK'S *Doyle*, ii. 390. This declaration was made some years *after* the passing of the Act of Emancipation. He had, however, sanctioned the oath in which every R. C. freeholder disavowed "any intention to subvert the present church establishment." It is not easy to understand the casuistry employed to reconcile the evidence and the oath. Only three years *before* the passing of the Emancipation Act he had publicly expressed himself in the following terms:—"So little, my lord, am I disposed, in the event of our question (of emancipation) being settled, to interfere with the church establishment, that, when a gleam of hope—and it was but a gleam—beamed upon my mind, of that happy consummation, I took the liberty of suggesting in my examination before your lordship, *how the collection of tithes in Ireland could be rendered less onerous and odious.*"—*Essay on the Catholic Claims addressed to the Earl of Liverpool*, pp. 192, 193. Dublin, 1826.

[2] "In 1834 the gross revenue of the Church in Ireland amounted to £865,525 per annum."—*Essays on the Irish Church*, p. 248. Dublin, 1866. At the period of disestablishment, it was reduced to the extent of considerably more than £200,000 per annum. *Ibid.*

rgy who in times past opposed, to the last, the cal freedom of the Irish people, and, at the present day, opposed to Reform, and a liberal scheme of education for ir countrymen."[1]

There is no doubt that the Tory politics of the recipients f the tithes—as indicated in these addresses—rendered them noxious to their Roman Catholic countrymen; for the h Episcopal clergy, with few exceptions, were opposed to Emancipation Act as well as to Parliamentary form; but another and a lighter reason had roused the tility of the zealots of the papal party. The Established nisters had of late awakened to new life; many of hem were labouring with apostolic earnestness; and, in arious districts, they had been gaining converts among the tive population. The priests became alarmed; and denounced the dominant Church with unusual virulence. The people listened eagerly to their attacks on tithes; and were quite ready to carry into effect any suggestions made by them calculated to augment the difficulty of collecting the odious tribute. When sheep or oxen were seized for tithes, thousands of scowling peasantry assembled at the auction; and no one dared to bid for a single animal.[2] The Protestant ecclesiastics were dismayed; they ceased even to ask for their dues; and a man of education—accustomed to live in comfort, if not in luxury—might be seen, with his shoeless children around him, digging in his garden, and thus endeavouring to provide a miserable subsistence.[3] The Earl of Wicklow stated on one occasion, in his place in the House of Lords, that many Irish clergymen were then living on potatoes and milk.[4] In 1832 an Act was passed authorizing the Lord Lieutenant to advance £60,000 to such of them as were unable to obtain their incomes for the year preceding. Government undertook the task of collection; but, at every step, the most determined opposition was encountered. Some clergy-

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[1] *Pictorial History of England*, vol. vii. 391.

[2] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, ii. 410.

[3] *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 390.

[4] Fitzpatrick, ii. 410; *Full and Authentic Report of the Tithe Debates*, p. 176. Dublin, 1833

men fell a sacrifice to the hatred of the populace; and a considerable number of the police, as well as of the peasantry, lost their lives. A sum of £12,000 was collected at an expense of £27,000;[1] and the attempt to levy the remainder was at length abandoned in despair.

It was now obvious that the tithe system could no longer be maintained, with safety to the general interests of the country. But statesmen could not well see how they could inaugurate a change, and contrive to keep up the Establishment. The condition of the clergy—deprived of their means of support by the reckless proceedings of the peasantry—awakened much sympathy; and large subscriptions for their benefit were raised among the nobility and gentry.[2] Parliament also interfered: and, in 1833, voted a million of money for their relief.[3] But, for several years afterwards, the tithe question remained unsettled.

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[1] *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 392. [2] Fitzpatrick, ii. 410.

[3] The Act is the 3rd and 4th of William IV., chap. c., and is entitled "An Act for Relief of Owners of Tithes in Ireland." At this time the following were the revenues of the Irish sees:—

Archbishoprics	Armagh	£17,669
	Dublin	9,320
	Cashel	7,354
	Tuam	8,206
Bishoprics	Meath	5,220
	Clogher	10,371
	Down and Connor	5,896
	Derry	14,193
	Raphoe	5,787
	Kilmore	7,477
	Dromore	4,813
	Kildare	6,451
	Ossory	3,859
	Ferns and Leighlin	6,550
	Limerick	5,368
	Waterford and Lismore	4,323
	Cork and Ross	4,345
	Cloyne	5,008
	Killaloe	4,532
	Elphin	7,034
	Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	3,260
	Killala and Achonry	4,081
		£151,117

siastical machinery of the Irish Church Establish-
nt was intended to meet the wants of the entire country;
t there were whole parishes in which there was not a single
otestant; and the non-cures—from which the clergy de-
ved considerable revenues without performing any duty—
pplied assailants with a fruitful topic for declamation.
me influential statesmen had long thought that the
chinery might be reduced without impairing its efficiency;
d in 1833 their scheme of Church reform was carried into
ecution. An Act[1] was passed providing that, on the
nise of the existing prelates, two archbishops and eight
hops were to have no successors.[2] When this measure was
bmitted to the Legislature, it met with the fiercest opposition.
ud was the wail raised by many of the Episcopal clergy in
land. The current of events had of late been running
ongly against their wishes; the Roman Catholic Relief

The Glebe lands, in the hands of the beneficed clergy, amounted to 132,756 statute acres, distributed as follows:—

	A.	R.	P.
Province of Armagh	111,151	0	29¼
Tuam	3,067	3	2½
Dublin	9,475	1	36
Cashel	9 062	1	13¾
	132,756	3	1¾

—*Essays on the Irish Church*, pp. 249, 250. Dublin, 1866.

[1] It is the 3rd and 4th of William IV., chap. xxxvii., and is entitled "An Act to Alter and Amend the Laws Relating to the Temporalities of the Church of Ireland." By this Act both first fruits and church cess were abolished.

[2] By this Act the province of Cashel became subject to the Archbishop of Dublin; and the province of Tuam to the Archbishop of Armagh. According to Schedule B. annexed to the Act, the following were the arrangements as to the suppression of bishoprics:—

1. Dromore	to be united to		Down and Connor
2. Raphoe	,,	,,	Derry
3. Clogher	,,	,,	Armagh
4. Elphin	,,	,,	Kilmore
5. Killala and Achonry	,,	,,	Tuam
6. Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	,,	,,	Killala and Kilferona
7. Kildare	,,	,,	Dublin and Glendalough
8. Ossory	,,	,,	Ferns and Leighlin
9. Waterford	,,	,,	Cashel and Emly
10. Cork and Ross	,,	,,	Cloyne

Bill had become law despite their most earnest protestations; the establishment of the National Board of Education had stripped them of a large portion of their wonted influence; the crusade against tithes had involved them in pecuniary embarrassment; and the threatened extinction of nearly one-half of their Episcopal rulers seemed to them a crowning humiliation. Those who hoped soon to wear the mitre were particularly mortified—as their prospects of promotion were thus sadly blighted. In times past, many of the prelates had contributed very little to the support of Irish Protestantism; some of them had been non-resident; and others had been thorns in the sides of the evangelical clergy; but these things were now forgotten, and High Churchmen drew melancholy pictures of the state of the country, when so many spiritual stars would disappear, and when the bereaved clergy would walk through the benighted dioceses.[1] When the bill found

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In 1839 the following were the incomes of the Irish prelates:—

	£	s.	d.
Archbishop of Armagh	16,553	12	8
Dublin	8,542	10	6
Bishop of Cashel	6,067	8	7
Tuam	4,636	3	1
Meath	4,998	13	8
Clogher	9,642	5	7
Down and Connor	5,526	1	0
Derry and Raphoe	12,997	7	2
Kilmore and Ardagh	8,044	9	1
Dromore	4,492	13	1
Kildare	6,097	12	9
Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory	4,902	19	0
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	5,102	13	4
Cork, Ross, and Cloyne	2,590	11	9
Killaloe, &c.	4,041	13	7
Elphin	6,608	19	8
	£110,845	14	6

—KNOX'S *Ecclesiastical Index*, pp. 161-8. Dublin, 1839.

[1] The Rev. R. J. McGhee, in one of his published letters to his brethren, written at this crisis, thus addressed them:—"If the bishops and clergy of Ireland submit to this bill—not for the spoliation of the property of the Church, which is too contemptible, base as it is, to speak of, but to the annihilation of her episcopal offices by a set of laymen—farewell the Church of Ireland. . . . Let us call ourselves a religious club, instituted by the House of Commons, *durante bene placito:* but as to an Apostolical Church, with apostolic office and authority, let us preserve

the Statute Book, and when the Act came into
, these forebodings were not realized. The island
med to enjoy as much scriptural light as ever. The effects
the measure were otherwise decidedly beneficial. Church
ess had from time immemorial been regarded as a most
vidious exaction. It was a tax levied off the poor land
cupiers of all denominations to pay the expenses connected
h the celebration of divine worship—including the washing
he surplices, the salary of sexton and clerk, and the
st of the bread communion. This tax was
w discontinued interests were carefully pre-
rved; but provision was that, on the occurrence of
acancies, the incomes of bishops, bishops, deans, and
olders of benefices w per annum and upwards,
ust be curtailed accord... graduated scale; and that
e savings thus effected, a to the revenues of the sup-
pressed sees, were to be placed under the management of a Board of Ecclesiastical Commissioners. These Commissioners were empowered to defray the charges hitherto paid by the Church cess and by the Board of First Fruits, as well as to augment the incomes of poor livings, and to contribute to the building and repair of churches.

In 1834 the first ecclesiastical census ever made in Ireland, with any approach to accuracy, was completed. The proportions of the different denominations had long been a topic of dispute; and the evidence on this point, supplied to the Parliamentary Committee in 1825, was of a very contradictory character. Daniel O'Connell maintained that Romanists were to Protestants in the proportion of more than seven to one; whilst others computed that they were something less than three to one.[1] Mr. Cooke, moderator of the

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enough of Christian honesty and truth no longer to usurp the title. When you walk through your deserted dioceses, and when the popish priest inquires where is your bishop? Who banished him? Has the Church dispensed with his services, or was he not the mere puppet of the House of Commons, who could turn him off the stage as it pleased? Do you pretend to call your church a church of Christ? What will you answer? I defy the talent of sophistry to refute him." After all, Mr. McGhee remained in the Church!

[1] See Digest of Evidence by Phelan and O'Sullivan, part i. 19-28. London, 1826.

Synod of Ulster, believed that the Episcopalians and Presbyterians were nearly equal; and others reckoned that the members of the Established Church were considerably more than double the Protestant non-conformists.[1] According to the first Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, the census now taken exhibited the following results:—

Members of the Established Church	852,064
Roman Catholics	6,427,712
Presbyterians	642,356
Other Protestant Dissenters	21,808[2]

It thus appeared that Romanists were in the proportion of more than four to one to all classes of Protestants combined;[3] and that Presbyterians were much more numerous than had been commonly conjectured. This census also demonstrated that Episcopalians did not constitute the one-ninth of the population of Ireland.[4]

Towards the close of the period before us, the Orange Institute suddenly collapsed. Notwithstanding their loud professions of loyalty, its adherents had been recently involved in treasonable designs. The passing of the Roman Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829 had driven them almost to madness; and, ever since, their movements had been marked by recklessness and folly. In defiance of military regulations, lodges had been formed in the army at home as

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[1] Digest by Phelan and O'Sullivan, part i. 19-28.

[2] The Methodists, at their own request, were reckoned as members of the Established Church.

[3] That is 6,427,712 to 1,516,228, or nearly four and a quarter to one.

[4] The whole population, according to the census, amounted to 7,943,940. Commissioners appointed to take the census for Ireland in 1841 estimated the total colonial and foreign emigration from the country between 1830 and 1841 to be 403,463. It is evident from the census of 1834 that, during the century preceding, the Protestants had lost ground immensely in some parts of the South of Ireland. Thus, according to a return made to Parliament in 1731, there were in the diocese of Cloyne, at that time, 14,200 Protestants and 80,500 Romanists. Brady's *Records of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, vol. iii. 32. This return seems to have been partial to the Protestants: but still it was an approximation to the truth. In 1834, according to the first report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (summary, p. 28), there were in the same diocese only 14,075 Protestants and 328,402 Romanists. It appears from this that, whilst the Protestant population had declined, the Romanists had increased fourfold.

well as in the colonies.[1] Owing to encouragement given persons in high places, their numbers had greatly multipl and at length there were 175,000 Orangemen in Ireland, 140,000 in Great Britain. In Ireland the great majorit Orangemen were Episcopalians, but some Presbyterian little weight or intelligence belonged to them; in Eng the Society was exclusive, as Dissenters were not admi to the lodges, and all the chaplains were ministers of Established Church.[2] In 1835, a Committee was appoi by the House of Commons to inquire into the working o system; and their investigations revealed the existence conspiracy to exclude the Princess Victoria from the su sion, and place the Duke of Cumberland on the throne. the same time the Institution was pronounced illegal by highest law authorities. It was proposed to commen criminal prosecution against the Duke of Cumberland, Kenyon, the Bishop of Salisbury, Colonel Fairman, and o believed to be implicated in a scheme of rebellion; but, m while, Heywood, the chief witness against the conspirato in an agony of excitement, created by a sense of the pecul dangerous position in which he stood—burst a blood-v and died. Early in 1836—under the influence of alarm

[1] See Second Report of Parliamentary Committee on Orange Lodges, pp 7, 12. First Report, Q. 2,319, 2,322, 2,323, 2,324, 2,327, 2,328, 4,632, 4,634, 4,635. Lodges had also been formed among the police. See appen Third Report, p. 81. The Irish police, established in 1814, were at fi Protestants. They remained much in the same state until 1836, when the Under-Secretary, Mr. Thomas Drummond, insisted on the introduction of infusion of Roman Catholics into the force. *Memoir of Thomas Drum Under-Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, by John F. McLenna 266, 274. Edinburgh, 1867. About the same time stipendiary magistrates appointed. *Ibid.* pp. 277, 279.

[2] *Pictorial History of England*, vol. vii. 488. The English Orangemen keenly opposed to the admission of Protestant Dissenters to political priv In the report of the Grand Committee of a meeting held in April, 1832, B Eedes states that they had lately witnessed "a system of political disloc tending to a political dissolution. The first political Act of Dislocation, sanctio the Legislature, took place about four years ago, *in the repeal of the Corporati the Test Act.*" This sentiment seems to have met the concurrence of all p The Duke of Cumberland was in the chair on this occasion. See appendix to I of Select Committee on Orange Lodges, iii. 16. The English Test and Corpo Acts were repealed in 1828.

the English lodges were abruptly dissolved; and, as the party was thus thoroughly humbled, it was deemed expedient not to press a formidable combination to extremities, and to give up the prosecution.[1] The Irish Orangemen were not so manageable; for they were not so deeply compromised as their brethren in England. To avoid the meshes of the law, they made some changes in their regulations; but they refused to break up their organization. Notwithstanding the disestablishment of the Episcopal Church, they continue, to this very day, to keep up an unhealthy excitement among the lower orders of Protestants throughout the country.

At this period, all classes of religionists in Ireland displayed much activity. The Romanists, stirred up by the writings of Dr. Doyle[2] and others, and encouraged by the grant of new civil privileges,[3] were full of hope; and began to celebrate their worship with increased splendour. On the ground of political justice, many rejoiced in the improvement of their social position; and yet it was obvious that the country at large derived little benefit from the change. Emancipation had scarcely been obtained, when an agitation for the repeal of the Legislative Union was inaugurated. Among the most noisy of the demagogues were the priests: the chapels—notwithstanding the Leinster statutes[4]—were converted into political club-rooms;[5] and the Lord's Day was profaned by political speech-making. Protestantism, notwithstanding, fully maintained its ground. The circulation of the Scriptures, the

[1] *Pict. Hist. of England*, vii. 490.

[2] Dr. Doyle died at Carlow on the 15th of June, 1834, in the forty-eighth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his episcopate.

[3] An Act, passed in 1833, entitled, "An Act to Repeal Certain Penal Enactments made in the Parliament of Ireland against R. C. Clergymen for Celebrating Marriages," &c., between Protestants and Romanists—(the 3rd and 4th of William IV., chap. cii.)—declares that priests celebrating such marriages are no longer to be deemed guilty of felony, or to be liable to pay a fine of £500. But marriages so celebrated still continued to be illegal.

[4] See before, p. 444 of this volume.

[5] In 1833 Daniel O'Connell attended the consecration of a chapel at Kildare: and, immediately after the ceremony, a platform was erected, from which the Agitator harangued the multitude on the subject of repeal. Fitzpatrick, ii. 473. This took place in the presence and with the concurrence of many priests, and in Dr. Doyle's own diocese.

lucation, and the diffusion of religious information
ract distribution and public discussions, served to add to
adherents and to extend its principles.[1] The Methodists
ntinued to labour with great fortitude and perseverance;
t the division in their body, which occurred in 1816, im-
ired their influence; and the awakened zeal of other
ominations interfered with their advancement. Presby-
rianism renewed its strength; the extraordinary eloquence
l dialectic skill displayed in the Arian controversy attracted
uch attention;[2] and, when the General Synod of Ulster was
elivered from the incubus of Unitarianism, it presented all
he evidences of a revived and healthy Church. The Episcopal
lergy felt acutely the decline of their political power; they
ere generally excluded from the magistracy;[3] and they lost
large share of their control over the teachers and schools of
e country; but never before had the Established Church
such a goodly array of faithful and accomplished ministers.
In exemplary morals, in professional diligence, and in pastoral
gifts, they presented a most favourable contrast to their pre-
decessors of the eighteenth century. Towards the close of

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[1] In 1836 the labours of the Irish Society began to bear good fruit in County Kerry. There were about that time 250 converts to Protestantism at Dingle, and 200 at Ventry. In four parishes of the county there were 700 converts. Dr. Monck Mason's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 323, 324. London, 1843. According to the census of 1831, there were 228 Protestants and 6,491 Romanists in the parish of Dingle. According to the census of 1861, there were 280 Protestants and only 3,631 Romanists in the same parish. According to the census of 1831, there were only twenty-seven Protestants in the whole parish of Ventry. According to the census of 1861 there were ninety-two Protestants in the town alone.

[2] In 1836 Dr. Cooke signalized himself by a discussion on the Voluntary Question, held in Belfast, with the Rev. Dr. Ritchie, of Edinburgh, and other advocates of the Voluntary principle. An account of this controversy, entitled *The Voluntaries in Belfast*, obtained wide circulation. About this time Dr. Cooke was presented with the degree of LL.D. from Trinity College, Dublin. He had previously received the degree of D.D. from an American college.

[3] Before this time a large proportion of the rectors, and many even of the curates, were justices of the peace. There were now seventy-one municipal corporations in Ireland with 13,000 members. Most of these were Episcopalians. In 1835 there were only 200 Roman Catholics among the whole number. *Memoir of Drummond*, p. 305. This state of things came to an end in 1840, when the Municipal Reform Bill became law. The Irish Episcopal Church thus sustained another humiliation.

this period, some of them became infected with the spirit of the Oxford tracts, and a greater number evinced a growing disinclination to fraternise with evangelical ministers of other denominations. Still, as a body, by their piety and usefulness they adorned the denomination with which they were connected.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO THE DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL. A.D. 1837 TO A.D. 1847.

THE propriety of introducing a poor law into Ireland had long been discussed. The frequent recurrence of years of famine pleaded strongly for the interference of the Legislature. At length, in 1838, a Poor Law bill obtained the sanction of the Legislature.[1] Under this Act workhouses were built, and Boards of Guardians were entrusted with their management. Episcopalian, Roman Catholic, and Presbyterian chaplains formed part of the staff of these establishments. The chaplains were provided and paid, under the direction of Government Commissioners appointed to superintend the whole machinery.

The Irish Temperance Reform, inaugurated in 1829 by Professor Edgar, of Belfast, continued to make progress; and, from the first, the members of the Society of Friends took a deep interest in its advancement. A Quaker named William Martin, who carried on business at Cork, was one of its most zealous advocates. In the same city lived the Rev. Theobald Mathew—a Capuchin Friar, of respectable lineage, well known to the whole community. Father Mathew was recommended by a handsome person, pleasing manners, and a

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[1] The Act entitled, "An Act for the More Effectual Relief of the Destitute Poor in Ireland," is the 1st and 2nd of Victoria, chap. lvi. A report on the state of the poor in Ireland, in 1836, stated that there were 2,385,000 persons in the country insufficiently provided with the common necessaries of life, and requiring relief for thirty weeks in the year, owing to want of work.—*Memoir of Drummond*, by McLennan, p. 308.

wonderful amount of the milk of human kindness. He delighted to go in and out among the poor; and no scene of squalor or infection could repel his approach. In 1832—when cholera appeared in Cork and swept away many of the population—Father Mathew signalized himself by the untiring devotion with which he ministered to the wants of the sufferers. With the utmost fearlessness and assiduity, he visited the hospitals and other places where the plague was raging; and, on a certain occasion, when the attendants—supposing life to be extinct—had carried away the body of a young man to the dead house, and were about to nail up the coffin, the good friar, suspecting a mistake, followed them into the apartment where corpses ready for interment lay all around; discovered that the heart had not ceased to beat; and saved the patient from being buried alive![1] It was not extraordinary that the Capuchin was a universal favourite. William Martin marked his growing influence; admired his philanthropy; and cultivated his acquaintance. It occurred to the shrewd Quaker that he would confer a signal benefit on society, could he induce Father Mathew to become the leader of the Temperance Reformation. He did not fail to urge his views as often as he had an opportunity; and he eventually succeeded. One evening, in the beginning of April, 1838, he was invited to visit his clerical friend at his own residence; and, when he arrived, he heard the welcome announcement that his assistance was required to organize a Temperance Association.[2]

On the 10th of April, 1838, the Society, with Father Mathew as President, was formally established. Its members were pledged to abstain entirely from all intoxicating liquors. The use of a large covered building—known as the Horse Bazaar—capable of containing 4,000 persons, was soon secured; and there, from time to time, the advocates of the cause, in the presence of immense auditories, expounded and enforced their principles. Their success far exceeded expec-

[1] *Father Mathew.* A Biography by John Francis Maguire, M.P., p. 82. London, 1864.

[2] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, p. 106.

tation. The President, who had now reached the mature a
of forty-eight, had long been a public favourite; he w
regarded by the bulk of the people with deep reverence; a
multitudes were prepared to look approvingly on any sche
which he patronized. In three months the members amount
to 25,000; in five months, to 130,000; in nine months,
upwards of 150,000; and before the close of January, 18
they had increased to 200,000.[1] Many from distant pla
travelled on foot all the way to Cork to take the pledge;
was administered to every one by the President himself; a
not a few, on their return home, could tell wonderful tales
his sanctity, affability, and kindness. He disclaimed t
power of working miracles;[2] but the whole community, as
by some mysterious influence, was thrown into a fever
excitement; and crowds refused to believe that he had
supernatural endowments. In many localities his adhere
provided themselves with drums, fifes, and other instrume
of sound; and on festive occasions, the temperance ba
entertained the company with rude and boisterous mus
Father Mathew distributed medals—a few of silver, b
most of less costly metal—to the initiated; and these badg
of membership were preserved with peculiar care by
admiring disciples. His fame rapidly extended; the
habitants of cities and towns all over the island solicited
presence; and he visited almost every part of Ireland
his mission as the apostle of temperance. In a few yea
he gave the pledge to perhaps two millions of the Iri
people.[3]

The career of Father Matthew is, in many ways, remarkab

[1] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, pp. 113, 120.

[2] Maguire, pp. 140, 141, 261. According to Dr. Barter, a medical gentlem
in whose establishment he resided for some months, Father Mathew possessed
a large degree the power of animal magnetism. On this principle, Dr. Ba
accounts for many of his cures. Maguire, p. 530-1. His touch, or the imposit
of his hand seems, in some cases, to have had a beneficial effect on the nerv
system of invalids. The power of imagination over many forms of disease is w
known.

[3] Maguire, pp. 137, 309, 313; *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 500-1.
the occasion of a visit to Waterford, no less than 80,000 persons, in three da
received the pledge at his hands. Maguire, p. 134.

His labours affected the revenue of Ireland; as the consumption of ardent spirits soon prodigiously diminished. From 1839 to 1843 the sale of whiskey decreased from twelve millions to little more than five millions of gallons.[1] At the same time the statistics of crime exhibited a wonderful improvement. A disciple of Father Mathew rarely appeared before the judge or assistant barrister, at the assizes or quarter sessions.[2] There was a large increase, during the very first year, in the depositors at the savings banks; and in thousands of cases the dwellings of the humbler classes revealed an appearance of comfort which they had never before presented. Distilleries were obliged to give up business;[3] and many who were engaged in the spirit trade found themselves suddenly bankrupt. Almost all who took the pledge from Father Mathew belonged to the Church of Rome; but he wished it to be distinctly understood that the movement was not connected either with Popery or politics; and on one occasion, when Daniel O'Connell joined a Temperance procession in Cork, the good friar was considerably annoyed; as he did not wish to identify his mission with the proceedings of the chief of Derrynane.[4] Shortly afterwards, when "the monster meetings" for the repeal of the Union were held throughout Ireland, and when tens or hundreds of thousands assembled in obedience to the summons of the great Agitator, the effects of the Temperance Reformation were impressively displayed. The immense multitudes, with their Temperance Bands, and without one drunken man among them, marched to the chosen ground; performed their respective parts in the demonstration; and, without committing any acts of violence, returned to their homes in peace. Had it not been for the labours of Father Mathew, such results would have been impossible.

The marvellous change now brought about in the habits of so many of the Irish people, had no claim to the character of a religious reformation. Those who joined the Temperance

[1] Maguire, p. 202. See a somewhat different statement, but rather stronger, in the *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 502.

[2] *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 502.

[3] *Ibid.* vii. 501.

[4] Maguire, pp. 231, 234.

ined as ignorant, as superstitious, and as unsancti-
Father Mathew administered the pledge to
who, at the time, were in a state of inebriety ;[1] and yet,
ge to say, not a few of them long adhered to their
gement. They had an idea that some terrible evil would
ll them if they did not keep a vow made before the holy
st ; and the multitudes, who crowded simultaneously into
association, stimulated each other to fidelity. But a
olution, accomplished under such circumstances, wanted
elements of permanence. Some persevered in their ab-
ence from strong drink ; and current delusions respecting
virtues of whiskey were dissipated ; but, in the end, the
ses returned to their wonted indulgence. In many parts
the country, when a few years had passed away, the good
ts of the labours of the Apostle of Temperance could
cely be recognized.

About the time when Father Mathew entered on his Temperance career, the British Legislature gave its sanction to a measure which put an end to the disturbances connected with the collection of tithes in Ireland. This Act[2] changed the tithe into a rent charge—payable to the incumbent of the parish by the landlord ; so that the occupiers of the soil could not henceforward come into collision with rectors or tithe proctors. The landlord was entitled to expect a corresponding increase of rent from his tenantry ; but they were relieved from the annoyance of a separate claim from the Protestant parson ; and they were no longer subject to the irritation, created by the demand of payment for clerical services, of which they did not feel at liberty to avail themselves. As most of the Irish landlords were members of the Established Church, they could not well object to the arrangement—more especially as it conferred on them a pecuniary benefit ; for, in consideration of the increased security and comfort of the new mode of payment, the incumbent was required to submit to a reduction of 25 per cent. from his previous income.[3] In

[1] Maguire, pp. 122, 135, 136.

[2] The 1st and 2nd of Victoria, chap. cix. "An Act to Abolish Composition for Tithes in Ireland, and to Substitute Rent Charge in lieu thereof."

[3] Under the same Act Government was empowered to advance to incumbents

various districts—particularly in the North—the tithes had been quietly collected; and, in such cases, the clergy complained that their means were reduced without any counterbalancing advantage;[1] but, in most parts of the country, it was otherwise; and the ministers of the Established Church, as a body, were placed in a more desirable position by this remedial legislation. Lands, which had paid no tithes for a period of thirty years, were now legally exempted from any claim in the way of rent charge.[2]

The extreme dissatisfaction with which many of the clergy and people of the Episcopal Church regarded the formation of the National Board of Education has been already noticed. As they persistently refused to avail themselves of the aid thus supplied by Government for the maintenance of schools, they were obliged to resort to a new arrangement to provide instruction for the children of the humbler classes belonging to their communion; and, in several places, Diocesan Education Societies were soon in operation.[3] This machinery did not work well everywhere; and at length it was resolved to organize a general association, for the support of their schools all over the country. In May, 1838, the Church Education Society was instituted. According to its fundamental principles, the Scriptures must, in every school, be in the hands of every pupil capable of reading. The Church Catechism must also be used in ordinary school hours; but children, not Episcopalians, are not compelled to learn its lessons. A number of the Episcopal nobility and gentry contributed largely to the funds of this institution: and their influence was sufficient to secure a considerable array of pupils; but, from the first, it laboured under various disadvantages; and an impression soon began to prevail that the literary instruc-

the sum of £260,000 to pay off arrears of the tithe due from 1834, 1835, 1836, and 1837.

[1] The Rev. James Spencer Knox says, in his *Pastoral Annals*:—"*A very considerable loser in income* by this enactment, I yet feel the gain which it brings me in the kind feelings of the people, and am satisfied," p. 362.

[2] About the time that this measure became law the "Additional Curates' Fund Society" was instituted. The name of the association sufficiently explains its design. *Mem. of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 708.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 699, 700, 701.

tion it supplied was greatly inferior to that given by the teachers under the care of the National Board of Education.

Though the Irish Presbyterians were by no means satisfied with some parts of the new scheme promulgated by Government,[1] it had several features which recommended it to their acceptance. For a time, however, they were divided in sentiment as to its claims on their support. At length in 1839, a deputation from the Synod of Ulster, appointed for the purpose, had a conferen[illegible]e members of the Board in presence of the Irish Lo[illegible]nant; and, on this occasion, the terms of a compro[illegible]ettled. Certain concessions were made, especially i[illegible] of non-vested schools—that is, where the school b[illegible]d not belong to the Commissioners; and, from t[illegible] the Presbyterians generally availed themselves of th[illegible]e grant voted by Parliament for the advancement of [illegible]struction.[2] This movement considerably strengthened [illegible]litical position of the new Board; but the members of the Church Education Society were much displeased with the adhesion of the Presbyterians; and a controversy, which thus originated, continued long to keep up criminations and recriminations between parties connected with the two great sections of Irish Protestantism.[3]

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[1] They generally considered that the prohibition of the reading of the Scriptures in ordinary school hours was an unwise and unworthy concession to the Romish priesthood. The Bible was acknowledged as the Book of God by all parties; and should not have been treated as a sectarian publication.

[2] About this time Ulster was in advance of the other provinces in the matter of elementary education. In Connaught 64 per cent. of the male inhabitants over five years of age could neither read nor write; in Munster 52 per cent. were in the same position; in Leinster, 38; and in Ulster, 35. Pim's *Condition and Prospects of Ireland*, p. 22. Dublin, 1848. See p. 565 of this volume.

[3] In 1840, Dr. Mant, Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, published his *History of the Church of Ireland*. Two volumes of Dr. Reid's *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland* had previously appeared; but Dr. Mant scornfully ignored them; though he repeatedly availed himself of their guidance, and even copied from them without acknowledgment. Dr. Mant was a bigot of the purest water. He could see no true Christianity anywhere in the country except in what he called "The Church of Christ Catholic and Apostolic under His Providence in Ireland by law established." His work contains a considerable amount of important information; but its style is lumbering; and it is pervaded throughout by a spirit of narrow and offensive sectarianism. In 1820 Dr. Mant was appointed Bishop of Killaloe and Kilfenora; in 1823 he was translated to Down and

The adhesion of the Synod of Ulster to the National Board was quickly followed by another movement, which imparted increased vigour and importance to Irish Presbyterianism. The Synod of Ulster and the Secession Synod were now amalgamated. The return of the larger body to the uncompromising maintenance of the doctrines of its ancient standards, had prepared the way for the alliance—as no substantial diversity in faith and discipline any longer existed between the two leading branches of the Irish Presbyterian Church; so that the terms of incorporation were easily adjusted. This union was joyfully consummated at a meeting held in Belfast on the 10th of July, 1840. The united body, which at once adopted the designation of "The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland," consisted of 433 congregations—of which 292 had belonged to the Synod of Ulster, and 141 to the Secession Synod. Jealousies and heartburnings, which had long subsisted between those hitherto ranged under different banners, were in this way happily extinguished; and, as the new Assembly contained some of the ablest debaters and most popular preachers in the empire, the Irish Presbyterians, when thus consolidated, immediately attained an influence which they had never before been able to command. On the day of the union, their Church entered on the field of Foreign Missions, by setting apart two ministers to labour among the heathen in India. In 1842 the Assembly commenced a mission to the Jews; and, four years afterwards, prompted by the same evangelistic zeal, it made permanent provision for supplying ministers to the crowds of emigrants scattered throughout the Colonies of the empire.

A few months after the formation of the Assembly, one of its members gained immense credit by an act which attracted the attention of the whole kingdom. In January, 1841,

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Connor; and in 1848 he died at the age of seventy-two. Dr. Reid was Presbyterian minister of Carrickfergus when he published the first volume of his history; he subsequently became Professor of Ecclesiastical History for the Irish Presbyterian Church; and, in 1841, he was nominated by the Crown Professor of Ecclesiastical and Civil History in the University of Glasgow. He died in 1851 in the fifty-third year of his age.

onnell visited the north, with a view to promote progress of the Repeal agitation. That expedition was ne most unfortunate and inglorious movement ever made by he restless demagogue. He had boasted everywhere that all reland stood by him in demanding the severance of the gislative union; and the monster meetings he gathered ound him in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, apparently stained him in the assertion. But Ulster was in some spects the most important of the four Provinces; as it ntains the most numerous population, and presents the rgest amount of general prosperity. He was aware that any there were averse to his proceedings; but he reckoned at his tact and skill in addressing multitudinous assemblages added to his world-wide reputation and the zeal of his partizans—would enable him to head a successful demonstration ven in the capital of the north. Never had he so miscalculated. When his approach to Belfast was announced, Dr. Cooke, now minister of May Street Congregation, challenged him to a public discussion of the question of Repeal. As he had for years been urging on his agitation, Mr. O'Connell could not plead that he was unprepared for the controversy. Neither could he say that Dr. Cooke was unworthy of his notice; as he was now the acknowledged chief of upwards of half a million of Presbyterians; and admittedly the greatest orator in the Province. But O'Connell was not ignorant of his wonderful ability; he knew that the Presbyterian champion could wield his own weapons of sarcasm and invective with tremendous power; and he seems to have felt that, with such an antagonist, he could gain nothing by a disputation. Under the pretext that the challenge was given by a divine, he therefore declined the meeting. But the people of the north were not prepared to admit the apology. His refusal to meet Dr. Cooke exposed him to general scorn. When he reached Belfast, he was not greeted, as usual, with the ringing cheers of tens of thousands, but with storms of groans and hisses. When he appeared in public, the mob of the town would not permit him to utter a single audible expression. He became alarmed for his personal safety; and, after a brief sojourn, left the place, like a condemned criminal,

guarded by military and police. Never was he so crest-fallen.

Dr. Cooke's chivalry at this crisis was the occasion of something like a general jubilee throughout Ulster. It was felt that he had given a decided check to an agitation which threatened the integrity of the empire.[1] But it did not teach high churchmen to avoid proceedings fitted to disturb the Protestant peace. The General Assembly had not been well formed when it found itself in collision with the dominant Establishment. From time immemorial, Irish Presbyterian ministers had been acting under the conviction, that they were entitled to unite Episcopalians and members of their own flocks in wedlock. Their right had never been expressly recognized by any Irish statute; and, in consequence, the bishops' courts had been all along giving them annoyance: but they were assured that they had the privilege by common law; and the validity of marriages so celebrated had been affirmed again and again by the judges of assize. Their legality was now directly impeached; and in a case relative to the administration of the property of a person deceased—tried in the consistorial court of Armagh—the surrogate pronounced a marriage of this description null and void. In another case, in which an individual stood charged with bigamy, the plea, that one of his marriages had been celebrated by a Presbyterian minister, was urged; and when the question was referred for determination to a higher court, the judges, by one of a majority, decided in favour of the accused.[2] When the matter came by appeal before the

[1] Dr. Cooke died in December, 1868, in the eighty-first year of his age. His funeral was perhaps the most imposing demonstration ever seen in Belfast. The Protestant Primate of Armagh, the Moderator of the General Assembly, the Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore, the Members of Parliament for the town and county, the Mayor and Corporation in their robes of office, the Harbour Commissioners, the President and Professors of the Queen's College, the Assembly's Professors, and other bodies, in official costume, were present. A large array of Protestant ministers of all denominations walked in procession, accompanied by an immense concourse of the general public. The places of business were closed as the procession passed; and the streets and windows were crowded with spectators.

[2] Judge Perrin, who was himself of Huguenot descent, and who had devoted much attention to the point in controversy, argued strongly, on this occasion, in

Lords, the authorities there were equally divided; it, according to the usual rule in such circumstances, the rd of the inferior tribunal was permitted to stand.

The announcement of the result of the appeal to the use of Lords caused much excitement throughout Ulster. was well known that the title to a large amount of pro- ty was imperilled by the decision; and the new interpre- n of the law was most mortifying to the members of Presbyterian Church in Ireland. When it was stated blicly that the Protestant Primate of Armagh had contri- ted largely to the funds, required to carry on the legal ceedings which had terminated in so unsatisfactory a liverance, their displeasure was not abated. It was clear t the Presbyterian ministers had violated no plain enact- nt; for the one half of the most competent expounders of law—though Episcopalians—declared that they had a right to celebrate the disputed marriages; the highest judicial intellects were believed to be in their favour; and the verdict, after all, was of such a faltering character that it rather invited than discouraged further legislation. Landed proprietors of various creeds were in danger of being involved in difficulties as to title deeds; and as, in many quarters, the decision had inflicted the deepest pain, Government felt constrained to quiet the public mind by consenting, in 1842, to the passing of an act legalizing all marriages heretofore celebrated by Presbyterian ministers in Ireland.[1] But this law merely provided for the past; and meanwhile left the Episcopal clergy in the possession of a most invidious monopoly in the department of mixed marriages. For two years, the opposition of high churchmen prevented farther legislation. At length, in 1844, the royal assent was given to an

favour of the validity of the disputed marriages. "In the Huguenot Church in Dublin," says he, "where the minister was not episcopally ordained, but received orders as a Presbyterian minister, it has been the practice—as the registry book shows—for the ministers to celebrate marriage, not only between members of their own congregations, but between other persons; and none of these marriages has ever been called in question, or impeached." Report of the Cases of Regina *v.* Millis *et* Regina *v.* Carroll, p. 240. Dublin, 1842.

[1] The Act is the 5th and 6th of Victoria, chap. cxiii. "An Act for Confirmation of Certain Marriages in Ireland."

act empowering Irish Presbyterian ministers to celebrate marriages between members of their own Church and Episcopalians.[1] They had hitherto been accustomed to solemnize marriage at any time of the day, and in any private dwelling; but, from a certain date after the passing of the act, they were required to perform the ceremony within certain hours, and in buildings recognized as places of worship. Under the same act, lay registrars were appointed for the various districts of the country; and, before them, parties, of any denomination or of none, could legally enter into wedlock.

Another measure introduced into Parliament in 1844, and known as the Dissenters' Chapels' Bill, encountered no little opposition. At this period almost all the Unitarian ministers, as well in England as in Ireland, preached in ecclesiastical buildings erected for Trinitarian worship. Another gospel had been "privily brought in;" the orthodox members had gradually disappeared; and at length rationalism had been openly promulgated. In some cases, the sites of the chapels were held by prescription; in others, the title deeds did not state explicitly the doctrines to be taught; and in others, the buildings were so dilapidated that they were not worth the expense of litigation. In various places, however, steps had recently been taken to wrest the edifices from their present occupiers; and to restore them to the use for which they had been primarily designed. These proceedings had created much alarm; and some of the suits had already been successful. But there were circumstances in which the recovery of such tenements, without any compensation, would have involved much hardship; as sums, far exceeding the original value of the buildings, had been expended on their renovation. The length of time during which heterodoxy had been taught in them also pleaded strongly against disturbance. The Unitarians had sufficient influence to induce Government to support the bill for securing them in the enjoyment of the churches still in their possession; and, notwithstanding the earnest efforts of evangelical nonconformists of almost all

[1] The Act is the 7th and 8th of Victoria, chap. lxxxi. "An Act for Marriages in Ireland, and for Registering such Marriages."

denominations, the measure obtained the approval of Parliament.[1]

Though the passing of the Relief Bill in 1829 removed the most considerable grievances of which Roman Catholics complained, it did not put an end to agitation. Soon afterwards, as we have seen, the opposition to the payment of tithe was carried on more fiercely than ever; and when, on the commutation of tithe into a rent charge, that form of popular commotion passed away, the monster meetings for the Repeal of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland disturbed society throughout all its borders. Demagogues, who were determined to be discontented, could easily discover topics for complaint and invective. As it was impossible all at once to undo the effects of former legislation, a great majority of the judges, magistrates, and other officials in the country, were still Episcopalians; but ever since the passing of the Relief Act, Government had exhibited an increasing disposition to remove the most irritating memorials of Protestant ascendency. In 1843, an act was passed to abolish the oath required from Roman Catholics as voters at elections in Ireland;[2] and in the following year, another act formally repealed a whole crowd of penal laws.[3] In 1845, Sir Robert Peel, then at the head of the administration, created a great sensation by proposing to treble the endowment to the College of Maynooth. A grant of £30,000 was, according to his suggestion, to be made for the improvement of the College buildings; and a sum of upwards of £26,000 a year—not dependent on the

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[1] It is the 7th and 8th of Victoria, chap. xlv. "An Act for the Regulating of Suits Relating to Meeting-houses and other Property held for Religious Purposes by Persons Dissenting from the United Church of England and Ireland."

[2] It is the 6th and 7th of Victoria, chap. xxviii.

[3] It is the 7th and 8th of Victoria, chap. cii. "An Act to Repeal Certain Penal Enactments made against Her Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects," viz: the 5th and 6th of Edward VI.; 1st of Elizabeth, chap. i., and 1st of Elizabeth, chap. ii.; 5th of Elizabeth, chap. i., and 23rd of Elizabeth, chap. i.; 27th of Elizabeth, chap. ii., and 29th of Elizabeth, chap. vi.; 35th of Elizabeth, chap. i., and 35th of Elizabeth, chap. ii.; 1st of James I., chap. iv., and 3rd of James I., chap. i.; 3rd of James I., chap. v., and 7th of James I., chap. vi; 3rd of Charles I., chap. ii., and 3rd of Charles I., chap. iv.; 16th of Charles I., chap. iv., &c., &c. Most of the statutes repealed are English Acts.

accidents of an annual vote, but paid out of the consolidated fund under the provisions of an act of Parliament—was to be devoted to the endowment of professors and the maintenance of students. Under the proposed Act, no less than 506 *free* students—253 in their senior classes, and 253 in the junior classes—were to be fed, lodged, and educated in the College. This was evidently a part of the policy of concurrent endowment;[1] and was apparently intended to prepare the way for still farther grants to the Church of Rome in Ireland. The opposition to the measure, on the part of the more zealous Protestants, was general and determined; and many good men denounced it as a paltry scheme, unworthy of a Christian statesman, and dictated by an unprincipled expediency. Petitions against it from all parts of the empire loaded the tables of the Lords and Commons; but the Premier was able to command majorities in its favour in both Houses of Legislation.[2] In the following year, Government took another step in the way of conciliation by inviting Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to become a member of the Irish Privy Council.[3] The aged ecclesiastic—who was a very mild and cautious man—declined, however, to accept the proffered dignity.

When the Maynooth bill was under discussion, another measure, for the promotion of education in Ireland, was submitted to the consideration of the Legislature. Government now promulgated a scheme for the establishment of three Queen's Colleges—one, to be in Ulster; one, in Connaught; and one, in Munster. A sum of £100,000 was to be expended on the erection of buildings; and each college was to have an endowment of £7,000 per annum, to pay the salaries of

[1] "It was supposed at the time, openly stated by me, and as openly accepted by Sir Robert Inglis, that this measure was preparatory to one for the general endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. Sir Robert Peel, in a private conversation at Nuneham, a few years afterwards, *suggested such a measure* as fit to be adopted; but when Mr. Sheil, who was present, urged that Sir Robert himself ought to be the minister to propose it, he declined any such responsibility." —*Recollections and Suggestions by John Earl Russell*, p. 212. London, 1875.

[2] The Act is the 8th and 9th of Victoria, chap. xxv.

[3] Meagher's *Notices of the Life and Character of the Most Rev. Daniel Murray, late Archbishop of Dublin*, p. 64. Dublin, 1853.

Presidents, Professors, and others. All these officials were to be nominated by the Crown; and the seminaries, which were to be strictly non-sectarian, were to be devoted to the advancement of literary and scientific instruction. Gentlemen of reputable moral character, irrespective of creed, were to be eligible as Presidents and Professors. The colleges themselves were to give no theological teaching; but ecclesiastics representing the various churches, under the title of Deans of Residences, were to communicate such religious instruction as they deemed desirable, and to watch over the morals of the students of their respective denominations.

The announcement of the project for the erection of the Queen's Colleges was hailed with satisfaction by enlightened statesmen of all parties in Great Britain; but it did not generally meet with a very favourable reception in the country which it was intended to benefit. Dublin College had long enjoyed a monopoly in the department of the higher education; and had acted for ages as a school of proselytism: for it had required every one whom it admitted, even to the humble position of a sizar, to conform to the Established Church.[1] Multitudes of youths had thus been drawn away from other denominations by the attractions of its honours and emoluments. Its ample revenues—far surpassing the income of all the Queen's Colleges combined[2]—still secured for it a tempting superiority; but it was no longer to have the exclusive privilege of conferring literary degrees; and, in the presence of three new rivals, each of easier access in its

[1] Immediately after the establishment of the Queen's Colleges, the Dublin University began to adopt a more liberal policy.

[2] According to a return recently made to the House of Commons, the following was the revenue, from all sources, of Trinity College, Dublin, for each of the five years immediately preceding 1874:—1869, £59,932 6*s.* 4*d.*; 1870, £58,932 19*s.* 5*d.*; 1871, £61,627 5*s.* 2*d.*; 1872, £59,850 11*s.* 7*d.*; 1873, £61,323 10*s.* 8*d.* Report ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 31st July, 1874. This return exhibits an annual revenue on the average exceeding £60,000 a year. The Provost's salary for each of these years on an average somewhat exceeded £3,400. The landed property of the college, according to the same return, produces upwards of £40,000 per annum. It appears, from the same document, that Trinity College has received from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, under the Irish Church Act of 1869, as compensation in respect of ecclesiastical patronage, the sum of £121,908 2*s.* 2*d.*, p. 14.

own province, it could scarcely be expected that it would continue to be attended by as many students as it had hitherto enrolled. Whilst Irish Episcopalians did not feel warmly interested in the new collegiate scheme, it was regarded with the utmost distrust by the Romish hierarchy. They could not brook the idea of free intellectual intercourse among students of different Churches. They recoiled from the thought of encouraging young Romanists to listen to prelections on classics, or physics, or metaphysics, by scholars who were not prepared to maintain the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent. Popery is a religion which cannot well afford to be discussed; it shrinks from the ordeal of cross-examination; and it would fain shut out its votaries from all close contact with the advocates of an enlightened and earnest Protestantism. Were Romish prelates honestly to speak out their convictions, they would say that the apostolic precept: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good,"[1] is a mis-direction. In matters pertaining to the great salvation, their teaching is: "Make no inquiry; never look into a book on any religious subject written by a Protestant; hear your Church; hold fast the traditions of your fathers." The new seminaries—one of which was erected in Belfast; another, in Cork; and another, in Galway—communicated religious instruction only through the indirect medium of their Deans of Residences; and though highly respectable professors—some in communion with the Pope, and some connected with one or other of the Protestant denominations—were nominated to the new academic chairs, the Romish hierarchy united with the High Church party, in seeking to create a prejudice against them, by denouncing them as the "godless colleges."

The scheme propounded by Sir Robert Peel met with more favour from Irish Presbyterians. They had been long excluded from University preferments; and they were delighted with the prospect of being eligible to professorships and scholarships, irrespective of theological peculiarities. They had already given in their adhesion to the national system of school teaching; and they could not well disapprove of the

[1] 1 Thess. v. 21.

general features of the proposed scheme of collegiate education. They felt confident that true science can never impair the credit of genuine Christianity; and they saw no danger in placing the rising generation under the tuition of instructors, who did not meddle with theology, and who were eminently qualified to expound the doctrine of the calculus, or the beauties of the classic authors, or the wonders of anatomy. But the General Assembly had reason to complain that it had not been treated equitably by the State in educational arrangements; for whilst Episcopalians continued in the possession of Dublin University, with its magnificent resources; and whilst Roman Catholics received such a princely dowry for Maynooth; Irish Presbyterian theological Professors—though expected to train ministers for nearly one-half of the Protestant population of the country—had nothing more than a pittance of £500 a year[1] doled out by an annual vote of Parliament! It appeared, besides, that, in the Queen's Colleges, there was no provision for the teaching of Hebrew, and other branches of learning, which Presbyterian candidates for the pastoral office were required to study.

At this period the greater number of the youths, looking forward to the Presbyterian ministry, received their collegiate training at the Belfast Royal Academical Institution. That seminary, as has been already stated,[2] was under the care of Joint Boards of Managers and Visitors, who nominated to the chairs of literature and science. Their appointments had not been always satisfactory to the orthodox Presbyterian Synods; and the last Professor of moral philosophy selected by them, had proved so objectionable, that the students had been withdrawn from his tuition. It was feared, by many members of the General Assembly, that the Crown itself would choose unsuitable Professors, to preside over certain classes which Presbyterian candidates for the ministry were expected to attend; and that thus the heartburnings, created in times past by such selections, would be unhappily

[1] That is, £150 for a Professor of Church History, £150 for a Professor of Sacred Literature, and £100 each for two Professors of Theology, both of whom were ministers of congregations.

[2] See before, p. 436 of this volume.

perpetuated. But, withal, the Queen's Colleges presented so many evident advantages, and placed Presbyterians in such an improved position in regard to the higher education, that they were willing to give them all the encouragement they could legitimately bestow. Meanwhile Government agreed to make additional provision for the training of candidates going forward to the Presbyterian ministry, by increasing the parliamentary grant to their theological Professors, and by the endowment of four new theological chairs. The great difficulties in the way of an accommodation were thus removed; and, as the appointments to the chairs in the Queen's College, Belfast, were most judicious, the General Assembly no longer hesitated to sanction attendance on its classes.

Before Sir Robert Peel had broached his scheme for the advancement of the higher education in Ireland, the General Assembly had projected the establishment of a college under its own superintendence. At a meeting held in Cookstown in September, 1844, it had resolved unanimously that such a college was desirable and necessary; and it had empowered a committee to take whatever steps appeared to them expedient, for the erection and maintenance of the institute. The introduction of the measure of the English statesman, a short time afterwards, interfered with the prosecution of this object; as it was thought that the Presbyterian Church could safely avail itself of the teaching, supplied in several of the collegiate classes, connected with the new seminaries. At the annual meeting of Assembly in 1846—whilst the matter was still under consideration—it was announced that Mrs. Magee, a wealthy lady resident in Dublin, had recently died; and had bequeathed to three trustees a sum of £20,000 for the establishment of a Presbyterian college. The amount was in itself obviously inadequate for the erection of buildings, and the support of a complete staff of literary and theological Professors; and many thought it should be devoted to the full equipment of a theological seminary at Belfast, in the neighbourhood of the Queen's College; but the trustees contended that they could not thus carry out the design of the testatrix; and refused to consent to any such appropriation. When the Assembly saw that it

could not obtain their aid, it proceeded to collect, by voluntary contributions, the funds required to furnish the needful accommodation for its theological classes; a suitable site for the building was soon secured; and, in December, 1853, the Presbyterian College, Belfast, was opened by an address from the celebrated Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, the historian of the German Reformation. Before this time, Mrs. Magee's trustees had resolved to erect her college in Londonderry; but various obstacles long obstructed the accomplishment of their design; and it was not until October, 1865, that the Magee College was ready for the reception of students. The seven Professors, constituting its faculty, give instruction in science and literature, as well as in theology.

The Act for the augmentation of the endowment to Maynooth College, had not been long on the Statute Book, when the most distinguished Irishman, belonging to the Roman Catholic communion, finished his career. Daniel O'Connell had been now, for upwards of thirty years, the idol of his co-religionists. He is said to have been intended for the priesthood; and he was educated at St. Omers; but, whilst his course was still undecided, the Irish Parliament removed the restrictions which prevented the admission of Romanists to the legal profession; and, in 1798—the year of the Rebellion—he was called, at the age of twenty-three, to the Irish bar. For a time, he obtained little practice; but his leisure was assiduously employed in legal studies; and, when his remarkable ability began to be known, he rapidly acquired business. From an uncle, he inherited lands, worth several thousands a year, in the county of Kerry. He had a complete command of the Irish, as well as of the English tongue; and, in the cross-examination of a witness in a criminal case, he was almost unrivalled. He could coax, browbeat, and banter; he excelled in broad Irish humour; and terrible was his power of vituperation. As a popular leader he possessed tact, shrewdness, and subtlety; he was a complete master of that species of oratory which delights the mob; in private he was a most entertaining companion; and he gathered around him troops of friends who were prepared to do almost anything at his bidding. He obtained credit everywhere for securing the

passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill of 1829, by his return as member for the County of Clare ; and, for many years afterwards, his influence with his Roman Catholic countrymen was predominant. He was a devoted Papist ; he boasted that he knew nothing, and desired to know nothing of theology ;[1] in his later years he was always attended by a priest, who celebrated mass daily in his family ; he never lost an opportunity of signalizing his zeal for his religion ; and he thus commanded the entire confidence of the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy. He boasted that he could drive a coach and six through any Act of Parliament ; but, as he was proceeding with his attempts to intimidate Government by his monster meetings for Repeal, he found himself entangled in difficulties before which he was obliged to succumb. A great demonstration, to be made at Clontarf in 1843, was interdicted by proclamation ; in company with a number of his satellites, he was subsequently arraigned on a charge of conspiracy and misdemeanour ; and, when found guilty by a Dublin jury, he was thrown into prison. On an appeal to the British House of Lords, he was restored to liberty ; but he had now to encounter the bitter taunt, that he was indebted for his freedom to the stern integrity of those Saxon legislators, whom he had so often and so basely traduced. In 1846, a visit of a commissioner of the London *Times* newspaper to his estates in County Kerry, lowered him still farther in public estimation. The very individual, who had been employed throughout life in stirring up the worst passions of his countrymen against landlords and middlemen, was himself discovered to be an odious middleman and a most indifferent landlord. It was found that in Derrynane Beg—a village on his own property, and about a mile from his own residence of Derrynane Abbey—there was not so much as one pane of glass, in any of the wretched hovels, which lodged some sixty-two families of his miserable tenantry. In not one in a dozen of houses, was there a chair to sit upon, or any furniture, but an iron pot and a rude bedstead. In many of the hovels, the smoke came out

[1] *Life and Times*, by Luby, p. 418.

of the doors—as there were no chimneys.[1] The cabins were thatched with potato stalks, having flat stones and sods piled on this roofing, to mend it and keep it down. This crushing exposure sadly humiliated the proud demagogue; and the refusal of the party, since known as the Irish Nationalists, to submit any longer to his dictation—added to the gloom of his declining years. Broken down in health and spirit, he withdrew to the Continent, in the hope of receiving the papal benediction before he closed his career on earth. But he did not enjoy that melancholy satisfaction. He died at Genoa in May 1847. In accordance with his own instructions, his heart was conveyed to Rome.[2] His body was brought back to Ireland; where it was interred, with all the honours of a public funeral, in Glasnevin cemetery, in the neighbourhood of Dublin.

The career of Daniel O'Connell suggests many mournful reflections. He was unquestionably one of the most gifted individuals of his age; but we may fairly question his claim to be considered a good man and a genuine patriot. He had a clear and vigorous intellect; and it is difficult to believe that he was in earnest, when he represented a repeal of the Union with Great Britain, as the grand panacea for all the woes of Ireland. The accomplishment of such a measure would

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[1] *Letters on the Condition of the People of Ireland*, by Thomas Campbell Foster, Esq., of the Middle Temple, barrister-at-law, pp. 396, 528, 529, 544. London, 1846.

[2] The Rev. Dr. Miley, his chaplain, who, accompanied by young Daniel O'Connell, repaired to Rome with the heart of the deceased immediately after his demise, thus describes his interview on that occasion with the Sovereign Pontiff:—"After passing through the vast and gorgeous saloons and galleries of the Quirinal, we found the ante-chambers filled with groups of personages in every style of costume, from the glittering uniform to the cowl, and all before us in the order or reception. But the name of O'Connell was a talisman which brought us at once into the presence of his Holiness; and, while (O'Connell's son) Daniel was kissing his feet, the Pontiff said: 'Since that happiness I had so longed for was not reserved for me—to behold and embrace *the hero of Christianity*—let me at least have the consolation to embrace his son.' He then drew the son of O'Connell to his bosom and embraced him. . . . I must not attempt to detail the manner in which his Holiness eulogised the Liberator as *the great champion of religion and the Church*, as the father of his country, *and the glory of the whole Christian world.*"—*The Last Days of O'Connell*, by W. B. Maccabe, Esq., p. 105. Dublin, 1847

assuredly be but the beginning of a new cycle of sorrows for this distracted land. And yet, in pursuit of this bugbear, he induced his poor countrymen to neglect their industrial occupations, and to waste their time and money in attendance on his monster meetings. When, on one occasion, he assured them that there would be an Irish Parliament in Dublin College Green within the year, the utmost charity can scarcely give him credit for sincerity. For a long period he kept Ireland in a state of most unhealthy excitement; and, though he counselled the people not to break the law, he taught them to evade its obligations; to turn Government into contempt; and to live on the very verge of rebellion. He was totally destitute of that regard for truth, without which no man, however otherwise distinguished, is worthy of respectful consideration.[1] When seeking to evade a difficulty, or carry a favourite object, or annoy an adversary, he did not hesitate to utter the most atrocious falsehoods. He gloried in his powers of abuse; and he once condescended, in a Dublin market-place, to enter into controversy with an ill-tongued huckstress, to prove how far he was her superior in the department of Billingsgate. The sad state of his own tenantry attested, how shamefully he neglected the most obvious means of promoting the comfort and elevation of the people. And if we are to credit reports, propagated even by his own admirers, he was very far from a model of purity in his domestic relations.[2] His scrupulous attention to the rites of his Church, and his servile devotion to the priesthood, earned for him a high religious reputation among Romanists; but they failed to prove that Popery can sanctify the heart, or adorn with the beauty of holiness.

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[1] See *Pictorial History of England*, vii. 200, 389, 660. See also Dr. Porter's *Life of Dr. Cooke*, p. 354, new edition.

[2] "Whilst he doted on his wife and children, he is said to have *not unfrequently* forgotten his marriage vows."—*Life and Times of Daniel O'Connell*, by Luby, p. 531. His licentiousness is generally admitted by his own co-religionists.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL TO THE PERIOD OF DISESTABLISHMENT. A.D. 1847 TO A.D. 1871.

THE FAMINE.—THE BIRR MISSION.—THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CONNAUGHT.—THE ACHILL MISSION, AND THE CHURCH MISSIONS.

THE year 1847 supplies one of the most melancholy chapters in the history of Ireland. For some preceding seasons the potato crop had partially failed; but in 1846 the blight was almost universal. The food of the greater portion of the people was thus destroyed;[1] and the country experienced all the horrors of famine. In December 1846, upwards of five thousand wretched beings were begging in the streets of Cork; and, when utterly exhausted, they crawled to the workhouse to die.[2] In rural districts, children, looking like old men and women through the effects of hunger,[3] were to be seen sitting in groups at the cabin doors, silent and sad; and not a few of the poor lived for days or weeks on turnips or cabbages.[4] Early in 1847 the accounts from all quarters—particularly from the south and west—were most appalling. In Skibbereen, in the county of Cork, there was constant use for a coffin with movable sides, in which the dead were carried to the grave-yard, and there dropped into the ground.[5] As

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[1] It was calculated that Ireland lost this year, by the failure of the crop, at least £16,000,000. Whilst the potatoes were ruined, the oat crop was also deficient.

[2] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, p. 378.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 382. [4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* p. 386. In 1700 there was a Quaker meeting-house in Skibbereen. An old record contains the following entry, dated May 29th, 1700:—"There is a meeting-house for the Quakers in Skibbereen. Every Sunday the Quakers in and

time advanced, the prospect became still more dismal. Whole families were exterminated by dysentery, fever, and starvation; and bodies lay five or six days unburied.[1] Government expended vast sums in its endeavours to mitigate the national suffering; and in March, 1847, there were employed, in public works, the enormous number of 734,000 persons—representing so many families, or upwards of three millions of individuals.[2] The people emigrated in crowds; and, in four or five years, Ireland lost about one third of its population.[3]

The famine silently accomplished a social revolution. There were large numbers of gentry all over the country who had once lived in extravagance, and who were too proud to seek to repair their fortunes by engaging in trade; their estates were heavily encumbered; and now, with greatly reduced means, they were still struggling to maintain a position of respectability. The potato blight completed their ruin. Their starving tenantry could pay no rents; their creditors could obtain no interest for their money; and, totally unable to meet the claims for rent-charge and increased poor rates, some of them were themselves obliged to seek relief in the workhouses. In 1849 Parliament found it necessary to pass an act to "facilitate the sale and transfer of encumbered estates in Ireland;"[4] and, during the ten following years,

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near Skibbereen hold a meeting—generally a silent one—to the number of about eight families, and also on Thursdays."—BRADY'S *Cork, Cloyne, and Ross*, vol. ii. 453. According to the census of 1861, there was not a single Quaker in Skibbereen or the neighbourhood.

[1] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, p. 387.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 402. Pim's *Condition and Prospects of Ireland*, p. 131. Dublin, 1848.

[3] In 1841 the population of Ireland, according to the census of that year, amounted to 8,175,124. It continued to increase till 1846, when it probably amounted, according to the preceding rate of increase, to 8,578,000. In 1851 it had decreased, according to the census of that year, to 6,552,385. In the five years, from 1847 to 1851 inclusive, no less than 1,067,559 persons emigrated from Ireland to North America. See *Transactions of Society of Friends*, Appendix, p. 358. In 1847 the Irish emigrants sent home £200,000. In 1851 their remittances to their friends in their native country were estimated, for that single year, at a million. *Ibid.* p. 47.

[4] The 12th and 13th of Victoria, chap. lxxviii. In the same year (1849) an Act was passed (12th and 13th of Victoria, chap. cv.) "for converting the renewable leasehold tenure of lands in Ireland into tenure in fee." In 1849 estates in Ireland to the value of £1,500,000 per annum were under the care of the law courts. *Transactions of the Society of Friends*, p. 114.

under the operation of this law, upwards of twenty-five millions sterling were paid for property sold in the Encumbered Estates Court.[1] Even this enormous amount does not fully represent the value of the estates brought to auction; for the tens of thousands of acres, at first thrown upon the market, diminished competition; and wealthy capitalists often made purchases on terms which, before or since, would have been deemed equivalent to partial confiscation. In the course of a few years, many of the Irish peasantry and yeomanry were in the hands of another race of proprietors; and though there were numerous cases, in which the capital and intelligence of these strangers contributed much to promote their comfort, there were others in which the new lords of the soil, viewing their bargains merely in the light of a mercantile investment, sought, in the shape of increased rents, to extract the highest possible rate of interest from the farming population.

Though the blight prevailed throughout all Ireland, it was felt with peculiar severity by the people of Connaught and Munster. In the failure of the potato crop, many of them were deprived of their only food. The inhabitants of Ulster and Leinster, who were generally in more comfortable circumstances, and who were not entirely dependent for subsistence on a single esculent, were better prepared for the calamity.[2] The famine inflicted on Irish Romanism the heaviest blow it had sustained since the time of the great Rebellion, two hundred years before. In the course of a very few years, it lost in Ireland, by death and emigration, upwards of a million and a half of its adherents. The folly and wicked-

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[1] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, p. 453.

[2] The following table, setting forth the number receiving rations, and the total expenditure under the Relief Act (10th of Victoria, chap. vii.) in each of the four Provinces, may be adduced in confirmation of the statement in the text :—

	Greatest number of rations given out.	Total Expenditure.
Ulster	346,517	£170,598
Leinster	450,606	308,008
Munster	1,013,826	671,554
Connaught	745,652	526,048
	2,556,601	£1,676,268

The annexed table, exhibiting the population of the four provinces, according to

ness of O'Connell's agitation, for the Repeal of the Union, were now clearly displayed; for, had Ireland at this time been left to its own resources, it would have presented intensely aggravated scenes of dreadful and hopeless misery. Had it not been for the millions of money expended by England for its benefit, whole districts would have been almost entirely depopulated. As the landlords, in various places, were unable to pay the tithe rent-charge, some even of the established clergy were reduced to utter want; and it was found necessary to apply for subscriptions to provide for their destitution.[1] The famine gave a decided check to political commotion. The country, for years before, had been kept in a state of unintermitting excitement; and in 1848, disaffection vented itself, in an abortive effort at rebellion, which revealed only the senselessness of those concerned in it; but the mass of the suffering peasantry were now taught to feel, that those who had been long held up to their execration, as "the brutal and bloody Saxons," were their most considerate and generous benefactors. At this period none exerted themselves more nobly, in the cause of the poor of Ireland, than

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the census of 1841, and the valuation for the Poor Rate Assessment, will illustrate the preceding :—

	Population.	Valuation.
Ulster	2,386,373	£3,320,133
Leinster	1,973,731	4,624,542
Munster	2,396,161	3,777,103
Connaught	1,418,859	1,465,643
	8,175,124	£13,187,421

—*The Condition and Prospects of Ireland*, by Jonathan Pim, p. 105. Dublin, 1848. The total expenditure on public works during the winter of 1846-7 probably amounted to £5,000,000. *Ibid.* p. 131. It appears from the first of the above tables, that the Relief Act of 1847 led to an additional expenditure of £1,676,268. The 10th of Victoria, chap. xxxii. authorized the further expenditure of £1,500,000 in various improvements on the land. In addition to all this, voluntary contributions amounting to £800,000 were made for the re ief of the starving population, and many of the more wealthy landlords supported the destitute poor on their estates from their own unaided resources. *Ibid.* pp. 81, 86. Advances, amounting in all to nearly ten millions, were made by Parliament. *Transactions of the Society of Friends*, p. 44.

[1] *Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Whately*, vol. ii., pp. 116, 117. To this fund the Archbishop and Mrs. Whately contributed £470. The Archbishop's total contributions to relieve the distress of 1848-9 amounted to about £8,000.

the members of the Society of Friends. Their contributions were on a princely scale; and they employed no little time and care, in making arrangements to secure the judicious distribution of their charity.[1] During the famine, the Roman Catholic clergy signalized their zeal by their attention to the sick and the dying; but they seldom supplied them with any substantial aid. Some of the priests had, no doubt, nothing to spare, for the prevalent distress had greatly diminished their incomes; but it was observed that those of them, who were known to have money at command, did not seem willing to spend it, in mitigating the hardships of their perishing parishioners.[2] They preferred to hoard it up for the building or repair of chapels, or for other objects fitted to promote the glory of their own denomination.[3] The Protestant ministers exhibited a more catholic spirit. Out of their poverty, they were willing to contribute to the sustentation of their starving neighbours of a different creed.[4] These things were noted

[1] The Friends raised nearly £200,000 for the relief of Irish destitution. A volume published by them (Dublin, 1852) entitled *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends during the Famine in Ireland in 1846 and 1847*, is full of deeply interesting and important information relative to the state of the country at this time. The citizens of the United States of America now rendered most generous aid. The Friends received from them donations in food valued at £133,847. The town of Steubenville, in Ohio—with a population of only 6,000 souls—contributed no less than 350 barrels of flour. *Transactions*, p. 243.

[2] It is but fair to state that, at this crisis, the Sisters of Mercy, and others connected with the Church of Rome, nobly contributed to the relief of the starving population. See *Transactions of the Central Committee of the Society of Friends*, p. 194.

[3] "Their incomes," says Archbishop Whately, "were spent during the famine, as they were spent before it, and as they are now spent, *on themselves*, or hoarded till they could be employed in large subscriptions to chapels or convents. And this was not the worst. In many cases they refused to those who could not, or who would not pay for them, the sacraments of their Church."—*Life and Correspondence of Richard Whately, D.D.*, vol. ii. p., 242.

[4] The Secretary to the Committee of the Society of Friends, in a letter dated January 3rd, 1847, and referring particularly to the destitution in Connaught, bears the following testimony:—"All religious and political differences are for the present forgotten. The pressure of a common danger has united all parties for a common object. The ministers of all denominations, *and especially the Church of England clergy*, are actively engaged in administering relief."—*Transactions*, p. 254. We are to remember that, in the West of Ireland, the Romish priests form by far the most numerous body of clergy.

by the more intelligent Romanists; and helped to break down their prejudices against the professors of the Reformed doctrine.

Before the appearance of the famine, missions, specially designed for the enlightenment of the Romish population, had been established in various parts of Ireland. For years, the inhabitants of Birr [1]—a town of King's County, on the borders of Tipperary—had been kept in a constant ferment by disputes in the Roman Catholic congregation. The Rev. Michael Crotty—a popular Roman Catholic curate, who had been suspended by his bishop for want of due deference to episcopal authority—refused to submit to the sentence; and was supported in his contumacy by a large body of parishioners. In 1829 he was joined by his cousin, the Rev. William Crotty—another Roman Catholic priest, somewhat more enlightened—who had been already convinced of the error of a number of the dogmas of Popery. Funds were now collected for the building of a Protestant church; and, in 1836, the Latin prayers were laid aside, the elevation of the host was discontinued, and the wine was used, together with the wafer, in the Eucharist. Additional reforms were subsequently introduced; and, in 1838, the Gospel was preached, the sacraments were administered, and public worship was celebrated, according to the mode observed among Protestant non-conformists.[2] The Rev. Michael Crotty meanwhile left the place, and became a minister of the Church of England; but his relative remained with the people; and, in May, 1839, a memorial, signed by himself and upwards of one hundred members of his congregation, was presented to the Presbytery of Dublin. The petitioners stated that they were desirous to enter into communion with the Irish Presbyterian Church. The Presbytery appointed a commission to inquire, on the spot, into the circumstances under which this application was addressed to them; and, after due deliberation, agreed to give it the sanction of their approval. Such was the origin of the Presbyterian

[1] Or Parsonstown.

[2] A narrative of the Reformation in Birr, by the Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick, of Dublin, may be found appended to the Report of the Home Mission of the Synod of Ulster, presented to the Synod at its annual meeting in Belfast, June, 1839.

Church of Birr, or Parsonstown. Some time after Mr. Crotty had been recognised as a member of the Synod of Ulster, he obtained a coadjutor in the Rev. Dr. Carlile, of Dublin—a minister who has been already mentioned as one of the original Commissioners of the National Board of Education.[1] Dr. Carlile had, for many years, cherished a desire to be employed in imparting spiritual instruction to Irish Romanists; at an earlier period of his life, he had published a little work in which he had sketched the plan on which, as he conceived, a mission to them should be conducted;[2] and the remarkable circumstances, under which Mr. Crotty and his friends had joined the Presbyterian Church, appeared to him to present a providential opening for carrying his views into operation. In 1838, he had resigned his place as a Commissioner of the National Board; and now, taking up his residence in Birr, he devoted the rest of his life to evangelistic labours in that town and neighbourhood. He erected male and female schools, superintended Scripture readers, preached to the congregation, and zealously performed all the other duties of the ministry. He taught a pure Christianity as well by example as by precept; and the beauty of holiness, as exhibited in his own conduct, made a deep and abiding impression. After spending upwards of thirteen years of self-denying effort in this new sphere, he felt it necessary, when sinking under the weight of increasing infirmities, to remove to Dublin; and there, in 1854, he cheerfully closed his career at the age of sixty-nine.[3]

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[1] Dr. Carlile was also appointed by Government one of the Commissioners of Poor Law Inquiry; and drew up a plan of relief which met the approbation of his fellow-commissioners, but which was not adopted by the State. He was an excellent Hebrew scholar, and was employed in the translation of the extracts from the Old Testament so long used in the National Schools. His works, which are numerous, are distinguished by vigour and originality. Among them may be mentioned his *Discourses on Repentance and Faith*, *The Old Doctrine of Faith*, *Jesus Christ the Great God our Saviour*, and *Letters on the Divine Origin of the Holy Scriptures*.

[2] It is entitled *Memorial Recommending the Establishment of a Mission to the Roman Catholics of Ireland*. Dublin, 1825.

[3] At his own request he was buried at Parsonstown. His excellent wife, who was the zealous partner of his labours, and who died before him, is also buried there.

The precious fruits of his ministry may still be seen in the Presbyterian Church of Parsonstown.[1]

Dr. Carlile had, for years, been engaged in mission work at Birr before the commencement of the famine; and meanwhile the Irish Presbyterian Church—starting with fresh vigour, after the formation of the General Assembly, on a new course of evangelistic exertion—had established Scripture schools in Munster and Connaught, as well as in several parts of Ulster. In these humble seminaries it sought to impart a knowledge of the Word of God to the Irish-speaking natives, through the medium of their own language. In 1841, the Presbytery of Dublin ordained the Rev. Henry McManus, an Irish-speaking preacher, as a missionary to the South and West of Ireland. In June, 1845, the Rev. Michael Brannigan, a convert from Popery, was ordained, by the Presbytery of Tyrone, to the same service. In the counties of Sligo and Mayo, Mr. Brannigan had 144 Irish schools under his care; he too was well acquainted with the native tongue; and his addresses to the people, in their own language, soon awakened much attention. In a short time, he had no less than twelve preaching stations, attended by considerable congregations. In the autumn of 1846 the Rev. Dr. Edgar, secretary to the Assembly's Home Mission—accompanied by the Rev. Robert Allen, superintendent of the Irish Schools—was travelling through Connaught on a tour of inspection, when he first became aware of the extent of the potato blight. Wherever he turned his eye, he saw blackened fields; the poor people told him that their whole crop was ruined; and he marked the dismay with which they anticipated approaching starvation. Men, so faint with hunger as to be barely able to lift a spade, were here and there digging the ground; and yet, after hours of labour, they could not procure one wretched meal. Deeply impressed by such saddening spectacles, Dr. Edgar returned to Belfast, convened a public meeting, gave a touching account of the misery he had witnessed, and succeeded in raising a considerable sum—which was immediately transmitted to friends in

[1] Many of the converts emigrated to other lands, in consequence of the persecution to which they were exposed from the Roman Catholics around them.

the west to be distributed for the relief of destitution. A few weeks afterwards, he succeeded in forming the "Belfast Ladies' Relief Association for Connaught"—which, before the end of the financial year, was able to report that it had expended between £4,000 and £5,000 in rescuing the poor people of a portion of that province from death by hunger.[1] Another fund, established by him on a broader foundation, contributed £16,000 towards mitigating the national distress.[2]

Whilst Dr. Edgar was labouring to remove the pressure of temporal want, he was not unmindful of the moral and spiritual improvement of the peasantry in the west of Ireland. Industrial schools were established, in which young females were instructed in knitting and embroidery, and thus enabled to earn a subsistence; and they were, at the same, time taught to read, and made acquainted with the Scriptures. Soon afterwards, ministers were sent to preach to the people; and, in a few years, Presbyterian congregations, composed largely of converted Romanists, were collected at Dromore West, Ballinglen, Clogher, and other places. In the report of the Assembly's Mission to the Roman Catholics for 1864, Dr. Edgar was able to state that, in Connaught, fourteen churches and fourteen manses had been erected within a few years.[3] Some of these churches were built on sites where dilapidated meeting-houses had existed; but the greater number were entirely new foundations. Several additional churches were opened by Dr. Edgar for public worship before his death in 1866.[4]

Whilst Irish Presbyterians were labouring to promote the Scriptural enlightenment of Romanists, the Protestant Establishment was not inactive. Achill—an island about sixteen miles long and seven miles broad, separated from the mainland of County Mayo by a narrow sound—was the scene of perhaps its most interesting mission. With the exception of six or

[1] *Memoir of John Edgar, D.D., LL.D.*, p. 225. See also *Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of the Society of Friends*, pp. 436-438. [2] *Ibid.* p. 226.

[3] According to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (Summary, p. 44) there were in the ecclesiastical province of Tuam in 1834, exactly 800 Presbyterians. According to the census of 1861 (part iv., p. 558) there were in the province of Connaught in that year 3,088 Presbyterians.

[4] Dr. Edgar died in August 1866, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

seven coastguards and their families stationed in it to prevent smuggling, its inhabitants—amounting to from five to six thousand souls—were all Roman Catholics.[1] With an area of upwards of forty-six thousand acres, it exhibited few signs of civilization; for in 1831 it had but one road; and even that had been made by Government, and had been only very recently completed. The islanders were little—if at all—above the rank of savages; they were totally uneducated; they lived chiefly by fishing; and though, in the valleys, there was some good land, tillage was almost entirely neglected. Superstition, in some of its most absurd forms, reigned throughout the place; even adults were afraid to venture out after night-fall through dread of the fairies; and Achill might well have been pronounced one of the most benighted spots in Europe. In 1831 it suffered from famine; and, in the summer of that year, the Rev. Edward Nangle, a pious minister of the Establishment, at the request of a friend, accompanied a steamer which went to it, freighted with provisions for its relief. This good man contemplated its spiritual destitution with deep concern; and conceived the idea of originating a mission for its benefit. The proprietor of a large portion of the island favoured the project; a lease of one hundred and thirty acres, at a nominal rent, was granted for the erection of buildings and the accommodation of a missionary establishment; and, in 1833, a steward was engaged to superintend the reclamation of this wild tract of moorland. The farm was soon inclosed; a house was erected; and in the November of that year a schoolmaster was sent to the settlement. He was soon followed by a Scripture reader; and, another house having been meanwhile built for the missionary, Mr. Nangle—who had himself undertaken the office—arrived there with his family in August, 1834.[2] At that time there were two places where mass was celebrated; and there was a resident priest of a somewhat passive tem-

[1] According to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (32nd) there were in Achill in 1831 seventy-six Protestants. These were the coastguards and their families, and probably some strangers connected with relief committees.

[2] *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 599.

perament. But when Mr. Nangle had erected a number of schools, he was not permitted to proceed without disturbance; for two opposition schools, patronized by the priest, and under the care of the National Board, were soon established. When the Protestant missionary complained that one of the teachers of these schools had been dismissed from the coastguard service for his connection with Ribbonism,[1] the Commissioners pleaded, in reply, that they supported the schools in accordance with the regulations of the Board; that Mr. Nangle was not the Protestant incumbent of the parish; and that the master was bound to institute an action at law against his accuser, in vindication of his character.[2] But the mission schools commended themselves to the support of a large number of the people; and, though denounced by the partizans of Rome, children continued to attend in the face of various forms of annoyance and intimidation. Mr. Nangle was soon joined by another missionary; additional Scripture readers were employed; a Protestant church made its appearance; the congregation gradually increased; and in 1852 no less than twenty-seven mission schools were in operation.[3] These things were not unnoticed by Dr. M'Hale, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam; and he became alarmed. A new Roman Catholic chapel was built; the Archbishop himself visited the island; two priests of fervid zeal were settled in it; and no means were neglected which were likely to counteract the operations of the missionaries. But Scripture truth continued to advance; many withdrew from the authority of the Pope and joined the standard of the Reformation; and, within less than thirty years after the commencement of the mission, the Protestant population amounted to nearly seven hundred.[4]

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[1] *Memoir of last Archbishop of Tuam*, p. 602, *note*.

[2] See Third Report of the Commissioners of National Education, p. 53. Dublin, 1851.

[3] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Rev. Alex. R. C. Dallas*, p. 405. London, 1872.

[4] According to the census of 1861 the population stood thus:—Roman Catholics, 5,083; Protestants of the Established Church, 649; Presbyterians, 37; Methodists, 7; or 693 Protestants in all. Census of Ireland for 1861, part

The history of the Achill mission mournfully illustrates the fiendish spirit of blind bigotry. Genuine religion is peaceable, gentle, and easy to be entreated; it abhors strife: and it seeks to make way by the truth spoken in love. But bigotry is sullen, truculent, and ferocious; it is impatient of contradiction; and it is unscrupulous as to the agency it employs to put down opposition. Even in a temporal point of view, Achill was immensely indebted to the Protestant mission. Since its organization, the island had been intersected with roads; many of the people had been trained to habits of industry; a considerable quantity of land, which before was barren, had been brought under profitable cultivation; improved modes of husbandry had been introduced; multitudes of children had been taught to read and write; a post-office had been established; and even the comfortable buildings of the Protestant settlement added much to the beauty of the landscape. But Romanism had been disturbed; and it was implacable. In September, 1852, Miss Harriet Martineau paid a visit to the place; and though, as a Unitarian, she could take little interest in the missionary operations, she was impelled to describe in terms of generous indignation the horrid spirit in which they were encountered. "A month ago," says she, "Dr. McHale visited the island, and opened a Catholic chapel not far from the settlement. He left behind him two priests, who are to be tried for assaults on the Scripture readers belonging to the mission.[1] . . . . The admitted facts are, according to the report of Petty Sessions, that the two priests collected the people in the village of Keel (Catholic, and the largest place in the island); that they supported each other in instigating the attack by which a Scripture reader was stoned, knocked down among the turf and beaten. . . . . An impartial person, arrived from a place where such quarrels are not heard of, happened to be present, and to see the convulsive rage of one of these priests; to see him run after a woman, who escaped by a stratagem from his blows; to hear him say that to think of the settlement made

iv., vol. ii., p. 520. In 1861 the entire population amounted to 5,776. In 1831 it was only 5,277, so that it had increased considerably meanwhile.

[1] She adds in a note: "One priest has been since convicted and fined £5."

his hair stand on end; to see him endeavour to enter the girls' school, presided over by a modest young woman; and to hear him, when the door was, by order of her superior, shut against him, shout out against her, in the hearing of the crowd, names too foul for repetition."[1]

The case of this mission proved that it is quite possible for a Protestant evangelist to make progress, among the adherents of the Pope, in the face of the most determined opposition; and whilst Mr. Nangle was diligently prosecuting his work in Achill, the Rev. Alexander R. C. Dallas, an earnest English clergyman, was led to take a deep interest in the spiritual condition of the Irish Romanists. Mr. Dallas had been at one time connected with the Commissariat Department of the British army; he had been with the troops in Spain and Portugal; he had been present at the battle of Waterloo; and he had saluted the Iron Duke as, surrounded by his staff, the wearied general rode away slowly from the field on the evening of his crowning victory. Mr. Dallas was then a gay and handsome young officer; but, by a remarkable chain of providences, he was brought to think seriously of religion; he entered the ministry of the Established Church; and for many years he was the rector of Wonston, in Hants. One of his first efforts, for the spiritual good of the members of the Church of Rome in Ireland, was of a somewhat original character. With great care, and at considerable expense, he collected the addresses of about twenty thousand of the most respectable of the Irish Romanists; and each of these received, through the post-office, from an unknown source, on the same day—the 16th of January, 1846—a packet containing a number of religious tracts fitted to arrest attention—including a paper entitled, "A Voice from Heaven to Ireland."[2] On the following Patrick's Day, every priest in the country received a letter, urging him to head a movement to lead forth the people to light and liberty.[3] Immediately after the famine, Mr. Dallas entered more directly on the work of conversion. In 1847 a special fund was formed

[1] *Letters from Ireland*, by Harriet Martineau, pp. 121-122. London, 1852.
[2] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, pp. 337, 338.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 343.

for promoting the spiritual enlightenment of Irish Roman Catholics; it was placed at the disposal of a Committee appointed by the Irish Society; and Mr. Dallas was one of the agents who superintended its management. In two years a sum of ten thousand pounds was collected.[1] The attention of Mr. Dallas was soon turned to a large district in the western part of County Galway where, according to the Blue Book of the preceding census, the proportion of those who could read was very small, and where only three Protestant churches were to be seen in a journey of sixty miles.[2] He here commenced operations; and he was in a short time able to report that Protestant worship, in the Irish language, was celebrated at Errislanon, Ballyconree, Sellerna, Glan, and Rooveagh attended by increasing congregations of converts and inquirers.[3] It was soon found that a new machinery was required to meet the demand for additional agency and enlarged expenditure. In March, 1849, the Society of "Irish Church Missions to the Roman Catholics" was accordingly instituted.[4]

Mr. Dallas was chosen honorary secretary of this new association; and, during the remainder of his life, he laboured with untiring energy to promote its efficiency. He was well fitted to advance its interests, and to guide its operations. He had wonderful activity, united with a special aptitude for the arrangement of details. He could at once see the right order to be observed in regulating the proceedings of agents, and in managing the business of committees. As he was connected by birth with persons of distinction, and as he had a dignified presence and polished manners, he could readily obtain access into the highest circles of society, to plead for the support of his favourite scheme. He was thoroughly in earnest; he was a ready and telling speaker; and fully assured, as well of the truth of the doctrines he propounded, as of the dangerous character of Romanism, he announced his convictions plainly and fearlessly. In cases of emergency, he could display tact, promptitude, and self-possession; and he

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[1] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, p. 351.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 352. [3] *Ibid.* p. 370. [4] *Ibid.* p. 371.

was not to be intimidated, either by opposition from the mob, or by denunciations from the altar. He had been already in private correspondence with several of the Romish clergy; and one of his earliest missionaries was a converted priest.[1] Mr. Dallas set in motion agencies in Dublin which, in due time, produced important results; and it would appear that the latter days of Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic archbishop, were saddened by the intelligence which reached him, relating to numerous defections from his Church in his immediate neighbourhood.[2] In the district of Connemara, in County Galway, the Irish Church Missions also made a deep impression. In October, 1849, the Protestant Bishop of Tuam, administered confirmation to upwards of 400 converts. In 1851 the same prelate dispensed the same rite in seven places to 712 converts.[3] The missionaries were at work all over Ireland; and in many districts the Church of Rome lost a number of its adherents. By its partizans these conversions were attributed to various forms of bribery; but it was proved, on investigation, that this representation was a baseless calumny. "Instead of being bribed," said a most competent authority, "the converts, until they are numerous enough in any district to protect one another, are oppressed by all the persecution that can be inflicted, in a lawless country, by an unscrupulous priesthood, hounding on a ferocious peasantry."[4] So notorious was the harsh treatment now experienced by

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[1] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, pp. 355-7.

[2] *Notices of the Life and Character of his Grace the Most Rev. Daniel Murray*, by Rev. William Meagher, P.P., p. 122. Dublin, 1853. Mr. Meagher is disposed to make light of the affair; but he cannot altogether deny the facts. See p. 127. See also Whately's *Life and Correspondence*, ii. pp. 240, 256-7; and *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, pp. 391, 400, 411.

[3] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, pp. 378, 399, 400. In 1831 there were, according to the First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction (34d.), in Ballinakill ninety Protestants; in the same place, according to the census of 1861, there were 278 Protestants. According to the same authorities, there were in Moyrus, in 1831, 108 Protestants; and, in 1861, 205 Protestants. In Umma, or Omey, including Clifden, in 1831 there were 179 Protestants; and in 1861 there were 841 Protestants. In 1831 there were six Protestants in Ballindown, or Ballindoon; and in 1861 there were 306 Protestants.

[4] This is the testimony of Archbishop Whately. See his *Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 241.

those who renounced the yoke of the papacy, that it was found necessary in 1850 to establish "The Society for Protecting the Rights of Conscience in Ireland."[1] Dr. Whately, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, had a great share in the formation of this association. Its object was to save from utter ruin persons of approved honesty who, convinced of the falsity of Romanism, had openly seceded from its communion. The existence of such an institute was in itself an evidence of the extent of the conversions. Before his death, in December, 1869, and in connexion with the Society for Irish Church Missions, Mr. Dallas had been the means of erecting twenty-one churches, forty-nine schoolhouses, twelve parsonages, and four orphanages.[2]

Ever since the passing of the Emancipation Act in 1829, Irish Romanism had been assuming a bolder tone, and had been making a very unscrupulous use of its political influence; but it is obvious, from the preceding statements, that Irish Protestantism had meanwhile lost nothing of its vitality and strength. Never before had it made such efforts for the enlightenment of a superstitious people, and never before had its exertions been crowned with such success. The Roman Catholic prelates soon began to forbid controversy; for, in almost every instance, their champions had been defeated on the fair field of public discussion. They interdicted the reading of Protestant books; and denounced even the occasional presence of any member of their communion, at any form of Protestant worship, either public or domestic, as a crime of enormous magnitude.[3] The power of the Church of Rome in Ireland was often sustained by intimidation, battery, and bloodshed; and it was notorious that, in many instances, the priests, either covertly or openly, instigated their supporters to acts of violence.

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[1] Whately's *Life and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 229.

[2] *Incidents in the Life and Ministry of Dallas*, p. 554.

[3] In the Diocesan Statutes adopted by the R. C. prelates of Leinster in 1831, holding communion in worship with those who do not belong to the Romish Church is classed among the "reserved cases" for which an ordained priest cannot grant absolution. See Cap. xvi., De cas. reserv.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL TO THE PERIOD OF DISESTABLISHMENT. A.D. 1847 TO A.D. 1871.

ARCHBISHOP CULLEN AND THE SYNOD OF THURLES.—THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS AND THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES.

THE progress of Protestant missions, in various parts of Ireland, has been detailed in the preceding chapter. But in many quarters, where there was no actual secession from the ranks of Romanism, it was evident that priestly influence had considerably declined. This change in the state of national sentiment may be easily explained. The national schools had been diffusing the light of education; and those who could read, and who had access to the Holy Scriptures, could judge for themselves. And the policy at this time inaugurated, by the Pope and his Irish hierarchy, was well fitted to awaken deep dissatisfaction. At the beginning of the century, as we have seen,[1] the appointments to bishoprics were often carried by intrigue; and, to remove this scandal, it had been arranged that henceforth, on the death of a prelate, the clergy of the diocese were to have the right of recommending such candidates, as they deemed most suitable for the vacant dignity. It soon appeared that the court of Rome was disposed to treat such recommendations with very little ceremony. In April, 1847, Dr. Murphy, Roman Catholic bishop of Cork, died; and the parish priests of the diocese nominated Father Mathew as the most worthy to be appointed his successor.[2] This decision was hailed with the highest approbation by the laity; and in an address from the inhabitants

[1] Pp 405 and 442 of this volume.

[2] Maguire's *Father Mathew*, p. 404.

of the city and county of Cork, with one thousand signatures attached, the good friar was congratulated on the selection.[1] Had ecclesiastical Home Rule been the order of the day, the choice would have been final. The churchmen who flourished when Ireland was known as the Isle of Saints would, in such a case, have spurned the idea of applying to any foreign bishop for his confirmation. But times were changed; Romanism had robbed both the clergy and people of their rights; and both were now so servile as to submit to Italian dictation. The Apostle of Temperance—the man who had rendered more substantial service to his country than all the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland put together—was passed over;[2] and Dr. Delany was placed in the see of Cork. In the list of candidates submitted to the Pope, the name of Priest Delany stood next to that of Father Mathew, so that here the Roman arbiter did not entirely ignore the nomination of the parochial clergy; but more recently, and in a case of greater consequence, he ventured upon this bold course. Dr. Crolly, the Roman Catholic primate of Armagh, died in the spring of 1849;[3] and in due time, as usual, the names of three approved candidates were forwarded to Italy. But, to the astonishment of the clergy, all the three were set aside; and the Rev. Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish College in Rome,[4] was advanced to the archiepiscopal chair. Men who consent to give up their freedom deserve to be humiliated. The voters saw that their election was a mockery; but they had sworn to obey the Pope; and they were obliged to submit, as they best could, to the indignity.

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[1] Maguire, p. 408.

[2] Father Mathew died in 1856. He became greatly embarrassed in consequence of his inconsiderate liberality; and, on one occasion, when in Dublin, was actually arrested for debt. In 1847 Government came to his relief by granting him a pension of £300 per annum. By the aid of this endowment he insured his life, and was thus able, in the end, to meet the demands of his creditors. Maguire, pp. 427, 430.

[3] Dr. Crolly, a native of County Down, was consecrated Roman Catholic Bishop of Down and Connor in 1825. He was a supporter of the National System of Education. He became Primate in 1835. He laid the foundation of the splendid Roman Catholic Cathedral at Armagh, which was opened for worship on the 24th August, 1873.

[4] He was also agent to the Irish R. C. Bishops at Rome. Fitzpatrick, ii. 489.

Paul Cullen, who was born in April, 1803, had been a student at the Roman Catholic college of Carlow in the time of Dr. Doyle; and his peculiar gifts had not escaped the notice of that keen observer.[1] He had subsequently taken up his residence in the papal city, where he soon attracted attention by his zeal, acquirements, and ability. The reason why he was selected as Archbishop of Armagh did not long remain a secret. Of late the state of Ireland had awakened much anxiety at Rome; the zeal of the Protestant missionaries was there duly reported; the course pursued by a number of the Roman Catholic prelates was considered too liberal and accommodating; and it was deemed prudent to place, at the helm of the Roman Catholic Church, an ecclesiastic of strict Ultramontane principles, skilled in that subtle and mysterious diplomacy which Jesuitism so much delights to patronize. The new archbishop was consecrated in February, 1850; and, a few weeks afterwards, a papal bull was issued authorizing the convocation of a *national* Synod. This Synod—the only one of the kind which had been held in Ireland since before the Revolution—assembled in St. Patrick's College, Thurles, County Tipperary, towards the close of the following August; and continued for a fortnight in session. It was attended by the four archbishops, twenty bishops, and a number of other dignitaries. Archbishop Cullen presided as delegate of the Apostolic See; and was obviously the ruling spirit in all the deliberations.[2] His object was to invigorate discipline, and inaugurate a course of ecclesiastical policy to which all the prelates would be expected to adhere. The Synod formally adopted the creed of Pope Pius IV., made various regulations relating to the administration of the Sacraments, enacted laws to guide the deportment of the parochial clergy and the conduct of the bishops, and passed resolutions pertaining to several matters of public interest—particularly the subject of education. It sat with closed doors; and its business was conducted with the utmost secrecy. Its decrees, drawn up

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[1] Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 450; ii. 146, 489.

[2] As to the adroit management by which a majority was secured, see Cairnes' *Political Essays*, 317-321. London, 1873.

in due form, were transmitted to Italy—where they obtained the papal sanction. As it marks the commencement of something like a new era in the history of Irish Romanism, its proceedings are entitled to special notice.

Since baptism, says the Synod, is "necessary to salvation," it may be validly conferred by anyone. The parish priests should therefore see to it that all the faithful, especially the midwives, know the mode and form of its administration, that, in case of necessity, they may administer it properly.[1] If anyone, not a Catholic, presents his children to a Catholic priest to be baptized, and there be hope that they will be educated as Catholics, by all means let them be baptized, but let a Catholic godfather or godmother be employed.[2] Let the holy Eucharist be kept in faithful custody under lock and key. Lest the particles spoil by being too long kept, let the parochial clergy, and other priests who should attend to it, renew them every eighth day.[3] In churches in which the holy Eucharist is kept, let at least one lamp remain burning by day; and, where it can be done with safety, by night.[4] The mass is not to be celebrated twice on the Lord's Day, or on a festival day, without due permission.[5] Masses are not to be celebrated after noon.[6] The parish priests may keep the holy Eucharist in their own houses that it may be carried to the sick, where that is necessary and allowed.[7] The chalices should be of gold or silver; or the cup at least should be of silver inlaid with gold.[8] When mass is celebrated, not less than two wax candles should be burning.[9] Let the clergy keep clear of public balls, horse-races, hunts, and theatres.[10] Let the dress of the clergy be always of a black or dark colour, so that, by means of it, ecclesiastics may be easily distinguished from all other men.[11] Let no priest reside in a private house without the previous consent of the bishop.[12] If a parochial house is in existence, it must not be pulled down, or very much altered, without the consent of the bishop.[13]

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[1] *Decreta Synodi Plenariæ Episcoporum Hiberniæ apud Thurles*, p. 18. Dublin, 1851.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 19. [3] *Ibid.* p. 21. [4] *Ibid.* p. 22.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 25. [6] *Ibid.* p. 24. [7] *Ibid.* p. 23.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 24. [9] *Ibid.* p. 24. [10] *Ibid.* pp. 30-31.

[11] *Ibid.* p. 32. [12] *Ibid.* p. 33. [13] Ibid. p. 38.

Parish priests must let it be known that all incur the sentence of excommunication who become Freemasons.[1] No priest, for any cause, must inveigh from the altar against anyone by name.[2] The coadjutors to the parish priests are to be chosen by the bishop, and to be removed by him from parish to parish.[3] Their rights and duties are to be defined by the bishop.[4] The bishop should, if possible, hold a diocesan Synod every year, in which should be published the statutes of provincial or national Synods.[5] Irish bishops should go to Rome once every ten years, and give an account of the state of their dioceses.[6] The bishops, in their visitations, should inspect the chapel in all its parts, and mark whether all things in it be orderly and neat; they should also see to it that there be no want of vestments, books, chalices, and other things required for divine offices; and that they be kept clean.[7]

These rules are a specimen of the legislation of the Synod of Thurles in relation to matters of discipline and worship; but the subject of education seems to have chiefly occupied the minds of the assembled prelates. They were not satisfied with the national schools; and they recorded their judgment that a separate system of instruction for young Romanists would, in every way, be preferable;[8] but they were not prepared for the extreme measure of withdrawing the children from these seminaries. The schools had now been long in operation; and some of themselves had, in the most public manner, expressed their approval of them. Many of the national teachers, as well as the pupils, were of their own communion; and they doubtless felt that, by now attempting to cut the connection, they might overstrain their authority. They therefore adopted the more cautious policy of advancing certain claims which, if conceded, would give

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[1] *Decreta Synodi Plenariæ Episcoporum Hiberniæ apud Thurles*, p. 39. Dublin, 1851.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 40.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 42. These coadjutors are assistants to the parish priests. See before, p. 396.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 42.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 45.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 46.

[8] *Ibid.* p. 55.

them almost absolute control over the national education. They agreed to insist that all books which contained anything adverse to Catholic doctrine must be removed from the schools;[1] they expressed their conviction that, in ordinary school-hours, the teachers should *not* inculcate those fundamental truths of religion respecting which all sects are agreed;[2] they protested against Romanists making over school-houses to the National Board,[3] or permitting their children to attend schools taught by Protestant masters;[4] they required that the books employed to teach the ordinary branches of instruction must receive the sanction of the bishop of the diocese; and they urged most strenuously that a Protestant must not be suffered to teach history to Romanists.[5]

The Queen's Colleges were founded on exactly the same principles as the national schools; but they were yet in their infancy; and the hierarchy assembled at Thurles believed that, with respect to them, they might safely venture on a more decided policy. The Synod passed on all these colleges a sweeping sentence of condemnation. We declare, said the prelates, that no Irish bishop should take any part in their management or administration.[6] We prohibit priests and all other ecclesiastics from taking or retaining any offices in connection with them, whether as Professors or Deans of Residences.[7] We declare that, on account of the dangers to faith and morals to which youths are exposed in them, they should be rejected and avoided.[8] To provide for the sound education of Catholic youth, and to carry out the repeated advice of the Apostolic See, we deem it our duty to endeavour,

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[1] *Decreta*, p. 55.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 56. "Tutius multo esse ut literarum tantummodo humanarum magisterium fiat in scholis promiscuis, quam ut fundamentales, ut ajunt, et communes religionis Christianæ articuli restricte tradantur, reservata singulis sectis peculiari seorsum eruditione. Ita enim cum pueris agere periculosum valde videtur."

[3] *Ibid.* p. 57. [4] *Ibid.* p. 57. [5] *Ibid.* p. 58.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 59.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 53. It would appear that the appointment of Deans of Residences was originally made "in compliance with *the unanimous request of the Roman Catholic prelates.*" Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners. Minutes of Evidence, p. 248. Quest. 3,699.

[8] *Decreta*, p. 53.

with all our might, to have erected, as soon as possible, a Catholic university in Ireland.[1]

The decrees of Thurles were not adopted unanimously. Though the business of the Synod was conducted with great privacy, it soon oozed out that there had been considerable diversity of sentiment. Primate Cullen had contrived to secure a majority in favour of his views; but he had met with firm and influential opposition.[2] Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, now upwards of eighty years of age,[3] had, for nearly twenty years, acted as one of the Government Commissioners; and had often given his testimony unequivocally in favour of the national system; other members of the Romish hierarchy had been almost as strongly pledged to its support; and it was not to be expected that these prelates would all at once give up their convictions, and concur in the policy of their Ultramontane president. Immediately after the rising of the Synod,[4] the Dublin Archbishop and his adherents addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they fully expressed their sentiments.[5] Dr. Murray assured Pius IX. that a number of his brethren with whom he had conferred on the subject, and whom he deemed most eminent for piety and wisdom, had, along with himself, arrived at the firm persuasion that it would be safer to tolerate the Queen's Colleges than to repudiate them utterly.[6] The reply of the Pontiff was long delayed; but meanwhile the court of Rome formally condemned the Royal seminaries. When Pius at

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[1] *Decreta*, p. 54.

[2] Professor O'Leary, himself a Roman Catholic, and Vice-President of Galway College, states in his evidence before her Majesty's Commissioners in March, 1857, that "the decree of the Synod of Thurles, by which Roman Catholic clergymen are prohibited from interfering in the administration of these colleges, was *carried by a small majority*."—Minutes of Evidence, p. 248. Q. 3,690. It has been alleged that there was only *one* of a majority.

[3] He was born at Arklow, in County Wicklow, in 1768. *Notices of his Life and Character*, p. 53. In 1831, under his auspicet, the Sisters of Mercy made their first appearance in Ireland. *Ibid.* p. 119. He became coadjutor to Archbishop Troy in 1809.

[4] The letter was dated September 11th, 1850.

[5] Professor O'Leary states that "Dr. Murray was under the impression that the Pope would not ratify the decrees." See Minutes of Evidence, p. 249. Q. 3,702.

[6] *Notices of his Life and Character*, p. 202.

length returned an answer to Dr. Murray, he announced this decision; and signified his expectation that all concerned would yield unhesitating obedience. At the same time he rebuked the dissentients for making known their opposition. "We cannot dissemble," said he, "that it was to us a subject of no small regret" that, after the termination of the Synod of Thurles, its transactions had been "publicly divulged, notwithstanding our earnest recommendation that silence" respecting them "should be most carefully observed."[1] In the olden time, Irish Synods always met in public; but mystery marks the papal policy; and here, as in other cases, its hierarchy was commanded by its chief ruler to move forward in darkness. Dr. Murray, in his answer, informed the Pontiff that he, and the bishops who had acted with him, had no idea of farther opposition. "The instant," says he, "that the decree regarding the Queen's Colleges was made known to them, they all, as I have heard and know to be truth, submitted, as they were bound to do, without delay, to that decisive sentence."[2]

About the time of the meeting of the Synod of Thurles, an evident change took place in the educational policy of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy. Government, in a spirit of enlightened statesmanship, desired to see children of all denominations brought up at the same public schools—in the hope that the bitterness of sectarian animosity would be mitigated by personal intercourse; and that the pupils, at a more advanced period of life, would be disposed to mingle together in a friendly temper, as members of one great community. But, from this date, the Roman Catholic prelates exhibited a greater dislike to mixed schools, and a decided preference for denominational education. The schools of the Christian Brothers—in which Popery undiluted is taught in the ordinary books of instruction—were patronized by them, to the injury of those under the National Board. In 1840, the Irish Roman Catholic bishops intimated to the Lord-Lieutenant that "it would be very desirable to have a model

[1] Meagher's *Notices of his Life and Character*, p. 199.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 202.

school in each of the provinces—as such an establishment would inspire the inhabitants of the province with greater confidence in the system of national education."[1] In January, 1848—when the foundation stone of the Newry District Model School was laid—Dr. Blake, Roman Catholic Bishop of Dromore, took part in the ceremony. He also moved a resolution to the effect that the company then assembled "felt deeply grateful to the Commissioners of National Education for having resolved to build their first district model school" in that place; and "hailed the cordial unanimity with which the ministers and members of every religious denomination met that day to celebrate the event, as in itself one of the best results of the national system."[2] But, soon after Primate Cullen was placed at the head of the Roman Catholic bishops of Ireland, a complete revolution of sentiment appeared. The model schools were sternly denounced; Roman Catholic children were forbidden to accept their tuition; those who had been in attendance were withdrawn; and Roman Catholic teachers were interdicted from submitting to the training given in the model school in Dublin.[3]

When the Education Board was originally instituted, several schoolbooks were published under its direction; and, among the rest, *Scripture Extracts* were provided to serve for ordinary reading lessons. These extracts, and a volume entitled *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity*,[4] had the unanimous approval of the Commissioners—including Dr. Murray, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. The *Extracts*

[1] See Letter from James Gibson, Esq., one of the Commissioners, dated May 10th, 1870, to the Right Hon. the Earl of Powis, p. 4.

[2] Mr. Gibson's Letter, p. 5.

[3] Mr. Gibson's Letter to the Earl of Powis, p. 5. Archbishop McHale, in his *Lenten Pastoral* of 1866, says that some teachers had "sought to elude the prohibition of their ecclesiastical superiors, by betaking themselves to the central model school for training." He adds:—"In order to put an effectual check to such discreditable schemes, *sacraments are to be refused to any parents* who consent to send their children to interdicted schools conducted by such perverse and contumacious teachers."

[4] As to the book entitled *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity*, "so careful was Dr. Murray, that he sent it to Rome to be submitted to the late Pope, who had it read to him in Italian, and pronounced it unobjectionable."—*Life and Correspondence of Archbishop Whately*, vol. ii., p. 276.

related to the great facts of Christianity and the duties it enjoins; and, as well as the *Lessons*, avoided all controverted topics. In 1837 Dr. Whately drew up *Easy Lessons on Christian Evidences*, which, with the full concurrence of all the Commissioners, were also used in ordinary school hours.[1] But, immediately after the death of Archbishop Murray in February, 1852, the *Scripture Extracts*, the *Lessons on the Truth of Christianity*, and the *Lessons on Christian Evidences*, were denounced by the Roman Catholic clergy; and all Roman Catholic children and teachers were forbidden to use them.[2] Some change took place about the same time in the constitution of the Board;[3] and a resolution to the effect that the books, now deemed obnoxious, should be removed from the list of publications sanctioned by the Commissioners, was carried by a majority of their suffrages. This decision was regarded by some of the members, who had long taken a very active part in the management of the national system, as a breach of its fundamental regulations; and, in 1853, Archbishop Whately and two of his colleagues withdrew from its supervision.[4]

In the beginning of the present century, education was at the lowest ebb in Ireland.[5] An overwhelming majority of the population could neither write nor read.[6] There were multitudes of hedge-schools in the country; but the tuition

[1] *Whately's Life and Correspondence*, ii. p. 264-5. [2] *Ibid* ii. p. 266.

[3] There were at first only seven Commissioners, viz:—The Duke of Leinster, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Dr. Carlile, A. R. Blake, Esq., and Robert Holmes, Esq. In 1845 there were eleven Commissioners. The number has since been increased. See p. 518, *note* (1).

[4] *Whately's Life and Correspondence*, ii. p. 268. In certain schoolbooks, published in 1867, "under the direction of the Commissioners," some pieces justly offensive to Protestants appeared.

[5] Elementary education made great progress in Ireland between 1811 and 1824. In 1811 there were about 4,600 schools in the country attended by 200,000 scholars; in 1824 there were 11,823 schools attended by 560,549 scholars. Second Report of Commissioners of Irish Education Inquiry, Appendix, p. 48.

[6] In 1800, even in the diocese of Meath, there were "scarcely any parochial schools for primary education."—*Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, p. 82. "There is now (1868) no Catholic parish or union that has not one, two, or more such schools—there being in the sixty-eight parishes or unions upwards of 200 schools."—*Ibid.*

they supplied was of the most despicable character [1]—often calculated rather to demoralize than improve. Even in 1834, there were said to be 449 parishes without a school of any description.[2] Notwithstanding the admitted want of elementary instruction, the Commissioners of the National Board long carried on their operations under no little discouragement. Before their system was established, the most distinguished of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates had, as we have stated, expressed a desire to see such a scheme in operation; and, for some time after it was actually set up, the Roman Catholic clergy were its chief supporters.[3] The Protestants, as a body, were dissatisfied, because the Bible was disused as an ordinary schoolbook. The landed proprietors—most of whom belonged to the Episcopal Establishment—refused to grant sites for national schoolhouses; and the Church Education Society [4] started schools in opposition. This Protestant resistance rendered the system more acceptable to the priests; but, when they discovered that they were not to have a monopoly of its advantages, and that the Board was not disposed to wink at the breach of its regulations in the interest of Popery, some of them began to change their tone, and to denounce what they had previously commended. In 1839—about the time when the Synod of Ulster joined the Board—the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam and his clergy announced their secession from it.[5] Thus it appeared

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[1] The books used in the hedge-schools had often a most immoral tendency.

[2] Second Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction, pp. xv. xvi. These 449 parishes had an aggregate population of 342,198 persons. *Ibid.*

[3] According to the Third Report of the Commissioners, there were in 1836 in Ulster, as correspondents of the Board, twenty-three clergymen of the Established Church, forty Presbyterian ministers, and 101 priests; in Leinster, one Episcopalian clergyman, no Presbyterian minister, and 142 priests; in Munster, five ministers of the Established Church, no Presbyterian clergyman, and eighty-four priests; and in Connaught, one Episcopal minister, no Presbyterian clergyman, and fifty-one priests.

[4] The ablest and most distinguished advocate of the Church Education Society was Dr. O'Brien, who died Bishop of Ossory in 1874, in the eighty-third year of his age. Several of his speeches and letters on the subject have been published. See chap. xii. of this volume.

[5] Sixth Report of the Commissioners, p. 142. Reports of the Commissioners, vol. i. Dublin, 1851.

that there was still a party among the Romanists by whom the new system was viewed with suspicion and dislike.

On the death of Dr. Murray in 1852, Dr. Cullen was appointed Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin. The design of his transference, from Armagh to the Irish capital, was apparent. By his residence in the neighbourhood of the Vice-regal Court, he was in a better position for watching the movements of state-officials, for conferring with persons of authority or importance, and for directing all the ecclesiastical machinery. The Commissioners of National Education were soon made to feel his influence. The withdrawal of the *Scripture Extracts*, and of the *Lessons on the Evidences* and the *Truth of Christianity*, as national schoolbooks, may be traced to his dictation. The condemnation of the model schools was also a part of his policy. The Synod of Thurles had agreed to complain to Government that their denomination was not adequately represented on the Board. They pleaded that the majority of the Commissioners were Protestants, whilst the majority of the children in attendance at the schools belonged to the Church of Rome.[1] Could they have complained that the majority of the *teachers* were Protestants, there would have been something plausible in such an objection; even though they might have been unable to prove that the masters had interfered, in a solitary case, with the religious principles of their pupils. But they had no such grievance; for it was notorious that a vast preponderance of the teachers, as well as of the children, belonged to their own communion. As matters stood, their complaint, respecting the constitution of the Board, did not exhibit much modesty. The money for the support of education in Ireland was paid out of the imperial treasury; and common sense suggested that its distributors should have the confidence of the British people. The tax-payers—represented by the legislature of the three kingdoms—had a right to see that the system was honestly administered. This object could only be accomplished by the appointment of Commissioners chosen—not because they were of this or that Church—but because they were persons

[1] *Decreta*, pp. 58-9.

of known intelligence and probity. It would have been absurd to have entrusted their nomination either to the children in attendance on the schools, or to the Irish clergy, according to the strength of their several denominations. But the Government did not turn an entirely deaf ear to this unreasonable demand. Of the seven original Commissioners five were Protestants; the number of the members was slowly increased; from time to time Roman Catholics were added; and thus the anti-Protestant element was gradually invigorated.[1] But notwithstanding the concessions made to them—sometimes to the detriment of the public interest—Archbishop Cullen and his partizans continued to grumble; and, by insisting on denominational schools in a country already so distracted, pursued a course calculated to perpetuate and embitter sectarian animosities.[2]

Though encumbered by enemies on every side, the national system of education made steady and vigorous progress. The excellence of its schoolbooks was universally acknowledged; its teachers enjoyed the advantages of superior training; and its course of general instruction was decidedly preferable to any which had previously existed. In the array of its schools and the number of its pupils, the new Board soon far outstripped all preceding organizations. In 1825—about fourteen years after its establishment—the Kildare Place Society was able to boast that it gave instruction to 100,000 children;[3] but, in its very first Report, the National Board announced that its pupils already amounted to 107,042.[4] In the eighth Report—drawn up in 1841, or two years after

[1] About the close of the year 1873 there were twenty Commissioners, of whom ten were Roman Catholics. Of the ten Protestant members, six were Episcopalians, three Presbyterians, and one Unitarian. As the ten Romanists had more coherence than the Protestants, they virtually ruled the Board.

[2] In December, 1864, what has been called the "Irish National Association" was publicly inaugurated. Dr. Cullen was present at the meeting, and moved the first resolution, which stated, among other things, that the Episcopal Church was maintained "in defiance of the will of the great majority of the Irish people," and that it was "a badge of national servitude offensive and degrading *alike to all Irishmen*." Another resolution adopted at the same meeting was in favour of denominational education.

[3] See before, p. 392 of this volume.

[4] See First Report, 1834.

the system had received the sanction of the Synod of Ulster —the Commissioners recorded the significant fact that their schools were giving tuition to upwards of 280,000 scholars.[1] Three years afterwards—or in December, 1844—the attendance had increased to 395,550.[2] In 1848 it considerably exceeded half-a-million.[3] The population of the country has since much declined; but, notwithstanding, the attendance on the national schools has been steadily advancing. In December, 1856, there were 5,245 schools with an attendance of 560,134 children.[4] In December, 1872, the schools numbered 7,050, with 1,010,148 pupils on their muster-rolls.[5] The grants of Government for their support, during that year, amounted to £372,628.[6]

The Queen's Colleges were opened for the reception of students in October, 1849. They had been previously condemned by the Pope;[7] and the Synod of Thurles, in the following year, as we have seen, prohibited the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, under pain of suspension, from acting even as Deans of Residences. Roman Catholic youths were also warned against attendance. But, despite these ecclesiastical interdicts, a considerable number of Romanists were soon found among both the Professors and the students. The president of the College of Cork was a member of the Church of Rome; and the vice-president of the College of Galway belonged to the same communion. During the first session, eighty matriculated Roman Catholic students entered one or other of the three colleges.[8] The Roman Catholics taught at Galway have often exceeded in number all the other students

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[1] The numbers given in the Report are 281,849.

[2] See Eleventh Report.

[3] According to the Sixteenth Report, the number of children in attendance on the 31st December, 1848, amounted to 507,469.

[4] Twenty-third Report. Of the schools 117 were convent and monastic schools, attended by 45,292 pupils. Of these, forty-six were in Munster, attended by 22,053 children; and seven were in Ulster, with an attendance of 1,750 children.

[5] Of these, little more than one-third, or 355,821, were in daily attendance.

[6] *Thom's Almanac*, for 1874, p. 732. Ulster in 1872 furnished more than one-third of all the scholars.

[7] See *Decreta Synod ap. Thurles*, pp. 73, 75.

[8] Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, presented to both Houses of Parliament, p. 34. Dublin, 1858.

of that College combined.[1] The decision of the Synod of Thurles acted, no doubt, in the way of discouragement; but it failed to prevent the attendance of young Romanists; and, to this day, they furnish a considerable contribution to the classes of all the Colleges.[2] The new seminaries commenced their career under singularly disadvantageous circumstances. The united opposition of the Roman Catholic prelates was not their only difficulty. The country was still suffering grievously from the effects of the famine; and many, who would otherwise have gladly availed themselves of the benefits they supplied, were prevented, by want of means, from joining the classes. Still, however, the friends of the Colleges had no reason to be dissatisfied with their progress. For the first seven years, a greater number of matriculated students entered Cork College than either of the others;[3] but Belfast then took the lead;[4] and, in consequence of the peculiar discouragements with which it had to struggle, Galway had the most scanty attendance. But in 1857—eight years after it was opened—even Galway had made greater progress than had Trinity College, Dublin, within the same period after the date of its establishment.[5] In the session of 1856-7, 454 students were in the class-rooms of the new Colleges.[6] Since that period there has been a decided increase. In the session

[1] Report of her Majesty's Commissioners, presented to both Houses of Parliament, p. 34. Dublin, 1858. Evidence of Vice-President of Galway College. Minutes of Evidence, p. 24. Quest. 3,686.

[2] Of the 135 matriculated students of Galway College for the session 1872-3, sixty-eight were Romanists, and sixty-seven were Protestants of various denominations. See *Thom's Almanac* for 1874, p. 804.

[3] During the seven years, 359 matriculated students entered at Belfast, and 399 at Cork. See Report of Commissioners, p. 34.

[4] Dr. O'Donovan, the editor of the *Annals of the Four Masters*—so often quoted in the earlier part of this work—was for several years Professor of Irish in Queen's College, Belfast. He died in Dublin, aged fifty-three, in December, 1861. His friend, Eugene O'Curry, another accomplished Irish antiquarian, did not long survive him. Professor O'Curry died in August, 1862.

[5] In 1857 Galway had produced twenty-seven bachelors of arts. In 1616—twenty-three years after it was opened—Trinity College had produced only fifty-three bachelors of arts. See Report of Commissioners, Tables and Returns, p. 369. See also before, Book iii., chap. vi., vol. i., p. 513, *note* (6).

[6] Report of Commissioners, p. 33.

of 1872-3, there were 695 matriculated students of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, viz., 328 at Belfast; 232 at Cork; and 135 at Galway. Of these 695 students, 233 were Presbyterians under the care of the Irish General Assembly, 65 were of other denominations, 217 were Protestant Episcopalians, and the remaining 180 were Roman Catholics.[1]

It is obvious from the preceding statements, that, in the matter of education, the Irish Roman Catholic prelates have pursued a not very consistent or creditable policy. When the national system was founded, most of them professed to hail it as a boon, and to recognize the advantages which would accrue to the State from the united instruction of the youth of all denominations. They now insist on separate schools for the children of their own communion[2]—so that they may be taught from infancy to avoid intercourse with the other children of the country. Such a demand no patriotic government should sanction. It should rather seek to weld the whole country together by the warm attachments of early association. The claim of the Romish hierarchy—to set aside unchallenged all schoolbooks of which they disapprove—would, if conceded, give them almost absolute control over the whole course of elementary instruction. And the way in which they would use such a privilege, is illustrated by their condemnation of the *Scripture Extracts*, the *Lessons on the Evidences*, and on the *Truth of Christianity*. These books taught the purest morality, and they had no sectarian tinge; but they were not quite to the taste of these dignitaries—and that was enough. An intelligent child might infer from them, that there are good and glorious principles held by those who are not within the pale of so-called Catholicity; and that Christianity does not depend, for its authority, on the recommenda-

[1] *Thom's Almanac* for 1874, p. 804.

[2] The import of the new demand has been well described by a veteran statesman :—"It is now considered dangerous that a Roman Catholic child should be made aware that there are Protestant children in the land, that he should play with them, talk with them, learn arithmetic with them, be on friendly terms with them, or consider them as otherwise than as outcasts from heaven. A better prescription for sowing hatred and ill-will between Catholics and Protestants in Ireland cannot well be imagined."—*Recollections and Suggestions*, by John Earl Russell, p. 159. London, 1875.

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encouraged by enlightened statesmen ?
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of religion respecting which all sects
doctrines are surely the common proper
none should be forbidden to give them
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According to the Synod of Thurles, a P
dispense the initiatory rite of Christ
Romanist ; but a Protestant pedagogu
permitted to teach young Romanists the
Proverbs of Solomon.

No Church is entitled to claim co
the secular instruction of the children
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circumstances, no part of the duty
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they should encourage education, the
usurpers when they challenge its exclusive
and guardians have natural rights whicl
and the State, rather than the Church,
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will attend carefully to the moral and i
the rising generation ; and they will no
the poor with facilities for education—s
they may be prepared to benefit their
intelligent, and industrious members of

[1] *Decreta*, p. 56.

tion. When the State supplies the funds, it is bound to superintend their distribution; and ecclesiastics, of whatever denomination, bear themselves presumptuously, when they step forward and insist that they must monopolize the management. Such, however, is the claim which has been long and persistently urged by Irish Roman Catholic prelates. Their adherents already enjoy by far the larger portion of the grant voted by Parliament for national education; the priests are the patrons of very many of the national schools; and an immense majority, as well of the teachers, as of the scholars, are of their communion. But the papal hierarchy are not satisfied. They continue to agitate for denominational education. They contend that, whilst the State should supply the funds, they themselves should directly or virtually manage the whole machinery. They maintain that they should select the ordinary schoolbooks; and that Protestant masters, however competent, should not be suffered to give even secular instruction to Roman Catholic children. According to their views, Popery should be mixed up with grammar and geography, elocution and arithmetic. The Church is not safe, should the elements of literature and science be dispensed, in their purity, to the rising generation. Could the Romish hierarchy demonstrate, by an appeal to experience, that wherever their system has been fully developed, its professors have been most orderly and prosperous, their pretensions might be entitled to some consideration; but the logic of facts sternly forbids concession. It is notorious that, in every part of the country where Popery is rampant, the people are most wretched, turbulent, and demoralized. Discreet statesmen may therefore very properly decline to confer on such claimants any additional influence over education.

In countries where every one is permitted, within certain limits, to give full utterance to his views, and to proceed according to his own judgment, the community reaps benefit from the collision of sentiments and the liberty of action; for all questions are contemplated from a multitude of different standpoints; and, in the presence of so many independent sentinels—watching every movement and discussing its pro-

priety—the machine of government moves forward more cautiously and more securely. But Romanism is directly opposed to intellectual progress; as, by requiring blind submission to one spiritual dictator, it discourages the exercise of the mental faculties, and proves a dangerous foe to civil and religious freedom. It reduces men to mere automatons; and then claims the right to use their united power to promote—not the general welfare of society—but its own aggrandisement. No State, with safety to the public interests, can now entrust the teaching of the Romish population entirely to the priesthood; for, by adopting the dogma of infallibility, they make the Pope the absolute arbiter even of their civil obedience. By stealthy advances, they have gradually obtained preponderating weight in the Irish Board of Education; and every accession to their influence has tended, not to improve, but to deteriorate the national system. One sect—and that the most unfavourable to mental cultivation—should not be thus permitted to direct an imperial institute; and the sooner the constitution of the National Board is readjusted, the better for the general welfare. In selecting individuals to superintend the management of the Irish National Schools, Government should not truckle to any Church, or virtually hand over the control to any one denomination; but, among the enlightened and cordial friends of education, should simply seek out those, who may be fairly expected to administer the trust most efficiently and faithfully.

In another department, the Irish Roman Catholic prelates displayed a most exacting and unreasonable spirit. They had already facilities for training far more candidates for the priesthood than were required by the population under their care.[1] It was well known that multitudes educated at Maynooth were not settled in Ireland, but were transferred to

[1] In addition to the students in Maynooth, there were, in 1868, in the Missionary College of All Hallows, 220 ecclesiastical students; and in the diocesan R. C. seminaries—thirteen in number—at least 500 other church students—making in all upwards of 700 preparing for the service of the R. C. Church—not reckoning those taught at the public expense at Maynooth. It thus apppears that R. C. Ireland has been educating priests for many other lands. See *Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, p. 385.

America and other lands. These youths were, to a great extent, fed and lodged at the public expense; so that they were more largely patronised by the State than were the aspirants to the ministry connected with either the Presbyterian Church or the Episcopal Establishment. In addition to Maynooth, the Roman Catholic hierarchy had other colleges which they could affiliate with the London University; and thus their laity, without difficulty, could obtain academic degrees.[1] In the Queen's Colleges, they had an excellent system of higher education, conducted by Professors of admitted ability and scholarship, every one of whom, on admission to his chair, was required to enter into a solemn engagement that he would "abstain from teaching or advancing any doctrine, or making any statement *derogatory to the truths of revealed religion*, or injurious or disrespectful to the religious convictions of any portion of his class or audience."[2] By violating this engagement, he rendered himself liable to dismissal. Roman Catholics were eligible to all the offices and honours of the Queen's Colleges; and the prelates could assign no satisfactory reason why their co-religionists should not be students and Professors.[3] But they were determined not to yield. They seem to have been haunted by the apprehension that the faith of their youthful adherents would be shaken by the lectures of learned Protestants on logic, or metaphysics, or political economy; and that mediæval Popery could not well bear the light of modern science. They therefore proceeded to set up in Dublin what they called a Catholic University; and, in a few years, they collected subscriptions

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[1] It would appear that examinations, in connexion with the London University, take place once a year at St. Patrick's College, Carlow. That college has long since been incorporated by royal charter with the London University. Fitzpatrick's *Doyle*, i. 47.

[2] See Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners, &c., p. 7.

[3] In a pastoral, issued early in May, 1865, Dr. Cullen declared that parents who permitted their sons to attend the classes of Trinity College, Dublin, were "unworthy of the sacraments of the Church, and *ought to be excluded from them*." He added:—"Then come the Queen's Colleges, in which the teaching is *more dangerous* than in Trinity College."

for its maintenance amounting to £130,000.[1] But, though supported by their united influence, this seminary did not flourish. Many educated Roman Catholics complained of the insufficiency of its teaching;[2] and students, not quite prepared to bow down under the Ultramontane yoke, refused to attend its classes.[3] The Roman Catholic prelates had the effrontery to apply to the British Government for an endowment to this monkish institute; and sought to obtain for it the power of conferring degrees. But, though a time-serving ministry, tempted by the prospect of political support, were at one time not indisposed to make these concessions, they were deterred from such a suicidal policy by the indignant protest of the British people.[4]

[1] *Westminster Review* for January and April, 1867, p. 119. In 1855 the subscriptions amounted to £58,070 1*s*. 5*d*. Of this sum £27,616 had been collected in Ireland, £16,000 in the United States, £14,166 in England and Scotland, and the balance in different Roman Catholic countries. The whole sum contributed up to 1874 was £187,000. Most of this had been then expended. Fifth Report of the Royal Commission, pp. 25, 26.

[2] *Westminster Review*, January and April, 1867.

[3] According to the Fifth Report of the Royal Commission on Scientific Instruction and the Advancement of Science (London, 1874) there were in the academical year 1873-4, eighty-six students in attendance on the medical classes of this so-called University. The resident students in science and arts for the same year only amounted to thirty. The annual expenditure for maintenance and professorial stipends was £7,000 per annum. In 1874 the income exceeded £10,000. To induce students to attend, a sum of fully £1,000 a year is now given away "in prizes and burses" (p. 37). Every professor must adopt the creed of Pope Pius IV. in presence of the rector. The professors must all receive the approval of the Roman Catholic hierarchy; and a professor may at any time be dismissed by them. The Pope has given the rector the faculty of conferring degrees; though it is admitted that, in point of law, he has no such power. Notwithstanding the illegality of the proceeding, the University has already conferred degrees in theology, p. 26.

[4] On the 14th of Jauuary, 1866, Archbishop Cullen forwarded to Government two letters, or memorials, on the part of twenty-nine Irish Roman Catholic prelates, proposing that the Catholic University be chartered and *endowed*, and that "the Queen's Colleges be re-arranged on the principles of the denominational system of education."

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE DEATH OF DANIEL O'CONNELL TO THE PERIOD OF DISESTABLISHMENT. A.D. 1847 TO A.D. 1871.

THE IRISH GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE ULSTER REVIVAL.—THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH AND DISESTABLISHMENT.

THE Queen's Colleges were of singular benefit to the Irish Presbyterian Church. Her students had long been precluded from all hope of academic advancement; for, without conforming to the Established Church, they could not secure a single step of promotion in Dublin University.[1] They now found themselves in very different circumstances. They had before them a fair field for competition; they saw one of their own ministers[2] presiding over the college of Belfast; and they knew that, if worthy of the position, any one of themselves might yet occupy an academic chair. Though the famine had greatly quickened emigration, and thinned the population of many of the Presbyterian districts, the Presbyterian Church continued to move onward with undiminished vigour. From the Union of the Synod of Ulster and the Secession Synod, in 1840, to the period of Disestablishment, the General Assembly increased from 443 to 553 congregations.[3] At the period of

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[1] The Board of Trinity College, Dublin, shortly after the erection of the Queen's Colleges, established scholarships open to persons of all religious persuasions. The professorships, except those connected with the Divinity school, were also opened to all denominations. See *The Irish Difficulty*, by an Observer, p. 43. London, 1868.

[2] The Rev. P. S. Henry, D.D.

[3] In 1854 the Presbytery of Munster joined the Assembly, and thus added seven to its congregations.

the Union of the two Synods, few of the ministers had manses; but in 1853 a movement was made to supply the deficiency. The first effort produced upwards of £30,000; and a second added £20,000.[1] The Manse Fund was intended merely to aid and stimulate congregations in providing homes for their pastors; and its directors seldom gave more than one-third—and often not nearly so much—towards the expense of the erections. In twenty years the Irish Presbyterian Church contributed about £150,000 for manse-building; and at present upwards of 300 of its ministers are thus supplied with comfortable residences.

In 1855 the General Assembly held its annual meeting in Dublin; and, on this occasion, its proceedings attracted much attention. Two pastors, from the valleys of Piedmont, attended as a deputation from the Waldensian Church. It was noticed as a curious coincidence, that, exactly two hundred years before, an appeal had been made to the Irish Protestants, by Oliver Cromwell, on behalf of the Italian confessors. They were then suffering from a frightful persecution, inflicted partly by Irish cut-throats, who had fled from their own country in consequence of their share in the massacre of 1641, and who had found employment in the army of the Duke of Savoy.[2] But two centuries had wrought a wonderful revolution. The fame of the Vaudois now filled all Christendom; and the presence in Dublin of these representatives of the most ancient Protestants in Europe awakened immense enthusiasm. Their appearance in the Irish General Assembly attracted a crowded audience; the spacious hall of the Rotunda, in which they were received, was filled to overflowing; and the ministers and elders listened with profound delight as the strangers proclaimed their accordance in doctrine and polity with the Irish Presbyterians. During their stay in the Irish capital, they resided under the roof of Dr. Whately, the Protestant Arch-

[1] The fund was called the Church and Manse Fund. Part of it was to be applied to aid in the building of churches; but the erection of manses was mainly contemplated. The second effort also included the giving some assistance towards the erection of schoolhouses.

[2] See *History of the Vaudois*, by Peter Boyer, pp. 68, 73, 83. London, 1692. The Irish were to enjoy the valleys after the Vaudois were extirpated.

bishop of Dublin; and the Earl of Carlisle, the Lord Lieutenant, invited them to partake of the hospitalities of the viceregal table. They subsequently addressed large meetings in different cities and towns; and carried home a handsome contribution to aid in the work of Italian evangelization.

Four years afterwards, another meeting of the Presbyterian Assembly was held in Dublin, under peculiarly interesting circumstances. A religious awakening had been going on in Ulster, during the winter and spring preceding; and it had now attained such dimensions as to attract very general notice. It had commenced upwards of twelve months before, in the parish of Connor in the county of Antrim—a place where the people had long enjoyed the services of a faithful and able minister. Many who had thought little of the concerns of eternity became deeply serious; the House of God was frequented by increasing crowds; an unusual stillness often pervaded the congregation, as the pastor prayed or preached; and not a few exhibited evidences of genuine conversion. The Revival spread to the neighbouring parishes—including the village of Ahoghill and the town of Ballymena; and then manifested itself in other districts. At first the work proceeded without any visible excitement; but, when it began to extend, and to be the universal topic of conversation, new and strange symptoms revealed themselves. Individuals sometimes cried out during service; and others fainted. It was no unusual thing to see strong men suddenly stricken with something like paralysis, and removed from the place of worship in a state of almost utter helplessness. In the present condition of the public mind, these phenomena were not incapable of explanation. The awful realities of a future world had awakened universal concern; conscious guilt oppressed multitudes; and, when a sight of the sinner's danger flashed on the mind with all the vividness of a new impression, the body itself gave way under the weight of the conviction. Persons of a nervous temperament are very likely to be affected when they see those around them swoon away; and the sympathy of large congregations added much to the excitement.

This remarkable awakening seemed to penetrate the whole community. It entered Episcopal as well as Methodist

congregations; but it made the most decided impression within the bounds of the General Assembly. It spread to Down, Londonderry, Donegal, and the adjacent counties; and it appeared in several Presbyteries in other parts of Ireland. During its continuance, the way of salvation was taught and illustrated with unwonted clearness. The scenes of apostolic times were reproduced; multitudes were overwhelmed with a sense of guilt; and some sought relief to their consciences by openly confessing to those around them how grievously they had transgressed, and how deeply they had sunk when wallowing in ungodliness. To the old question "What must I do to be saved?" the preacher returned the old reply of Paul and Silas, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved."[1] Anxious inquirers were told that neither fastings, nor any other bodily mortifications, nor almsgivings, could avail to open the gates of the world of glory. The door of faith in Christ is the only means of access into the gracious presence of our Father in heaven. Jesus is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. His blood cleanses from all sin; and by faith we apply the precious remedy. He gives the light of saving knowledge, and the love of God. We show the vitality of our faith by the purity of our practice. As the preacher expatiated on these topics, the congregation listened with profound attention; and, when the Spirit brought home the Word of promise to the heart, the countenances of not a few often beamed with satisfaction. When God teaches us, we see that the way of man's recovery is very simple, safe, and sublime. We have peace in believing.

This unusual movement was variously estimated. Some—including Unitarians and Ritualists—mocked, and denounced the whole as a delusion; some hesitated to pronounce a verdict; and many recognized it as the work of God. Roman Catholics—some of whom, here and there, were brought under its influence—withdrew from the communion of the Pope, and joined the Presbyterian church.[2] A degree of odium was

[1] Acts xvi. 31.

[2] Shortly afterwards, a discussion took place in the Assembly as to the propriety of rebaptizing converts from Popery. The Assembly refused to sanction an overture to that effect—and thus admitted the validity of baptism by Roman Catholic priests,

occasionally brought on the proceedings, by the want of prudence and moderation now and then displayed. Persons in a state of alarm, and without any clear knowledge of the way of salvation, were incautiously permitted to address religious meetings; and it was not strange if these novices vented much folly and extravagance. But the Revival unquestionably left good fruits behind it; and some, who still adorn the Gospel, trace to it the beginning of their spiritual life. It imparted a higher tone to the zeal and piety of the Church; and improved, for the time at least, the morality of the districts which it visited. Drunkenness received a signal check; and crime in every form diminished. The 12th of July—the great Protestant anniversary of Ulster—was kept in Belfast in a way in which it had never been observed before. No drums were heard; the Orangemen indulged in no insulting demonstrations; and many of their dwellings resounded with psalm-singing and prayer. The number of prisoners for trial at the Quarter Sessions for County Antrim in October, 1859, was exactly one-half that of the previous year. At the Ballymena Quarter Sessions in April, 1860—when the Revival had been at work for twelve months in its central district—there was not a single case of indictment upon the record.[1] At the Quarter Sessions for Londonderry of the same date there was no criminal business.[2] The assistant barrister, in his address to the Grand Jury of Coleraine, adverted to the fact that, in a place where offences had formerly abounded, they were now so rare. "How," said he, "is such a gratifying state of things to be accounted for? . . . I believe I am fully warranted now to say, that, to nothing else than the moral and religious movement which commenced early last summer, can the change be attributed."[3]

The Revival occupied the earnest attention of the General Assembly at its annual meeting held in Dublin in 1859.

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on the ground that they are the recognized ministers of a portion, though a very corrupt portion, of the visible Church. The number of converts from Popery, received into the Presbyterian Church during the Revival, imparted increased interest to this discussion. See Minutes of Assembly for 1861, p. 52.

[1] *The Year of Grace*, by the Rev. Professor Gibson, p. 389.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 390.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 76.

Nearly two full sessions were devoted to its consideration. The discussions were conducted with much solemnity and good feeling; and many who were present declared, that they had never before been so much refreshed and instructed, by the proceedings of a church judicatory. In the end, the Assembly, with great cordiality, adopted the following Resolutions:—

"I. That we desire to express profound thankfulness to God, that it has pleased Him to pour out his Spirit on so many of our congregations; and that we recognize, with reverence and awe, and at the same time with inexpressible joy, that sovereign and infinite grace, which, notwithstanding our many shortcomings, has bestowed on us such evident and abundant tokens of the divine favour.

"II. That, in the new and unprecedentedly solemn circumstances in which the Church is placed, we deeply feel the need of being directed by wisdom from on high; and would therefore now call on Him, who giveth liberally and upbraideth not, to bestow the spirit of power, and of love, and of a sound mind, that we may know what we ought to do in this time of special visitation.

"III. That, while the Assembly leaves to ministers to deal in Christian wisdom with individual cases as they arise, the brethren are earnestly reminded of the necessity of guarding, on the one hand, against cherishing undue suspicions of the reality of the work of the Holy Spirit; and on the other, of adopting any course of procedure whereby our people may be led to mistake bodily impressions, or even convictions of sin, for genuine conversion to God.

"IV. That, whilst gladly recognizing, as one of the most marked evidences of the genuineness of this work, the fact stated by all the brethren, that it has been originated and promoted by means of that system of saving truth set forth in the standards of the Church, we would earnestly entreat all our ministers and members to watch against the introduction, from any quarter, of error in doctrine or practice, lest Satan should get an advantage over us, and the Spirit of truth be forced to withdraw."[1]

[1] Minutes of Assembly, pp. 775, 774.

The Right Rev. Dr. Knox, Protestant bishop of Down and Connor and Dromore, the Hon. and Rev. Henry Ward, Rector of Killinchy, Co. Down, and other ministers of the Establishment, recognized the Ulster Revival as a work of grace, and endeavoured to promote its extension; but many divines of their denomination viewed it differently, and denounced the whole movement. It exhibited a state of things for which canons and rubrics made no provision; and presented a variety of features which grievously offended high-church ideas of propriety. Many of the clergy still held the doctrine of apostolical succession; and they could not comprehend how there could be a river of true grace, which did not flow in the ancient channels of Episcopacy. Ritualism had recently been making encroachments in the Irish Establishment, much to the annoyance of those of its members who cherished an earnest Protestantism.

The system of the Plymouth Brethren had also been at work—especially in the south and west of the country; and had loosened the attachment of many of the gentry to Protestant prelacy. Meanwhile the Establishment had been deprived of important secular advantages which it once enjoyed. The passing of the Reform Act, in 1832, gave the first great shock to Episcopal ascendency in the British Isles. From that period, the Established Church of Ireland became a constant theme of discussion among the members of the Imperial Legislature. It presented the strange anomaly of a form of religion, set up in proud supremacy and endowed by the State, whilst it was rejected by nine-tenths of the population. For centuries, it had continued to monopolize almost all the honours and offices of emolument in the country. The revenues of the Church were most unequally and absurdly distributed.[1] The prelates, and a few dignitaries, had bloated

[1] The following were the revenues of the Protestant prelates immediately before disestablishment :—

	£	s.	d.
Armagh	9,798	13	7
Cashel	4,347	4	5
Cork	2,174	5	5½
Derry and Raphoe	6,171	1	4

incomes; whilst many of the working clergy were on the verge of indigence. This state of things was not long unnoticed by a reformed Parliament. The suppression of ten bishopries, and the commutation of tithes into a rent-charge, at a reduction of 25 per cent., have been already mentioned. An attempt to appropriate a portion of the Church's wealth to objects of a different character was, for a time, successfully resisted; but other measures were adopted calculated to abridge its influence. In 1854, in accordance with an address from the House of Commons to the Crown, Commissioners were appointed "to inquire into the funds and actual condition of all schools, endowed for the purposes of education in Ireland."[1] Almost all these endowed schools had long been so many buttresses of the Establishment, and were under its exclusive control. The Commissioners brought to light a great amount of neglect, mismanagement, and peculation. Some changes, indicative of a more liberal policy, had in consequence been introduced. In 1860 another inroad was made on the exclusive territory of Irish Protestant Episcopacy. In that year, an act was passed to abolish the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, in cases of defamation and

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	£.	s.	d.
Down	3,763	9	0
Dublin	7,387	11	9
Killaloe	3,130	4	5
Kilmore	5,255	1	11
Limerick	3,874	15	0
Meath	3,782	6	0
Ossory	3,579	1	0
Tuam	4,767	15	2
Total	£58,031	9	0½

The above is their *net* income, including the annual value of the see houses and lands estimated according to the Poor Law rating, and deducting county cess, poor rates, and other similar charges. See the *Irish Church Directory* for 1870, pp. 126-133, 141, 144. Shortly before, the Protestant prelates had much larger revenues. See pp. 459 and 461 of this volume.

[1] In this same year, by Act of Parliament (17th and 18th of Victoria, chap. 11), the exaction known as "Ministers' Money," hitherto paid by certain towns, and amounting to about £12,500 a year, was abolished; and the clergy supported by it were to be paid out of the funds at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

"brawling."[1] These courts—which were a remnant of the papal system—had power to involve those brought into them in ruinous expenses; and a case had recently occurred in the north of Ireland, in which a Presbyterian minister—who had unwittingly violated the law, by a slight act of indiscretion at a meeting of the parish vestry—was made accountable for costs to the extent of £700.[2] This Act put an end to such scandalous oppression. Another measure, which was passed in 1867,[3] indicated a bolder movement in the direction of religious equality. Under this act a Roman Catholic mayor could appear in a Popish chapel in his robes of office;[4] and a Roman Catholic barrister could hold the position of Irish Lord Chancellor.[5]

When it was at length apparent that the rank of the Irish Episcopal Church, as an Establishment, was seriously imperilled, various expedients were mooted to modify or disarm opposition. It was proposed that it should be reconstructed, with a view to its increased efficiency, and to the more judicious distribution of its revenues.[6] It was also suggested that there should be concurrent endowment, or the endowment of other denominations.[7] This scheme implied

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[1] The 23rd and 24th of Victoria, chap. xxxii.—"An Act to abolish the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts in Ireland in cases of Defamation, and in England and Ireland in certain cases of Brawling."

[2] For an account of this affair see *Memoir of John Edgar, D.D., LL.D.*, pp. 157-8.

[3] The 30th and 31st of Victoria, chap. lxxv.—"An Act to remove certain Religious Disabilities affecting some of Her Majesty's subjects, and to amend the law relating to Oaths of Office."

[4] The Mayor of Kilkenny, Alderman Buggy, and the other members of the Council, were the first corporation in Ireland to attend a Romish cathedral in full official costume.—*Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, p. 86.

[5] Under this Act Lord Chancellor O'Hagan was shortly afterwards appointed.

[6] According to the Report of the Royal Commission appointed in 1865 to inquire into the revenues and condition of the Established Church in Ireland, there were then 1,074 benefices each with a net income under £300 a year. Of these 297 were under £100 a year.

[7] Some of the most distinguished of the Irish Protestant bishops were at this crisis not unfavourable to concurrent endowment. Thus Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory, in a pamphlet published in 1868, says:—"If the State maintains the Established Church *on the ground of truth*, it cannot, it is said, maintain a priesthood which teaches that the truth is not to be found in that Church. But is this the case? . . . . Why, supporting one on the ground of truth, may it not support

an augmentation of the Regium Donum, and a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy. The Popish prelates announced that they would not accept a subsidy from the State; and their declaration may be accepted as sincere; for their Church was now well supported by the voluntary contributions of its members;[1] and they knew well that the Protestants of Great Britain would be most unwilling to grant them a very liberal maintenance. By becoming stipendiaries of Government, they would grievously offend many of their own adherents; and perhaps, in the end, not add much to their financial resources. But astute politicians—who remembered their history, and especially their avowed readiness, less than seventy years before, to accept the bounty of the State—did not attach much importance to the solemnity of their present protestations. All such speculations were, however, set at rest when, in March, 1868, the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, in his place in Parliament, moved a series of resolutions to the effect that, in the opinion of the House, the Irish Establishment should cease; that the Maynooth endowment should be discontinued; and that the Regium Donum should be withdrawn—full compensation being made for the life interests of existing beneficiaries.[2] These resolutions were carried by a

the other upon some different and lower ground?" The Case of the Established Church in Ireland, p. 60. London, 1868. Dr. O'Brien became Bishop of Ossory, in 1842, and died in December, 1874. His most important and valuable work is a treatise on *Justification by Faith Only*.

[1] According to the testimony of the *Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, the annual income of the Romish Church in Ireland in 1868 considerably exceeded the whole revenue of the Irish Establishment. The following are the items:—

Incomes of the Bishops and Parochial Clergy . . .	£340,480
Regular Clergy (550 at £100 each)	55,000
Maintenance, Repairs, and Extension of Churches .	116,050
Hospitals, Orphanages, Asylums, &c., Colleges, Seminaries, and Schools	250,500
	£762,030

"The Church Establishment in Ireland." The *Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, p. 387. Dublin, 1868. The *average income* of a parish priest is here estimated at £200 per annum. At present several of the Roman Catholic prelates keep carriages, and are understood to have incomes of upwards of £1,000 per annum each.

[2] At this time, the net annual produce and value of the entire property of the Established Church in Ireland—including the houses of residence and the lands in

decisive majority; and, immediately afterwards, a Bill—known as the Suspensory Bill—was introduced to legalize their proposals. This measure[1] readily passed through the Lower House of Parliament; but it was negatived in the Lords.[2]

The Suspensory Bill took the public by surprise; for, though fears had for some time been entertained as to the stability of the dominant church, few expected that a proposition, so bold and comprehensive, would have been so soon submitted to the consideration of the legislature. It was regarded with more or less favour by different parties, according to their various positions. Many of the Roman Catholic clergy had long cherished a hope that the tithes would be restored to them; and the projected arrangement threatened to scatter their expectations to the winds; so that, though they hailed with high contentment the fall of the Establishment, they could not well suppress a sigh as they saw its revenues pass away from them for ever. When seeking relief from the pressure of the penal laws, Romanists had pledged themselves by oath not to employ any political power they might acquire to the injury of the Protestant Church of Ireland;[3] but such professions were soon forgotten. In a work written by a late President of Maynooth—and published in 1861 under the care of one of the Professors of that College—the editor broadly asserts that tithes of right belong to the Church of Rome, and that their appropriation to the support of the Roman Catholic clergy is "the *only just policy* which must sooner or later be adopted *by the Government* of this country, *if they would allay all religious and national animosities*, and

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the occupation of ecclesiastical persons—amounted to £616,840. See *Irish Church Directory* for 1870, p. 145. The Regium Donum in 1868 amounted to about £40,000; but this included what was given to Unitarians.

[1] The object of the Bill was to suspend the exercise of patronage in the Irish Church pending the discussion of the subject; and thus prevent meanwhile the creation of any new interests.

[2] The second reading of the Irish Church Suspensory Bill was carried in the Commons by a majority of 312 to 258. The second reading was lost in the Lords by 192 non-contents against 97 contents.

[3] See before, pp. 433-4.

rule over a united people."[1] The determination to strip Protestantism of its revenues was distinctly embodied in a resolution adopted at a public meeting, held December 29th, 1864, under the auspices of the Roman Catholic hierarchy. "*We demand*," said the meeting, "the disendowment of the Established Church of Ireland *as a condition* without which social peace and stability, general respect for the laws, and unity of sentiment and of action for national objects, *can never prevail* in Ireland."[2] In one of his more recent Pastorals Cardinal Cullen[3] affirmed that Protestantism was kept alive by the public funds; and that it would perish were it not sustained by a State provision.[4] Had he known that his skill, as a seer, was so soon to be tested in the crucible of experience, he would perhaps have prophesied more cautiously; for it is already manifest that his words were as false as they were foolish. Protestantism has been disestablished; but the change seems to have inspired it with fresh energy; and it now moves more freely and vigorously than it ever did before.

When the Suspensory Bill was actually laid on the table of the House of Commons, and when it was denounced by Protestant meetings held in various places throughout the empire, Irish Roman Catholics generally remained quiescent. They were apparently not quite sure, after all, whether their Church would be much safer when it was floated on the sea

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[1] *Collections of Irish Church History from the Manuscripts of the late Very Rev. Laurence F. Renehan, D.D., President of Maynooth College*, edited by Rev. Daniel McCarthy, p. 291, *note*. Dublin, 1861. Bishop Moriarty, in a letter to his clergy in 1867 on the Disendowment of the Established Church, puts forward the same claim. See *Disestablishment and Disendowment*, by Dr. O'Brien, Bishop of Ossory, part ii., appendix, p. 51. London, 1869.

[2] See *Facts Respecting the Present State of the Church in Ireland*, by the Rev. Alfred T. Lee, LL.D., p. 26. London, 1868.

[3] Archbishop Cullen was advanced to the dignity of a Cardinal in 1866. In May 1866 he addressed a pastoral to the clergy and laity of his diocese, in which he recommended that every parish should send petitions to Parliament "*for the disendowment* of the Protestant Establishment." The oaths so often taken by Romanists on this subject, were thus openly repudiated.

[4] At a still later period, Dr. Cullen affixed his imprimatur to an article which appeared in *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* for June 1868 (p. 460), in which it is affirmed that "Protestantism has *no other hold* on its followers than the mere temporal endowments. The *great motive* is money. Remove this inducement, and *they will become the followers of Rome*."

of ecclesiastical equality; and when it could no longer expatiate on the monster grievance which, for ages, had supplied it with a fruitful topic for complaint and declamation.

The great body of the members of the Established Church in Ireland heard of the Suspensory Bill with the deepest disgust and alarm. The Protestant primate of Armagh, in a letter which went the round of the newspapers,[1] announced his conviction that it would lead many of the adherents of the reformed faith to leave the country, and that it would be a deadly blow to the prosperity of Irish Protestantism. The Irish Presbyterians were not so disheartened. They were aware that the withdrawal of the Regium Donum might subject them to no little inconvenience; but they had confidence in the stability of their Church; and they cherished the hope that it would be able to sustain itself without the aid of State patronage. Irish Presbyterian ministers had long submitted, under protest, to the pretensions of superiority assumed by the Episcopal clergy; and many of them were willing to endanger the stability of their incomes, with the prospect of deliverance from an annoyance so insulting. At the annual meeting of the General Assembly in Belfast in 1868, a discussion, relative to the measure of disestablishment, was kept up with spirit for three successive days; and it appeared, at the close of the debate, that the friends and foes of disestablishment were not very unequally balanced. A motion protesting "against the threatened withdrawal of the Regium Donum" was supported by 210 votes; an amendment declaring that "the full and impartial disendowment of all religious denominations in Ireland, is to be preferred to a scheme of general endowment, in which truth and error are treated indiscriminately," was supported by 180 votes. The greater number of the elders were in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy; but the ministers, by a not very large majority, carried the vote of qualified disapproval.[2]

A dissolution of Parliament followed the rejection of the Suspensory Bill in the House of Lords; and the question of

[1] The Primate again and again repeated this statement.

[2] In the majority were 182 ministers and twenty-eight elders; in the minority were 134 ministers and forty-six elders.

the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church was submitted to the decision of the various constituencies of the empire. When the New House of Commons assembled, it appeared that the policy of Mr. Gladstone was fortified by a majority of considerably upwards of one hundred members.[1] The Irish Church Bill was at once brought under consideration. The Peers now saw that it was unwise to continue to resist the voice of the people; and the opponents of the measure merely sought to obtain more liberal terms for the disestablished clergy. Their efforts in this direction were largely successful. With a view to the formation of a fund for the future maintenance of the Church,[2] incumbents were encouraged to commute their incomes for ready money; and a bonus of 12 per cent. was allowed, if they generally joined in the transaction, and placed the proceeds in a common stock-purse. Half a million additional was given, in lieu of endowments which had been bestowed by Protestant benefactors. Curates were not overlooked; and many of them[3] soon found themselves

[1] On this occasion one of the members returned for Belfast, the Protestant metropolis of Ireland, was Thomas McClure, Esq.—now Sir Thomas McClure, Bart.—a Presbyterian elder. Mr. McClure entered Parliament as a supporter of the policy of disestablishment. William Kirk, Esq., another Presbyterian, was at the same time returned for the borough of Newry as an advocate of the same policy.

[2] The Disestablished Church received all its places of worship without charge, though most of them had been built at the public expense. It also obtained the glebe-houses and ten acres of land connected with them at little more than a nominal value—the value of the buildings not being taken into account. The commutation money received by it till February, 1873, amounted to £7,645,852 5*s.* 4*d.* The number of its ministers who had not then commuted amounted to 108. The following is the account of the commutation money, including bonus where payable, paid in respect of claims investigated up to February, 1873:—

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Archbishops, bishops, and incumbents .	5,561,877	16	1
Curates	1,724,710	7	5
Diocesan schoolmasters, clerks, sextons, &c.	359,264	1	10
Total	£7,645,852	5	4

—See *Thom's Almanac* for 1874, p. 197.

[3] The curates to whom annuities were allowed amounted to 921, and the total amount of their annuities to £95,894 15*s.* 10*d.* According to a clause in the Irish Church Act, the Commissioners were empowered to grant compensation to those who had been curates before the 1st of January, 1871. The salaries of the curates were meanwhile raised, and the bishops continued to ordain others in unusual numbers up till the close of December 1870. Many who had not completed a collegiate

in a better position than they had ever been before. The General Assembly, and other smaller bodies, were permitted to commute on the same terms as the Establishment;[1] though, in many matters of detail, they received much less indulgence.[2] Maynooth was bought out at fourteen years' purchase;[3] and the Assembly's College, Belfast, obtained the same consideration.[4] After a protracted conflict, the Bill passed through both Houses of the Legislature; and, on the 26th of July, 1869, received the royal assent.[5] In accordance with its enactments, the Protestant Establishment ceased to exist in Ireland on the 1st day of January, 1871.

Thus fell the Irish Episcopal Church, after it had, with the exception of a comparatively short interval, maintained its ascendency for upwards of three hundred years. But it would be a mistake to infer that the cause of the Reformation had meanwhile lost ground in the country. It was immensely more influential in 1871 than in 1560. It is but fair to add that the Irish Episcopal Church did *not* lose its status in con-

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course, and some who had never been at college at all, now received imposition of hands. Hence the extraordinary amount paid to curates for compensation. According to the Report of the Established Church Commission, there were in July, 1868, "more than 500 stipendiary curates," so that 400 must have been added immediately before disestablishment.

[1] According to the Minutes of the Irish General Assembly for 1874 (pp. 620, 622) its Commutation Fund then amounted to £579,762 4*s*. All its ministers, with the exception of nineteen, had commuted. The commutation money received by the Unitarians of all parties appears to have been under £30,000. A considerable number of the Unitarian ministers did not commute.

[2] Though the Episcopal curates were so liberally treated, the Licentiates of the Assembly received nothing whatever. Whilst curates ordained before the 1st of January, 1871, were remunerated, no Presbyterian minister ordained after the passing of the Act received any compensation.

[3] Maynooth obtained its college buildings free, though Government had expended on them at different times not less than £70,000. The commutation money received by Maynooth College amounted to £372,331. See *Thom's Almanac* for 1874, p. 802.

[4] The Assembly's College obtained £39,500—including £15,000 for buildings. The Unitarians received, in commutation for professors' salaries, £4,200. Report of the Comptroller and Auditor-General upon the account of the Commissioners of Church Temporalities in Ireland, p. 37. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed 25th June, 1874.

[5] It is the 32nd and 33rd of Victoria, chap. xlii.—"An Act to put an end to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland and to make Provision in respect of the Temporalities thereof, and in respect of the Royal College of Maynooth."

sequence of its increasing inefficiency. It never had perhaps a greater number of able, learned, pious, and zealous ministers, than at the period of its disestablishment. It had made greater progress, in the way of a supply of clergy and of church accommodation, within the preceding seventy years, than it had ever made before within the same length of time. In 1800, it had about 1,010 churches, 1,120 benefices, 354 parsonage-houses, and 1,100 clergy.[1] In 1871, it had 1,579 churches, 1,518 benefices, 978 glebe-houses, and 2,256 clergy.[2] During the same seventy years, the Irish Presbyterian Church had made, comparatively, even greater progress. In 1800, there were, in the Synod of Ulster and the two seceding bodies combined, about 250 ministers, 240 churches, and 12 manses. In 1871 the General Assembly had 628 ministers, 550 congregations, and nearly 300 manses.[3] Meanwhile the Church of Rome in Ireland had been exerting itself with unusual activity. Its clergy had not much increased since the period of emancipation; for its parishes had then a fair supply of priests, and, in the interval, the population had diminished; but most of its churches had been rebuilt, and some of its ecclesiastical structures were very costly and magnificent. During the present century, according to some calculations, it has expended millions of money on its church edifices.[4]

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[1] These are the numbers as nearly as can well be ascertained. See Mant, ii. 776; and *Facts, &c.*, by Lee, p. 28. Mant and Lee differ widely as to the number of parsonage-houses.

[2] See *Irish Church Directory* for 1870, p. 181. From 1834 to 1865 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners expended on church buildings £1,103,699 19*s.* 3*d.*

[3] See Minutes for 1871, p. 187. There were also in Ireland in 1871 about sixty-three congregations of Covenanters, United Presbyterians, and Seceders. There were besides 254 Methodist ministers, Dissenting and Primitive; and about forty-one Unitarian ministers. See *Thom's Almanac* for 1872, pp. 1113-5.

[4] The Roman Catholic cathedral of Armagh recently opened for worship is said to have cost £60,000. The Roman Catholic cathedral of Kilkenny cost upwards of £25,000; the Roman Catholic cathedral of Londonderry cost £22,000; and a Roman Catholic cathedral lately erected at Killarney cost £20,000. *Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, pp. 87, 290, 318. Meagher states that "ninety-seven churches, great and small, have been erected in the archdiocese (of Dublin) since the consecration (of Dr. Murray) at an expense of little less than £700,000. . . . . An estimate made out, with great care, represents the amount of property moveable and immoveable acquired by religion in the (Roman) Catholic archbishopric of Dublin, during his incumbency, as considerably exceeding £1,200,000."

In 1871, it had in this country four archbishops, 25 bishops, 2,349 churches and chapels, and 3,150 priests. Of these priests, 999 were parish priests, 1,729 were administrators, curates, and so forth; and 420 were monks or regular clergy.[1] But, during this century, the Romish Church has lost ground considerably in Ireland among the general population. In 1834, it had 6,427,712 adherents.[2] Protestants, of all denominations, then amounted to 1,516,228.[3] In 1847, famine and pestilence greatly thinned the ranks of the Romanists; and emigration has since removed many of all classes of the population.[4] In 1871, the Irish Romanists amounted to 4,141,933; and the Protestants of all denominations to 1,260,568.[5] It thus appears, that whilst Romanists have declined in numbers to the extent of 2,285,779—or considerably more than one-third—Protestants have diminished only to the extent of 252,402, or very little more than one-sixth. Ulster is now the most populous of the four provinces; and according to the census of 1871, the majority of its inhabitants are

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—*Life and Character of Dr. Murray*, p. 146*. Dublin, 1853. Since 1800 the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is said to have expended £5,690,995 in the erection of churches, convents, colleges, hospitals, parochial-houses, and school-buildings. *Freeman's Journal Church Commission*, p. 387. Dublin, 1868. *Quarterly Review*, vol. 124, p. 549.

[1] See the *Irish Catholic Directory* for 1872, p. 211.

[2] See First Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "From the returns of the Emigration Commissioners we learn that, of the total emigrants who sailed from ports in the United Kingdom between the 1st April, 1861, and the 31st March last (1871), 819,903 were Irish."—Census of Ireland for 1871, p. 4.

[5] According to the census of 1871, the various Protestant denominations stood thus on the night of the 2nd of April of that year:—

Episcopalians	683,295
Presbyterians	503,461
Methodists	41,815
Independents	4,485
Baptists	4,643
Society of Friends	3,834
Other Christian persuasions	19,035
	1,260,568

Abstract of the Enumerator's Returns. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, p. 5. Dublin, 1871.

Protestants.[1] In 1834, the Romanists of Ireland were to the Protestants in the proportion of nearly four and one-fourth to one; in 1871, they were in the proportion of little more than three and one-fourth to one.

Having now reached the times in which we live, it may be well, in closing the review, to add a few inferences and suggestions.

It must be obvious, from what is stated in these pages, that much of the false religion to be found in Ireland is based on pure ignorance of the national history. How many believe that Patrick was sent here by the bishop of Rome, and that the archbishops of Armagh can trace up their lineage to our apostle through an unbroken chain of episcopal ordinations! Neither of these propositions is true. Patrick himself has left behind him an account of his mission, in which he never mentions either the Pope or the Church of Rome. Multitudes of the letters of the Popes, who flourished when Patrick was in Ireland, are still preserved; they relate to all the transactions of Western Christendom, in which these great Italian prelates were concerned; and yet not one of them repeats the name, or alludes to the labours, of this most successful evangelist. When missionaries, deputed by the Pope, afterwards settled in England; and when, in the beginning of the seventh century, they sought to open a correspondence with the Church of Ireland; the Hibernian clergy repelled their advances, and at first refused to have any communion with them. Early in the eighth century—when the venerable Bede was preparing to write the *Ecclesiastical History of England*—he tells us that he was furnished with materials from the Roman archives, to aid him in his work; and some of the memoranda published by him relate to Ireland; but still Patrick is ignored—much less is anything said of his mission by the Pope. Had Patrick been sent here by the bishop of Rome, he would assuredly have introduced Roman usages and a hierarchy like that existing in Italy; but he estab-

[1] The entire population of Ulster, according to the census of 1871, was 1,830,398; and of the whole 894,525 were Romanists.

lished a polity and worship of a totally different character. The assertion, that the Archbishops of Armagh can trace their succession from Patrick through an unbroken series of episcopal ordinations, is contradicted by the plain fact that, in the early Irish Church, there was no succession of either bishops or archbishops of Armagh. Our ancient Church was governed, not by metropolitans,[1] but by presbyter abbots, who presided over monasteries; and who—like Columbkille and his successors in Iona—ordained bishops and the rest of the clergy.[2] The doctrine of the apostolical succession of the Armagh Primates, is therefore a miserable figment, resting on a total misconception of the original constitution of the Church of Ireland.

It must also be plain, from the statements contained in this work, that Protestantism has indirectly contributed much to the improvement of the moral character of the Irish Roman Catholic bishops and clergy. Immediately before the Reformation, Ireland had become one of the vilest dens of iniquity in Christendom. The Irish females—who have since acquired such an honourable reputation for their chastity—then wallowed in vice. The petty chiefs were almost perpetually at war; and multitudes, who spent most of their time in idleness, maintained themselves by highway robbery and cattle stealing. What must have been the condition of the people when even bishops and archbishops ventured to live in open adultery? The monks and the inferior clergy were generally alike ignorant and licentious.[3] There were, no doubt, among them some men of a more respectable description; but history tells of very few entitled to special commendation. As a body, the clergy had sunk into such a state of utter carelessness, that a large number of the monasteries and churches were in ruins. In the time of the good Bishop Bedell—or about a century after the light of the Reformation had dawned on the country—many of the Roman Catholic priests of Kilmore and Ardagh exhibited a most profligate example; and their bishop was a beastly toper. Even within the last two hundred years, according to the testimony of the

[1] See vol. i. 50, 130. [2] *Ibid.* 35. [3] *Ibid.* p. 336, *note.*

Roman Catholic Primate of Armagh, it was no easy matter to find a priest in Ulster who was not addicted to drunkenness.[1] Many of the early Protestant bishops and clergy of Ireland were confessedly persons of indifferent reputation; but, notwithstanding, they were a check on their Roman Catholic rivals. The Church of Rome felt that, if Popery was to be maintained in the island, there must be a reformation in the conduct of its official representatives. It accordingly began to appoint bishops who insisted on a stricter discipline, and who compelled the priests to cultivate greater decency in their behaviour. Thus it is that the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, of the present day, are an entirely different class of men from their predecessors of the sixteenth century. The change, for the better, which has meanwhile taken place in the character of Irish females must, no doubt, be traced to the improvement in the morals of the priesthood.

It would be very unfair to say that, since the Reformation, the Church of Rome has done nothing to promote the advancement of the Irish people. Their moral condition now is greatly superior to what it was in the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII.; and the priests, stimulated by the presence of their Protestant neighbours, have contributed to bring about the improvement. But, after the lapse of three centuries, we can calmly contrast the results of Popery and Protestantism; and assuredly the comparison is not in favour of the religion of Rome. Looking at the present state of Ulster and Munster, it is impossible to avoid this conclusion. Three hundred years ago, Ulster stood lowest among the four provinces. Munster had a better soil and climate, a better mercantile position, and more safe and capacious harbours. But Ulster is now far ahead in all the elements of substantial prosperity. It stands higher in point of wealth and education; it is more peaceful and more populous.[2] Neither can it be pleaded that Ulster has escaped the pressure of the penal

[1] See vol. ii., p. 154, *note* (4).

[2] According to a return made to Parliament in 1872, the annual value of property for rating in Ulster was £3,066,738; in Munster, £2,658,471. Munster is much larger. See *Thom's Almanac* for 1875, p. 836.

laws, and that it is indebted for its superiority to State patronage. These pages testify to the contrary. The majority of the Protestants of Ulster have always been Presbyterians; and they have been persecuted nearly, if not quite, as cruelly and as persistently as the Romanists. In the days of Charles I. they were obliged to take refuge in dens and caves of the earth, to escape the imposition of the Black Oath; and all their ministers were driven from the country. When the preachers returned, after the massacre of 1641, they again suffered from the proscription of Cromwell. From the Restoration to the Revolution, they dared not openly meet in Presbyteries, or venture publicly on the ordination of ministers. Their worship was illegal; they were often obliged to celebrate it in some secluded spot at dead of night; and any pastor, who dispensed the Lord's Supper, was liable, for every such offence, to a penalty of one hundred pounds. At the Revolution—when the Presbyterians saved their country by their noble defence of Londonderry—they were requited in a way which might well have made wise men mad. The brave Adam Murray, the hero of the siege, was basely deprived of the very horse which had borne him triumphantly through many a terrific struggle;[1] and, a few years afterwards, the Presbyterian officers, who had signalized themselves by so many deeds of valour, were driven ignominiously, by the Test Act, out of the corporation of the city. For ages, the Presbyterians were harassed by the bishops' courts, and their children branded, with impunity, as bastards. Romanists cannot, therefore, lay claim to a monopoly of suffering. How then are we to account for the present superiority of Ulster? Must we not ascribe it to the blessing of God? Must we not infer, from the experience of three hundred years, that He looks down with greater favour on Protestantism than on Popery?

We are taught, by the highest of all authorities, that the multiplication of ritual observances is no sure evidence of true godliness. The rulers and people of Israel were offering multitudes of sacrifices, when the prophet Isaiah denounced them as "laden with iniquity," as the "rulers of Sodom,"

[1] See Mackenzie's *Narrative*, ch. vi.

and the "people of Gomorrah."[1] The brigand will attend mass, and say his prayers most punctually, at the very time that he is preparing to perform some horrid act of assassination. There are, it is to be hoped, not a few of the children of God in communion with the Pope; and, looking merely at their attention to outward forms, Irish Romanists may be safely pronounced a devout people. But facts, too glaring to escape general observation, must shut us up to the conclusion that, after all, their system cannot be the true way of promoting that righteousness which exalteth a nation. In the times of primitive Christianity, its disciples could boast that, notwithstanding their increasing numbers, it was rare to hear of one of them convicted of any act of immorality before a civil tribunal. Romanists can appeal to no such argument in support of their religion. Were they to attempt it, they could be confronted with the damnatory testimony of the statistics of the Irish jails.[2] Christ is the Prince of Peace; but the Romish system has signally failed to promote peace and

[1] Isaiah, i. 4, 10, 11.

[2] In 1851, Protestants formed only about the one-fifteenth part of the population of Munster; at the same time, in Ulster the Protestants and Romanists were nearly equal in numbers. But for the five preceding years, that is, for 1846, 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850, these two provinces exhibited very different results in regard to crime. The number of cases of burglary and housebreaking in Ulster amounted to 825; in Munster they were 1,518. The number of cases of robbery in Ulster, during the same period, amounted to 950; in Munster they were 1,851. See Twenty-ninth Report of the Inspector-General of the Prisons of Ireland, 1850, p. viii. In 1851, Ulster had a population of 2,004,289, whilst Munster had only 1,831,817. In September 1852, the number of Roman Catholic prisoners in the County Antrim Jail amounted to 125, and the number of Presbyterian prisoners to forty-two; though at that time the Presbyterian population of the county was nearly *double* the Roman Catholic. At the same time the number of Roman Catholic prisoners in County Down Jail was 102, and the number of Presbyterian prisoners fifty-six; though the Presbyterian population of the county was much larger than the Roman Catholic. See *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, iii. 413, *note*. Multitudes of such statistics could be readily produced. In 1873, the proportion of police in the five northern counties of Londonderry, Down, Armagh, Tyrone, and Antrim was only from eight to ten for every 10,000 of the population; whilst at the same time, in the North Riding of Tipperary, the South Riding of Tipperary, Meath, Westmeath, and King's County, it was from thirty-five to forty-three for every 10,000 of the population. *Criminal and Judicial Statistics of Ireland for* 1873, p. 61. Dublin, 1874. It appears from the Report of the Inspector-General of Prisons in Ireland, that in 1872, of the juveniles committed to the county and

social order. For centuries, Popery has kept Ireland in a state of chronic rebellion. The penal laws have long since been abolished; but sedition is as rampant, in some parts of the country, as it was a hundred years ago. In the Protestant North, any one who would kill another, in cold blood in open day, would forthwith fall into the hands of justice; for the moral feeling of the whole country would cry out against the deed; but there are places, elsewhere, in which the murderer may walk quietly away in the presence of a hundred witnesses; and any one, who would supply evidence to lead to his conviction, would be condemned by the entire community. Nay, more, when a worthless miscreant has been apprehended, and convicted of violating his oath of allegiance, and of attempting to convert the land into a field of blood, there are thousands and tens of thousands who will sympathize with the prisoner; and meet, under the countenance of their priests, in multitudinous assemblages, to clamour for his release! Do not these things point to the awkward conclusion, that Popery, in some way, blunts the moral sense; and often encourages its votaries to call evil, good; and good, evil? The primitive Christians were taught by the apostles to lead "quiet and peaceable" lives under the yoke of pagan rulers;[1] but Irish Romanists have yet learned no such lesson from their clergy. They are "like the troubled sea that cannot rest;" and, when they can find no other grievance, they are absurdly agitating for deliverance from the mild and tolerant government of the United Kingdom.

Any inquirer of ordinary intelligence, who candidly studies the history of this country, may be convinced that, from the beginning, the Bishop of Rome has been the deadly foe of the civil and spiritual liberties of Irishmen. The Bull of Adrian IV. prepared the way for the subjugation of the island. All the miseries it subsequently endured, under the tyranny

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borough prisons, 8 per cent. were Protestant Episcopalians, somewhat less than 2 per cent. were Presbyterians, and 90 per cent. were Romanists. During the same year (1872) the Protestant Episcopalians committed to county and borough gaols in Ireland amounted to 3,499; the Presbyterians, to 963; and the Romanists, to 25,536. Fifty-second Report, pp. 19, 24. Dublin, 1874.

[1] 1 Tim. ii. 2.

of the English invaders, may be traced to that infamous diploma. From the time of Henry II. to the Reformation, as often as our countrymen attempted to break away from the grasp of their oppressors, they were encountered by papal excommunications and interdicts. And what a curse has the Pope been to Ireland from the Reformation to the present day! He promoted the ruinous wars of Desmond and O'Neill; and he inflicted untold mischiefs on the country during the long and bootless struggle of the Catholic Confederation. And if, in more recent times, he has ceased to patronize the fighting department, he has done so, simply because he has been shorn of his strength, and has found discretion to be the better part of valour.

The Church of Rome in Ireland presents a perfect specimen of a spiritual despotism. The Church of Christ, in Apostolic days, was an eminently free commonwealth. The choice of a successor to Judas was entrusted to the one hundred and twenty disciples.[1] The whole multitude chose the seven deacons;[2] and the laity were commanded to "try the spirits,"[3] or to judge for themselves in the selection of teachers. But Popery has stripped Irishmen of every shred of spiritual freedom. The Pope appoints the bishops; the bishops appoint the priests; and the priests rule the people with absolute dominion.[4] The Irish peasant may choose his medical attendant or his law adviser; he may vote for a coroner or a member of Parliament; but he has no more influence in the nomination of the spiritual guide, to whom he is required to commit his deepest secrets, than has the sheep which he shears, or the donkey which he drives to market. In matters

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[1] Acts i. 15, 22. [2] Acts vi. 3, 5. [3] 1 John iv. 1.

[4] The bishop "may choose to deal *extra-judicially* with any ecclesiastic within his jurisdiction. . . . . Should he prefer it, he may thus relieve himself from the necessity of observing any form of law whatever. His rule of conduct is that prescribed by his own sovereign will and pleasure. The accused may be wholly unconscious of the offence with which he is charged, or the persons whose enmity he has provoked; yet the bishop, without assigning any reason for his proceeding, and without hearing a word in explanation or defence, has power and authority to issue against him a sentence of suspension, from which there is practically no appeal."—KIRKPATRICK'S *Introduction to Report of the case of O'Keeffe* v. *Cullen*, p. xxxvi.

of religion, he must not dare even to think for himself. He must believe, without challenge, whatever his Church believes. Irishmen, who talk loudly of the blessings of Home Rule, patiently crouch under this unmitigated Italian slavery.

Ireland contains within itself many of the elements of national greatness. It has a fertile soil, a temperate climate, a teeming supply of streams and rivers, noble harbours, rich pasture lands, splendid lakes, beautiful valleys, and sublime mountain scenery. Its children have few compeers in the gifts of poetry and eloquence. Goldsmith and Moore, Grattan, Burke, Curran, and many others, are names known all over the world. With the aid of the Pope it was subdued by England; but in ancient as well as in modern times, it has given birth to sons mighty in war; for who has not heard of Niall of the nine Hostages, Brian Boru, and Wellington? But Ireland can never attain the place which it is entitled to hold among the nations, as long as so many of its population exhibit, in things spiritual, the blindness of infatuation. They fret and fume against England, though, by their alliance with its imperial government, they are kept from anarchy, strengthened, and blessed; whilst they stupidly submit to the absolute will of a superstitious old man in Italy, who has no more right to rule them, than has the Shah of Persia or the Emperor of Japan. And their folly is all the more ridiculous, as their subjection to the Pope is little more than half a century older than their connexion with Great Britain. The surrender of their ecclesiastical freedom was quickly followed by their political slavery. When Ireland was known as the Isle of Saints and the Light of the Western Church, it was unfettered by papal shackles. Then its Synods were not held with closed doors, and the laity forbidden to enter. They met in public; and the king and the heads of the people were present at the deliberations. Then, neither clergy nor laity acknowledged obedience to the canons of foreign councils. Then, in the government of the Church, there was Home Rule, and no submission to foreign dictation. Now, when a Synod is convened at Thurles or elsewhere, all things are shrouded in mystery; the people are shut out; and if even an archbishop happens incontinently to divulge aught that has occurred, he

must meekly crouch under a papal repri
that men can bow their necks to such h
venture to declaim about liberty!

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its adherents have no cause whatever
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of the Church is not the unity of a gr
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men by their conduct, as well as by a
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The Irish Episcopal Church, separat
endowed with the power of self-gover
sented with a precious opportunity for s
and reconstructing its framework. It has
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made for the influence of long-cherish
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hesitation, in the work of renovation. T
still clog the wheels of the ecclesiastical

[1] So lately as 1866 even a friendly witness delive
"It is notorious that *the only bishop in Ireland*, besi

under the new constitution, the principle of prelacy is retained. The rule of voting by orders, and of making the two-thirds of the votes of each order necessary to carry any important proposition, is a strange device never heard of before in the Church of God. It is to be hoped that Irish Episcopalians will yet inaugurate a policy of more thorough reform, taking the Word of God as their only guide, and the Church of the apostolic age as their divine model. They would thus do much towards gathering into one the various fragments of Protestantism. The union of Irish Presbyterians and Episcopalians is a consummation for which all good men should pray and labour. Some of the outlines of the plan of their incorporation have been sketched long since by the immortal Ussher;[1] and were charity to hold the pen, it could easily contrive to complete the outline. The union of the General Assembly and the Irish Episcopal Church will, we trust, yet be realized; and the day on which it will be celebrated, will be the most glorious that ever dawned on the Isle of Saints.

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and perhaps the bishop of Down—who goes amongst his clergy, and works hand in hand with them, is the bishop of Cork."—*Dublin University Magazine* for February 1866, p. 239.

[1] See his "Reduction of Episcopacy into the form of Synodical Government," in Neal's *History of the Puritans*, ii. 72. London, 1837. It is only right to add that Ussher's scheme would not now satisfy Presbyterians.



APPENDIX.

PASTORAL ADDRESS

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

1826.

See p. 451, *note* (2).

TO

THE CLERGY AND LAITY

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN IRELAND.

REV. BROTHERS, BELOVED CHILDREN,

WITH a trembling sense of the obligations which the nature of our office imposes on us, we have come together, after the example of our predecessors, to deliberate in common on the awful interests with which we are charged. We have taken into consideration various subjects which are intimately connected with the welfare of religion; and whilst we have sought with jealousy to guard the sacred deposit "committed to our trust by the Holy Ghost," (2 Tim. i. 14.;) we have also esteemed it a duty to be "ready to satisfy every one that asketh us a reason of that hope which is in us," (1 Pet. iii. 15.) that you, "dearly beloved, our joy and our crown (may) stand fast in the Lord," (Phil. iv. 1.;) and "that he who is on the contrary part may be afraid, having no evil to say of us."—Tit. ii. 8.

We know, dearly beloved, the filial duty with which you are solicitous to hear the voice of those who "watch, as being to render an account of your souls."—Heb. xiii. 17. We hasten therefore to make known to you our unanimous decision on such matters as are of common concern, that you, on your part, may "fulfil our joy; that being of one accord, you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind labouring together for the faith of the Gospel."—Phil. ii. 2 and i. 27.

1ST RESOLUTION.

HAVING considered attentively a plan of national education which has been submitted to us,—resolved that the admission of Protestants and Roman Catholics into the same schools, for the purpose of literary instruction, may, under existing circumstances, be allowed, provided sufficient care be taken to protect the religion of the Roman Catholic children, and to furnish them with adequate means of religious instruction.

2ND RESOLUTION.

THAT in order to secure sufficient protection to the religion of Roman Catholic children under such a system of education, we deem it necessary that the master of each school, in which the majority of the pupils profess the Roman Catholic faith, be a Roman Catholic: and that in schools in which the Roman Catholic children form only a minority, a permanent Roman Catholic assistant be employed: and that such master and assistant be appointed upon the recommendation, or with the express approval, of the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese in which they are to be employed: and further, that they, or either of them, be removed upon the representation of such Bishop. The same rule to be observed for the appointment or dismissal of mistresses and assistants in female schools.

3RD RESOLUTION.

THAT we consider it improper, that masters and mistresses intended for the religious instruction of Roman Catholic youth, should be trained or educated by or under the control of persons professing a different faith; and that we conceive it most desirable, that a male and female model school shall be established in each province in Ireland, to be supported at the public expense, for the purpose of qualifying such masters and mistresses for the important duties which they shall be appointed to discharge.

4TH RESOLUTION.

THAT in conformity with the principle of protecting the religion of Roman Catholic children, the books intended for their particular instruction in religion, shall be selected or approved by the Roman Catholic Prelates: and that no book or tract for common instruction in literature shall be introduced into any school in which Roman Catholic children are educated, which book or tract may be objected to on religious grounds by the Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese in which such school is established.

5TH RESOLUTION.

THAT a transfer of the property in several schools which now exist, or may hereafter exist in Ireland, may be utterly impracticable from the nature of the tenure by which they are, or shall hereafter be held ; and from the number of persons having a legal interest in them, as well as from a variety of other causes ; and that, in our opinion, any regulation which should require such transfer to be made, as a necessary condition for receiving parliamentary support, would operate to the exclusion of many useful schools from all participation in the public bounty.

6TH RESOLUTION.

THAT, appointed as we have been by divine providence to watch over and preserve the deposit of Catholic Faith in Ireland ; and responsible as we are to God for the souls of our flocks, we will, in our respective dioceses withhold our concurrence and support from any system of education which will not fully accord with the principles expressed in the foregoing resolutions.

7TH RESOLUTION.

HAVING taken into consideration the project of a provision to be made by law for the support of the Prelates and Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland,—resolved, that no such legal provision for our support and that of our clergy, will be acceded to by us, until the Catholics of Ireland shall have been emancipated. And that at no period can we accept any such legal provision, unless our acceptance of it be found by us consistent with the independence of our Church and the integrity of its discipline, as well as with the cordial union and affectionate attachment which has hitherto subsisted between the Catholic Clergy and that faithful people, from whose generous contributions we and our predecessors have, for centuries, derived our support.

8TH RESOLUTION.

HAVING learned with sorrow, that, notwithstanding the repeated expositions already given of our faith, some grievous misconceptions regarding certain points of Catholic doctrine are still unhappily found to exist in the minds of many of our fellow-subjects,—resolved, that we deem it expedient to remove the possibility of future misconception on those heads, by the following full and authentic declaration.

I.

Established for promoting the happiness of mankind, to which order is essential, the Catholic religion, far from interfering with the constituted authorities of any state, is reconcileable with every regular form which human governments may assume.—Republics as well as monarchies have thriven where it has been professed, and, under its protecting influence, any combination of those forms may be secure.

II.

The Catholics in Ireland of mature years, are permitted to read authentic and approved translations of the Holy Scriptures with explanatory notes; and are exhorted to use them in the spirit of piety, humility, and obedience. The Clergy of the Catholic Church are bound to the daily recital of a canonical office, which comprises, in the course of a year, almost the entire of the sacred volume; and her pastors are required, on Sundays and on festivals, to expound to the faithful, in the vernacular tongue, the epistle or gospel of the day, or some other portion of the divine law.

III.

Catholics believe that the power of working miracles has not been withdrawn from the Church of God. The belief, however, of any particular miracle not recorded in the revealed word of God, is not required as a term of Catholic communion, though there are many so strongly recommended to our belief, that they cannot without temerity be rejected.

IV.

Roman Catholics revere the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, and piously invoke their intercession. Far, however from honouring them with divine worship, they believe that such worship is due to God alone, and that it cannot be paid to any creature without involving the guilt of idolatry.

V.

Catholics respect the images of Christ and of his Saints, without believing that they are endowed with any intrinsic efficacy. The honour which is paid to these memorials is referred to those whom they represent; and should the faithful, through ignorance, or any other cause, ascribe to them any divine virtue, the Bishops are bound to correct the abuse, and rectify their misapprehensions.

APPENDIX.

PASTORAL ADDRESS

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS.

1826.

without any dispensation already granted by the pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, or any person whatever, and without thinking that they are, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the pope or any persons or authority whatsoever, shall dispense with or annul the same, or declare that it was null and void from the beginning."

After this full, explicit, and sworn declaration, we are utterly at a loss to conceive on what possible ground we could be justly charged with bearing towards our MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN ONLY A DIVIDED ALLEGIANCE.

The Catholics of Irela ming any right or title to forfeited lands, resulting fro tle, or interest, which their ancestors may have had ther n oath, "that they will defend, to the utmost of their power and arrangement of the property in this country, as est laws now in being." They also "disclaim, disavow, and sole ure, any intention to subvert the present Church Establishmen ie purpose of substituting a Catholic Establishment in its stead. And further, they swear that they will not exercise any privilege to which they are or may be entitled, to disturb and weaken the Protestant Religion and Protestant Government in Ireland."

XIV.

Whilst we have, in the foregoing Declaration, endeavoured to state, in the simplicity of truth, such doctrines of our Church as are most frequently misunderstood or misrepresented amongst our fellow-subjects, to the great detriment of the public welfare, and of Christian charity; and whilst we have disclaimed anew those errors or wicked principles which have been imputed to Catholics, we also avail ourselves of the present occasion, to express our readiness, at all times, to give, when required by the competent authority, authentic and true information upon all subjects connected with the doctrine and discipline of our Church; and to deprecate the injustice of having our faith and principles judged of by reports made of them by persons either avowedly ignorant of, or but imperfectly acquainted with, the nature of our Church Government, its doctrines, laws, usages, and discipline.

This Declaration we approve, subscribe, and publish, as well that those who have formed erroneous opinions of our doctrines and our principles may be at length undeceived, as that you, dearly beloved, be made strong in that faith which you have inherited as "the children of saints, who look for that life which God will give to those that never changed their faith from him."—Tob. ii. 18.

See p. 451, *note* (2).

TO

THE CLERGY AND LAITY

OF THE

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

IN IRELAND.

REV. BROTHERS, BELOVED CHILDREN,

WITH a trembling sense of the obligations which the nature of our office imposes on us, we have come together, after the example of our predecessors, to deliberate in common on the awful interests with which we are charged. We have taken into consideration various subjects which are intimately connected with the welfare of religion; and whilst we have sought with jealousy to guard the sacred deposit "committed to our trust by the Holy Ghost," (2 Tim. i. 14.;) we have also esteemed it a duty to be "ready to satisfy every one that asketh us a reason of that hope which is in us," (1 Pet. iii. 15.) that you, "dearly beloved, our joy and our crown (may) stand fast in the Lord," (Phil. iv. 1.;) and "that he who is on the contrary part may be afraid, having no evil to say of us."—Tit. ii. 8.

We know, dearly beloved, the filial duty with which you are solicitous to hear the voice of those who "watch, as being to render an account of your souls."—Heb. xiii. 17. We hasten therefore to make known to you our unanimous decision on such matters as are of common concern, that you, on your part, may "fulfil our joy; that being of one accord, you stand fast in one spirit, with one mind labouring together for the faith of the Gospel."—Phil. ii. 2 and i. 27.

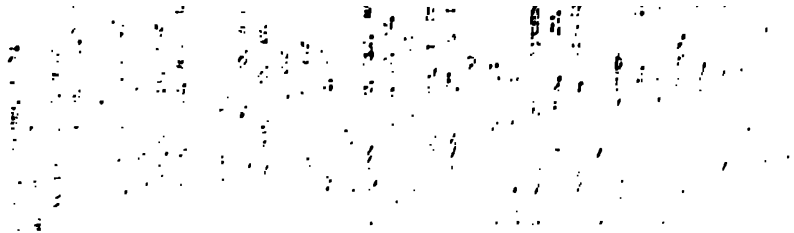


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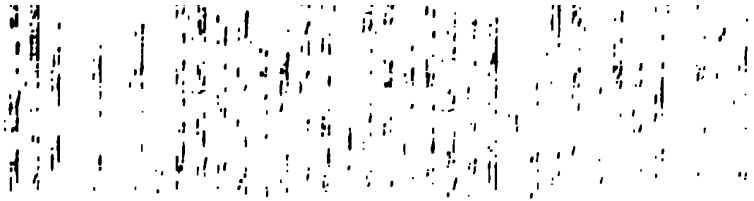
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